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SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

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HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE TROOP MOVEMENTS
FOR THE
SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS,
AUGUST 28 THROUGH AUGUST 30, 1862

BY

JOHN HENNESSY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
NORTHEAST TEAM
1985

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PREFACE

These maps follow the guidelines and standards established in 1981 with the publication of NPS Chief Historian Edwin Bearss's troop movement maps covering the First Battle of Manassas. There are a total of 16 maps to cover the three days of Second Manassas: two maps cover the fighting on the evening of August 28, 1862, six cover August 29, 1862, and eight cover the climactic fighting of August 30, 1862. Time intervals for the maps, rather than being standard, were geared to the intensity of the action. Thus, while only two maps were needed for the period from midnight to 3:00 PM, August 30, six maps were used to cover the action from 3:00 PM to 9:00 PM.

The base map employed here is a slightly modified version of the one used by Chief Historian Bearss in the First Manassas study. Some minor alterations in vegetative cover have been made, as well as the slight relocation of a few of the historic features. Contour lines have also been added. The narrative portion of the volume has been compiled from the examination of official reports, letters, diaries, memoirs, and newspaper accounts written by participants, both officers and enlisted men. The structure of the narrative generally follows the tables of organization published in the Official Records (and reproduced here at the end of the text). I varied from this structure only when I felt it would make use of the finished product easier. For example, the Union cavalry brigades, though nominally assigned to various corps organizations, are grouped together as the last section of each Union segment. Too, many of the Union batteries, though nominally assigned to a particular brigade, have been grouped together for each division under the heading "Division Artillery." As in the Official Records, the Union side of the story is always presented first.

Wherever possible the narrative section consists of the words of the participants. I have done little interpreting of the evidence presented. Only in circumstances where the evidence is conflicting, controversial, or not conclusive have I ventured to offer explanations for the action portrayed on the map.

A research project of this size requires the talents and determination of literally dozens of professionals. I wish to express my thanks to Chief Historian Bearss for giving the project priority and impetus, for lending his not inconsiderable influence to the cause of funding procurement, and for doing an invaluable review of a draft copy of the maps and text. Regional Historian Gary Scott was also instrumental in seeing the project through its bureaucratic maze. On the park level—and this was truly a park-level project—I am in debt to many. Superintendent Rolland Swain and Historian Woody Harrell saw to it that I had the time and resources to accomplish the work. Ranger Michael Andrus helped in almost every phase of the work, from procuring funds to acting as a sounding board for some of my outlandish theories. Rosa Tribby typed well over 100 inquiries to various libraries. John Nissel, Georgia Moss, James Burgess, David Bradshaw, and Catherine Stocking all joined the corps of proofreaders that laid siege to the more than 8,000 typographical errors that afflicted the initial drafts of this document. The leader of this proofreading force, however, was my wife Cheryl, who single-handedly slayed nearly 3,000 of those errors.

Several people indefatigably passed along historical material useful in the project. Robert Krick, Cheif Historian at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP provided me with an unending stream of obscure Confederate material. Richard Sauers of Harrisburg, PA provided me with some invaluable bibliographies relating to post-war newspapers. David Nathanson and Nancy Potts, of the Library and Reference Services division at Harpers Ferry Center, obtained dozens of sources through inter-library loan.

I would like to express my appreciation also to Eastern National Parks and Monument Association, whose research grant made much of this work possible.

Profuse thanks also go to Larry Sutphin of the National Capital Team, Denver Service Center, who had the unenviable task of transforming my rough sketches into the impressive maps you see here.

The following people and organizations have lent of their time, materials, and interest: Dennis Frye, Harpers Ferry NHP; Cathy Georg, Gettysburg NMP; Seward Osborne, Olivebridge, NY; Stephen Sprague, Walpole, MA; Dr. Richard Sommers, U. S. Army Military History Institute; Galen Wilson, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan; H. J. Hartsook and Henry Fulmer, University of South Carolina; William B. Weist, Bucknell University; Peter Schmitt, Western Michigan University; Harriet McLoone, Huntington Library; Robert B. Hanson, Dedham (Mass.) Historical Society; Edward H. Hahn, Westmoreland County (Penn) Historical Society; Harold B. Simpson, Hill Jr. College History Complex; Alice Dalligan, Detroit Public Library; John Cushing, Massachusetts Historical Society; Russ Pritchard, MOLLUS War Library, Philadelphia; Cathy Carlson, formerly of the Museum of the Confederacy; Gary Arnold, Ohio Historical Society; Mary Jo Pugh, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; Peter Gottlieb, West Virginia University; Helen Ball, Miami (Ohio) University; Donald

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Finally, foremost among those who contributed to the success of this project was the late David A. Lilley of Fredericksburg, VA. Almost weekly for several months Dave sent me a pile of letters, or research reports, or bibliographies; some of the most important manuscript material used in this study was discovered, and cheerfully shared, by Dave. To him I give my thanks. To his memory I dedicate this work.

John Hennessy
May 19, 1985

INTRODUCTION

Although four times larger than its 1861 counterpart, the 1862 struggle at Manassas has long been overshadowed by the Civil War's first major battle, fought 13 months earlier on the same site. With the 1981 expansion of the authorized boundaries for Manassas National Battlefield Park came a renewed interest in upgrading the attention given to the Second Battle of Manassas. This series of maps is another important step in shifting the emphasis on preservation and interpretation at the park to a more even concern for both battles fought along Bull Run.

Work on these maps began in late 1982 when NPS Chief Historian Ed Bearss and NCR Regional Historian Gary Scott met with the park staff to set the scope of the project. Because of his previous independent study on the Second Manassas campaign, Park Technician John Hennessy was chosen to produce 16 maps and the accompanying documentation, covering troop movements at Second Manassas at the regimental level. The exceptionally high quality of the resulting maps and reports proves that the correct choice was made. John's work represents a standard of excellence that will form a guideline for future research of this type.

It is extremely fortunate that these maps were completed at this time, as they will enable National Park Service management to more intelligently plan for future interpretation of Second Manassas. For example, the Hennessy maps will allow us to interpret onsite Grover's attack, which heretofore has been fogged in conjecture. Also, the significance of the fight for Chinn Ridge and the site of the Union main line of resistance on Henry Hill have for the first time been documented and defined.

Many people contributed to the efficient manner in which this project was completed, but a few deserve special note: Ed Bearss for recognizing the critical need for basic information and site identification at Manassas, and for continually providing the park with both support and encouragement; Larry Sutphin of the Denver Service Center for refining and preparing the maps for reproduction in an attractive and utilitarian format; and to Eastern National Park and Monument Association for providing seed money to inagurate the project. But above all credit goes to John Hennessy whose scholarship and dedication went far beyond the call of duty. Although it was not the intent of the project, this volume will serve as the interim "definitive work" on Second Manassas until that book can be produced at a later date.

-Woody Harrell
Historian, Manassas NBP

MAPS

TRANSPOSED TO

END OF VOLUME

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

As day broke on August 28, Maj. Gen. John Pope believed he was on the verge of pouncing upon and finally destroying Jackson's force. During the night, the commanding general had issued orders to most of his army to march on Manassas Junction, where he was certain the Confederates would be found. That morning, Kearny's division led the Union advance to the Junction, arriving at noon, but Jackson was nowhere in sight. Instead, all that was found was a smoking pile of rubble. All was not lost, however. Reports soon came that indicated Jackson was in Centreville. After a brief rest, Pope hurried Kearny's division, soon to be followed by Hooker and Reno, toward that crossroads hamlet. Additionally, he sent orders directing McDowell's and Sigel's corps to converge on Centreville. Pope's report, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1881-1900), Series I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 37 (Hereinafter O.R.); Cecil D. Eby, ed., A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War; The Diaries of David Hunter Strother (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), pp. 90-1; Pope to McDowell, 9 PM August 27, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 72; Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 412.

After issuing orders for the redisposition of his troops, Pope moved east of Manassas and set up his headquarters on Bull Run, "near the bridge on the Manassas Junction road." About dusk, word came from Kearny that his advance had driven the "rearguard" of Jackson's column from Centreville and had taken possession of the town. Simultaneously, the sound of the clash between Jackson and King could be heard from the west. From a nearby hill could be seen the smoke and, after dark, the flash of the muskets. The significance of the contest was not divined by anyone at headquarters. Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 91; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir and Review of Pope's Campaign in Virginia," p. 141, Ohio Historical Society; Stephen Minot Weld to Fitz John Porter, November 11, 1867, Fitz John Porter Papers, Library of Congress; John Pope to Rufus King, March 23, 1863, in Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Wisconsin Commandery, War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Wisconsin..., Vol. 3, pp. 280-81.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

3 AM-3 PM: Since the abandonment of the Rappahannock line, Sigel had been instructed to operate under McDowell's orders. At 3 AM on August 28, Sigel

received from McDowell his marching orders for the day. He was, McDowell directed, to march on Manassas with his "right resting on the [Manassas Gap] railroad." General Orders No. 10, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 360; McDowell's report, ibid., pp. 335-36.

After considerable delay and much mismanagement, Sigel finally got his full corps in motion at midmorning. The general reported that when his column was "within 2½ miles [of] Manassas...our cavalry reported that Manassas was evacuated by the enemy, and that General Kearny was in possession of that point. As I was sure that the enemy must be somewhere between Centreville and Gainesville, I asked permission to march to New Market, whereupon I was directed to march to Centreville. This order was in execution, and the troops prepared to cross the fords of Bull Run, when our advance met the enemy on the road leading from New Market to Groveton and Sudley's Ford, this side of Bull Run." Sigel ordered Brig. Gen. Robert Milroy and Col. Nathaniel McLean "to advance against the enemy this side of Bull Run," on the Sudley Road. Brig. Gen. Julius Stahel's brigade and Brig. Gen. Carl Schurz's division were left "near the fords."

3-7 PM: Soon, word came that the enemy had evacuated Centreville as well and Sigel ordered Stahel and Schurz to follow Milroy and McLean to the area of Henry Hill. There units of the corps brushed with the enemy shortly before dark. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 265.

A. From Henry Hill, Schenck's Division Listens as the Fight at Brawner Farm Develops

1. Stahel's Brigade

After a long day of marching and countermarching, reported Stahel, "I arrived near Robinson's farm, and planted Schirmer's battery [2d, New York Light] on the right near the farm, directing its fire into a wood on the right beside the road, as at the time a heavy infantry fight took place in front of me on the Warrenton turnpike." Stahel's report, ibid., p. 283; Schenck's report, ibid., p. 279.

2. McLean's Brigade

McLean reported that his brigade reached the old battlefield area during "the late afternoon." "After we had reached the hill," he wrote, "which commanded a view of the country around, the enemy placed a battery on another hill at some distance, and appeared to be firing at some troops not in our corps. I immediately placed De Beck's [Haskins' Battery K, 1st Ohio Light] battery in position on a hill to the left and farther in advance, from which we shelled the battery of the enemy until it retired." McLean's report, ibid., pp. 287-88.

B. Von Steinwehr's Division (Koltes' Brigade)

There is no source material available to locate this brigade. It can only be assumed that it was in position with the rest of the division on or near Henry Hill.

C. Schurz in Position on Henry Hill

Schurz moved his men to a position "south of the pike...near Mrs. Henry's farm." Part of the 74th Pennsylvania of Schimmilfennig's brigade was deployed as skirmishers to the east, along Young's Branch, with the balance of the regiment "500 paces in their rear." Of the location of Schurz's batteries, little information can be found. Schurz's report, ibid., p. 296; 74th Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 310.

D. Milroy Takes Position on Schenck's Left

Just at dark, Milroy directed his brigade to take position on Schenck's left. Though he was probably closest to King's division, fighting just to the west, the uncertainty of the ground and situation militated against him taking action to support King. Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Margaret B. Paulus, ed., Papers of Robert Huston Milroy (n.p., 1965), Vol. 1, pp. 80-1; Theodore F. Lang, "Personal Reminiscences," in his Loyal West Virginia From 1861-1865 (Baltimore, 1865), p. 100.

II. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

Before dawn on August 28 McDowell issued orders that were to dictate his command's movements for the day. Sigel's corps (temporarily attached) was to move on Manassas Junction, "his right resting on the railroad." Reynolds was directed to "march on the [Warrenton] turnpike, immediately in the rear of General Sigel, and form his division on the left of General Sigel, and march upon Manassas Junction." King would follow Reynolds. Ricketts, meanwhile, would move to Gainesville, and if the enemy showed no disposition to move from the direction of Thoroughfare Gap, he would join King on the march to Manassas. If the enemy did show himself at the gap, it was Ricketts who was to contest his advance. General Orders No. 10, August 28, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 360.

The march did not go as smoothly as planned. Sigel dawdled, delaying Reynolds. Furthermore, the First Corps commander pursued the incorrect route toward Manassas, moving to the right of the railroad rather than with his right on it. This created a considerable gap between his left and Reynolds' right. After Sigel had cleared his front, Reynolds pushed on through Gainesville and encountered an enemy force around Groveton about midday. After a brief skirmish, he deflected to the right toward Manassas. McDowell, who was traveling with King's division, then ordered King to move into the interval between Sigel and Reynolds for the march on Manassas. Ricketts, meanwhile, found that the Confederates were in fact pushing toward Thoroughfare Gap. He wheeled his division in that direction to delay the Rebel advance. McDowell's report, ibid p. 336; Reynolds' report, ibid., p. 393; Johnson's report, ibid., p. 665.

The clumsy maneuvering continued until midafternoon, when McDowell halted King's column shortly after it had turned off the Warrenton pike toward Manassas. While halted, he received a new series of instructions from Pope. The enemy, Pope had found, had vacated the junction. It was now believed that Jackson was at or near Centreville: "Please march immediately with your command directly upon Centreville from where you are." W. L. Elliott to McDowell, August 28, 1862, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 717; Pope to McDowell, 2 PM August 28, 1862, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 74; Pope to McDowell, August 28, 1862, ibid., p. 361.

After issuing orders for the march, McDowell rode forward a short distance with Hatch's brigade and then turned to the south to ride to Manassas Junction in search of Pope. Arriving at Manassas "at precisely sunset," McDowell found that Pope had left several hours before. Rather than continue on in search of him, the corps commander set out in search of Reynolds' division. In the darkness he became lost, and did not regain contact with his command until the following morning. McDowell's report, ibid., p. 337; "S" [Edmund Schriver], "Notes From My Journal," August 28, 1862, Fitz John Porter Papers, Library of Congress (Box 18); Washington Roebling to his Father, September 3, 1862, Washington Roebling Papers, Rutgers University.

A. King's Division Moves Eastward on the Turnpike and is Assailed by Jackson

Brig. Gen. Rufus King's health had been failing for several days. A confirmed epileptic, General King had suffered a severe siezure the week before while at Rappahannock Station. From this he was still feeling the effects. His travel was confined to an ambulance; his command control was limited. Since the abandonment of the Rappahannock line, many of the divisional command details had been handled by General Hatch. On the evening of August 28, though, he was still in nominal command. (Rumors, present and past, that King was consistently drunk throughout the campaign are not supported by the weight of the source material.) J. A. Judson to Fitz John Porter, May 9, 1878, Fitz John Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Washington A. Roebling to Porter, June 8, 1878, ibid.; Edmund Schriver to King, August 26, 1862, Letters Sent, Third Corps, Army of Virginia, RG 393, National Archives.

Up until 3:15 PM King's destination for the day had been Manassas Junction. But new orders had changed that. The objective was now to be Centreville and, hopefully, Jackson. It was probably shortly before 5 PM that King ordered the column restarted. Hatch's brigade led, followed by Gibbon's, Doubleday's and finally Patrick's.

The column had advanced only a short distance on the Warrenton Turnpike when it came under enemy fire. At the time the Confederates opened fire General King and his staff were observing the column's march just west of Brawner's Woods, but he took no known steps to deal with the crisis. Instead, the fight that followed was one initiated and controlled by the various brigade commanders.

King's whereabouts during the fight are uncertain, but he was apparently west of the field. He was found after the fight by Gibbon sitting in "a fence corner alongside the turnpike." Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Wisconsin Commandery, War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Wisconsin..., (Milwaukee, 1903), Vol. 3, p. 270; John Gibbon, Personal Recollections of the Civil War (rpt. Dayton, 1978), pp. 53, 55; Abner Doubleday, Journal, pp. 7-8, National Park Service Library, 78, Harpers Ferry Center.

1. Hatch's Brigade Leads the Division

With the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry in the van, Hatch's brigade led the advance of the division. Swinging out onto the turnpike west of the Brawner Farm, General Hatch deployed the 14th Brooklyn as flankers. As the column moved forward, the flankers found little that indicated a strong enemy presence nearby. The brigade passed the Brawner Farm, then Brawner's Woods, and as the head of the column passed through Groveton a Confederate battery opened from the left. Hatch quickly ordered his men to lay under cover of the road. Skirmishers were sent to the front. Reynolds' battery (L, 1st New York Light) was called up; anxious hands from the 24th New York made quick work of the fence

Map 1, 6-7 p.m. August 28th, Union

alongside the road, and the battery was soon in position and firing. Soon Gibbon's brigade, just to the left, was heavily engaged. The New Yorkers, though, remained where they were under a heavy artillery fire. Theron Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," MOLLUS, Wisconsin, War Papers, Vol. 2, p. 360; David Hamer, "One Man's War—Sergeant Hamer Marches, Forages, Fights, and Stays Alive—From Cedar Mountain to Antietam," TS, pp. 7-9, Manassas NBP Library; Rufus Dawes, Service With the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers (Marietta, Ohio, 1890), p. 60; John Bryson, MS "History of the Thirtieth New York Volunteers," p. 52, New York State Library; Timothy Sullivan to Fitz John Porter, June 11, 1878, Fitz John Porter Papers, Library of Congress; O. Hutchinson to Porter, April 24, 1878, ibid.; Gibbon, Personal Recollections, p. 51; Frederick Denison, "The Battle of Groveton—August 28, 1862," Personal Narratives of Events of the War of the Rebellion, Being Papers Read Before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society (Providence, 1885), Third Series, No. 9, pp. 18-19 (Herinafter PNRISSHS).

2. Doubleday Prepares to Aid Gibbon

Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday's brigade had originally been earmarked to be second in the column of march to Centreville. There was a delay in the delivery of that order, however, and Doubleday did not receive his assignment until Gibbon's brigade had already assumed its position in the column. Doubleday then hurried his men along, passing Patrick's brigade, and took position behind Gibbon. Doubleday recalled, "I led my brigade along a country road which came out upon the turnpike...about three miles from Gainesville." At the intersection, Doubleday passed Patrick's brigade. He paused a moment to converse with Patrick, and while doing so spotted an officer on a small hill a short distance away. "I at once came to the conclusion that it must be a rebel officer." Patrick dissented. That hillock had been thoroughly scouted by Hatch's skirmishers a short while before, he said; McDowell himself had been there. "This conversation," wrote Doubleday, "was hardly over before the man referred to turned around and beckoned to someone in [the] rear. We learned from prisoners afterwards that it was Stonewall Jackson reconnoitering our movements." Doubleday, Journal, pp. 5-6.

A Confederate battery soon appeared, unlimbered, and opened fire. For a few brief moments the brigade nearly panicked. Wrote Doubleday, "We were shut in a narrow point of the road where there was no good opportunity for deployment. I therefore hastened my command [the 76th New York leading] forward to shelter them in a woods and behind a bank which was on the north side of the pike, a short distance ahead of us.... When I reached the cover of the woods I found Gibbon's brigade already there. As it was positively stated that Jackson's main force was still at Centreville both General Gibbon and myself supposed we had simply been annoyed by one of the batteries attached to Stuart's cavalry, and that it could easily be captured or driven off by a small infantry force." General King, however, was nowhere to be found to order an infantry assault. Gibbon, at Doubleday's urging, decided to attack anyway. Doubleday, Journal, p. 6; Uberto Burnham, MS "2nd Bull Run Battle," Uberto Burnham Papers, New York State Library; D. M. Perry, "From the Rapidan to Groveton," National Tribune, March 31, 1892; George F. Noyes, The Bivouac and the Battlefield (New York, 1863), pp. 115-16; A. P. Smith, History of the Seventy-sixth Regiment New York Volunteers (Cortland, N.Y., 1867), p. 117; John P. Byrnes, "Recollections of a Private in Blue," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 22 (1914), p. 426.

After Gibbon's brigade had become engaged, it became obvious that the division had run into a sizeable Confederate force. Repeatedly Gibbon sent back to division headquarters and fellow brigade commanders for help. Only Doubleday responded. It was almost dark when he ordered two of his three regiments to join the fight. "Move in the 56th [Pennsylvania] and 76th [New York] at once; form in line of battle, and push up through the woods to the support of Gibbon's men," were the orders. "At the word," wrote one man, "the two regiments quit the road, enter[ed] the woods, and hurr[ied] up the gradual ascent." Noyes, Bivouac and Battlefield, pp.116-17; Doubleday, Journal, pp. 7-8; Uberto Burnham to his Parents, September 6, 1862, Burnham Papers.

3. Patrick Takes Cover From Danger

Patrick's brigade brought up the rear of King's column. As it neared Pageland Lane, the Confederate artillery opened on Gibbon's brigade several hundred yards in front. This fire was soon silenced, but soon another Confederate battery opened, concentrating its fire on Patrick's regiments. The fire caused havoc among Patrick's untried units. Wagons were careened about behind spooked horses; men forgot discipline and scurried for cover. The worst panic seems to have been in Colonel George W. Pratt's 20th New York State Militia (80th New York Volunteers). Patrick recorded that the Ulster County men had "fled, and I could not get their whereabouts for more than two hours." Patrick moved the remainder of his men under shelter of a body of woods south of the turnpike. Then, once order was restored, he threw the 35th and 23d New York out in front of his position. Neither, however, became seriously engaged. Marsena Patrick, Journal, August 28, 1862, p. 54, Library of Congress; Patrick's

Testimony, U.S. Congress, Senate Executive Document 37; Proceedings and Report of the Board of Army Officers in the Case of Fitz John Porter (Washington, 1879), Pt. 2, pp. 224-26 (Hereinafter Porter Retrial); Patrick to Fitz John Porter, July 9, 1870, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; J. Harrison Mills, Chronicles of the Twenty-first Regiment New York State Volunteers (Buffalo, 1887), p. 248; Letter of Jimmie McCabe, September 2, 1862, Buffalo Daily Courier, September 6, 1862.

4. Gibbon Comes Under Enemy Fire and Opens the Battle

After downing a hasty meal, Gibbon moved his command back onto the turnpike in rear of Hatch's brigade. The 6th Wisconsin led the column, followed in order by the 2d Wisconsin, 7th Wisconsin, 19th Indiana, and Campbell's battery (B, 4th U.S.). Gibbon's first report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 377-78.

Gibbon's column had moved along only a short distance when they passed "through a strip of heavy timber which extended across the pike." Hatch's brigade had disappeared over a rise to its front. Gibbon recalled that after passing through the woods, "I reached a gentle rise on the north of the pike and paused to look around me. Not a moving thing was insight, but on casting my eyes to the left there suddenly appeared, coming out of the timber, a short mile away, a number of horses. I had scarcely...time to think whether they belonged to friend or enemy, or whether we might have any cavalry in that direction, when I was struck by the fact that the horses presented their flanks to view. My experience as an artillery officer told me at once what this meant; guns coming into 'battery'!" The Confederate guns, Gibbon wrote, were located "a short distance [from] the very place where only a little while before Hatch's brigade had been in position."

Gibbon hurriedly sent back for Campbell's battery to drive off the Confederate guns. Shortly the Federal battery was in position and firing. Gibbon continued, "As soon as our guns opened fire I moved off to the left and front of the battery in the woods to witness the effect of the fire. Whilst in this position I heard, off to the left, in the direction of the Douglas [Brawner] House, the sound of a cannon which I supposed to be firing towards the rear of our column." Gibbon, Personal Recollections, pp. 51-52; Gibbon's reports, op.cit., pp. 378, 381.

Gibbon's interpretation of the situation at this point was that he was likely facing only Confederate horse artillery. If so, it could easily be driven off by some infantry. Division commander King was, however, nowhere in sight. Should he order his infantry in without orders from division headquarters? Briefly, Gibbon consulted with General Doubleday. Doubleday recommended an attack against the guns. Gibbon agreed: "By heaven, I'll do it." Gibbon's first report, ibid., p. 378; Abner Doubleday, Journal, p. 6.

General Gibbon immediately sent a staff officer back to his only veteran regiment, the 2d Wisconsin, with orders to move forward. Gibbon testified, "After [the staff officer] had gone I heard some other shots, and becoming impatient at the delay I rode back myself to meet the troops." Finding them, he conducted the regiment via a woods road through the timber. En route he explained to Col. Edgar O'Conner, commanding the 2d, exactly what he wished done. The 2d passed out of the timber and shortly ran into a line of Confederate skirmishers. These were driven in, but soon the regiment confronted the main Confederate line. The fight was on. Gibbon's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 274.

Gibbon realized that the 2d had run into more than just Confederate horsemen. He ordered the 19th Indiana to support the 2d Wisconsin. The 19th was soon followed by the 7th Wisconsin, while the 6th Wisconsin moved to the firing line in front of Campbell's battery. By 6:45 his entire brigade was furiously engaged. Gibbon, Recollections, p. 54; Gibbon's reports, op.cit., pp. 378, 381; Frank A. Haskell, MS Account, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Observing the apparent strength of the Confederate force, Gibbon sent back a request for reinforcements to division headquarters. He received no reply, so he sent requests directly to his fellow brigade commanders. Only from Doubleday did he get a positive response. Just before 7 PM Doubleday ordered two of his regiments to move forward to Gibbon's assistance. Gibbon's reports, op.cit., pp. 378, 381; Doubleday, Journal, pp. 7-8.

a. The 2d Wisconsin Leads the Brigade into Battle

The 2d Wisconsin followed the 6th Wisconsin in the line of march. As the Wisconsiners passed into and through the Brawner woods, Confederate artillery opened a fierce fire from the left. The 2d scurried for shelter "in a hollow by the roadside behind a fence." Behind them "Battery B" rumbled along the pike, went into position beyond the timber, and opened fire. While the artillery dueled, the 2d waited under a heavy fire of shot and shell. After several minutes, orders came from Gibbon to move through the woods to the left of the road and attack a Rebel battery. Colonel O'Conner ordered the flank companies deployed as skirmishers, and with Gibbon in the

Map 1, 6-7 p.m. August 28th, Union

lead, the regiment faced to the left and double-timed "obliquely to the rear" through the woods. Letter of Robert Scott in Edwin B. Quiner, "Correspondence of the Wisconsin Volunteers," Vol. 2, p. 300, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Unknown letter, ibid., p. 288; Letter of Charlie Jewitt, ibid., p. 285; Sheldon E. Judson to T. C. H. Smith, October 1, 1877, T. C. H. Smith Papers, Ohio Historical Society; Haskell, MS Account; Gibbon's first report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 378.

En route, Gibbon informed Colonel O'Conner of his task. The General testified, "I told the Colonel...to move rapidly in the direction which I gave him, and to keep his men quiet; to push rapidly to the front and we would catch one of J. E. B. Stuart's batteries...." Gibbon's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 274.

Clearing the woods, the 2d moved "up an intervening hill." As they did so, the fire of Confederate skirmishers rattled against the right of the regiment. The Confederate battery limbered and pulled out. The regiment's skirmishers stoutly pushed forward and drove the Confederate skirmish line back, continuing on until they reached a piece of woods. There they ran smack into the main line of Rebel infantrymen. Recalled one of the men, "When this was discovered we were ordered to retreat double quick." The Confederates opened fire, the skirmishers hit the sod, averting slaughter, and then continued their retreat back to the regiment. By the time they reached it, "regiment after regiment" of Rebel infantry was visible. O'Conner quickly ordered the left of his line forward to squarely face the Confederate advance and the entire regiment opened fire. The Confederates responded and pushed to within about 80 yards of the Federal's line. In the melee Colonel O'Conner fell mortally wounded. Command of the regiment passed to Lt. Col. Lucius Fairchild. Though heavily outnumbered, the 2d held on alone for 15 minutes. Gibbon's report, op.cit., p. 378; Letter of Robert Scott, op.cit., p. 300; Letter of Charlie Jewett, ibid., p. 285; Robert Hughes, Journal, August 28, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Haskell, MS Account; Taliaferro's report, op.cit., p. 657.

b. The 6th Wisconsin Goes in on the Right of the Line

Leading the column, the 6th Wisconsin had just passed east of the Brawner Woods when the Confederate batteries opened fire. The first shell whistled over the regiment. Wrote one man, "We never saw so polite a bow made by a regiment as we made, men and officers, as it passed over." It burst harmlessly in the woods south of the road. Startled, Col. Lysander

Cutler yelled to his men: "Battalion, halt! Front! Load at will! Load!" Another shell screamed over head, killing a horse along the edge of the road. "Lie down!" Cutler ordered, and the men hurried to the cover of the roadside bank.

In a few moments Campbell's battery came thundering up the road, wheeled into battery in the field just in front of the 6th, and opened fire. Within minutes the crash of musketry to the left front indicated the 2d Wisconsin had locked with the Rebels as well. After the lapse of several minutes one of Gibbon's staff officers appeared. "Colonel Cutler," he said, "with the compliments of Gen. Gibbon, you will advance and join on the right of the 7th and engage the enemy." The 2d, he added, was being slaughtered.

Colonel Cutler stepped to the front of the regiment. "Forward, guide center, March," he bellowed. Maj. Rufus Dawes of the 6th recalled, "...every man scrambled up the bank and over the fence, in the face of shot and shell.... My horse partook of the fierce excitement, and ran up the bank and leaped the fence like a squirrel. I could now see the men of the second Wisconsin. They were under the concentrated fire of at least six times their own numbers...." The 6th "left half wheeled" and moved into place on the extreme right of the brigade line, passing "over the crest and down the slope towards the foe." Once in position the 6th was isolated from the rest of the brigade. "There was space enough vacant between our regiment and the others for a thousand men," wrote Dawes. Dawes, Sixth Wisconsin, pp. 60-1; Philip Cheek and Mair Pointon, History of the Sauk County Riflemen, Known as Company "A" Sixth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865 (n.p., 1909), p. 38; Haskell, MS Account.

The advance of the regiment was made without a shot being fired by either side. Wrote Pvt. Lyman Holford, "We marched up to within a few yards of the enemy[,] who probably mistook us for friends as it was getting dusk[.] At any rate they held their fire until the order was given for us to halt and fire, which probably convinced them of their mistake...." The fusilade from the 6th drove the Confederates back. They soon recovered, though, and opened fire. "Muskets cracked and balls whistled mighty lively...." But the Rebel volleys had little effect. Chronicled Dawes, "Our regiment was on low ground which, in the gathering darkness, gave us great advantage over the enemy, as they overshot our line." Lyman Holford, Diary, September 4, 1862, Library of Congress; Dawes, Sixth Wisconsin, p. 60; Dawes, MS "Skirmishes of the Rappahannock and the Battle of Gainesville," T. C. H. Smith Papers.

c. The 7th Wisconsin Joins the Fight to the Right of the 2d Wisconsin

The 7th Wisconsin was the third of Gibbon's regiments ordered into the fight. After receiving those orders, the regiment formed line "under cover of a wood," and moved forward, crossing several fences en route. Wrote Capt. Gordon, "As soon as we emerged from the wood the rebels opened upon us with a terrible infantry fire. We steadily advanced to the brow of the hill...." Under the heavy fire, Col. William Robinson botched his alignment on the 2d (which was on higher ground to the left)—several of his left files overlapped Colonel O'Conner's regiment. O'Conner was forced to shift his entire line leftward to rectify the tangle. George Fairfield recorded, "While we were arranging ourselves in line we could see their line which looked like a black mass...not more than fifty yards distant." The 7th was then ordered to lie down and open fire. "My God, what a slaughter!" wrote home one man. "No one seemed to know the object of the fight, and there we stood one hour, the men falling all around; we got no orders to fall back, and Wisconsin men would rather die than fall back without orders." Letter of Captain Gordon, Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 4, p. 13; Letter of J. W. L., ibid., Vol. 4, p. 13; Alan D. Gaff, "Pinched Bellies and a Hell of a Fight: The Battle at Brawner Farm" (M.A. Thesis, Ball State University, 1980), p. 39; George Fairfield, Diary, August 28, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

d. The 19th Indiana Succors the 2d Wisconsin

The 19th Indiana brought up the rear of the column of march. Henry Marsh of the regiment wrote, "After getting out on the pike we went 3/4 mile and were passing through a piece of woods when all at once the brigade was left flanked over to the fences and Battery 'B' was ordered up." In front of them, the Hoosiers watched as the 2d Wisconsin marched through the woods toward the enemy. It was soon furiously engaged. The 19th Indiana was the first regiment ordered to its support. Henry C. March to his Father, September 6, 1862, Henry C. Marsh Papers, Indiana State Library; Gibbon's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 378.

Colonel Solomon Meredith reported, "I formed my line of battle in the road, marched through a piece of woods some three hundred yards, [and] came into open ground gradually rising for about three or four hundred yards. The regiment went at double quick from the time it left the woods. On arriving on the top of the hill [we] crossed a fence, and marched about two rods, when I halted the regiment." The 2d Wisconsin was on the 19th's right.

As soon as the regiment halted it received a scathing fire. The Confederate line (Baylor's brigade) was "secreted under cover of a fence" only 75 yards away. Meredith quickly hollered to his men to fire—an order that was "executed with great promptness." Standing in the open, the Hoosiers were an easy target for their Virginia foes. But the ranks were consistently "closed up with as much promptness as if on drill." 19th Indiana report, Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, September 12, 1862; William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, Indiana Historical Society, pp. 106-7; Haskell, MS Account.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's (1st New Hampshire Light) Battery

Of the four batteries of the division, only this one is without source material relative to the fight on August 28. In all likelihood the battery was marching with Patrick's brigade and, like that brigade, was relatively unengaged.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Searches For Position

At the commencement of the fight, Monroe's battery was apparently in column near Doubleday's brigade. According to Capt. J. Albert Monroe, when the Confederate artillery opened, he hurried to the head of his battery and ordered it into position on "a knoll I had observed and which appeared to be a good position." Monroe wrote, "As the leading carriage reached the foot of the knoll an officer rode rapidly toward me from its top, saying, 'For God's sake, Captain, get out of this; they are putting a battery right on this hill.' I lost no time, for I could see the horses of the rebel artillery above me, and we turned back to the road, the drivers using whip and spur with all their might and main. We took cover in the road, where timber skirted both sides of it for a short distance. We were very uncomfortable here, for the battery that had stolen the hill from us knew our position, and at less than six hundred yards range sent its shot and shell crashing through the trees.... We were where we could do nothing, and I determined to run the gauntlet of fire that swept over the open road beyond the timber we were in, to another copse that would afford more shelter, and at the same time probably an opportunity to get our guns into action." As darkness closed in, the battery dashed across the opening, losing a caisson in the process. J. Albert Monroe, "Battery D, First Rhode Island Light Artillery, at the Second Battle of Bull Run," PNRISSHS, Fourth Series, No. 10, pp. 15-16; George C. Sumner, Battery D, First Rhode Island Light Artillery in the Civil War (Providence, 1897), p. 16.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light) Opens an Ineffective Fire

Reynolds' six guns marched with Hatch's brigade. After the action commenced, chronicled Lt. George Breck, "our battery filed to the left and front, taking position in a narrow road, a section of the battery being planted on a hill on the left of the road. Lieutenant Reynolds opened fire with his section, and a very sharp and effective fire was opened in reply by a whole battery. One of our pieces was planted along the road, under cover of an embankment, and began firing. Further up the road, and under fire from the enemy's batteries—by this time he had two or three engaged—the remaining three guns were planted by order of an artillery Major [probably Maj. Davis Tillson, chief of Third Corps artillery]. The position was a poor one, with little chance of getting proper range, and very much exposed to the fire from the rebel batteries." Letter of Lt. George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862; Hamer, "One Man's War," p. 8; Monroe, "Battery D," p. 15.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.) Bears the Brunt of the Artillery Fight

After leaving its lunching spot, "Battery B" fell into column behind the 19th Indiana of Gibbon's brigade. As it entered the Brawner Woods, the column came under fire from Confederate artillery. Campbell's guns were immediately ordered to the front to open fire. The limbers and caissons rumbled down the macadamized pike at a gallop and, clearing the woods, turned left. The fence bordering the road was quickly torn down, and the six Napoleons were wheeled into battery on the grassy ridge just east of the woods, from where Gibbon had initially spotted the enemy. The guns instantly opened a stunningly effective fire. While dueling with this first Confederate battery, a second opened on the rear of the Federal column. Against this battery, Gibbon ordered his infantry. Meanwhile, Campbell continued to fire on the first battery until he had silenced it.

At that point the 6th Wisconsin moved into action on the extreme right of the line. Campbell's gunners followed it forward a short distance, taking a "new position on the crest of the hill, a number of yards in advance of the old and in near range of rebel infantry." It was now without direct infantry support, but continued to fire nontheless. Haskell, MS Account; Gibbon, Personal Recollections, pp. 52-3; Dawes, Sixth Wisconsin, pp. 60, 66.

B. Ricketts Diverts His March to Thoroughfare Gap, Finds the Enemy in Possession of the Defile, and Tries To Prevent the Southerners' Advance

As outlined in General Orders No. 10, issued by corps headquarters that morning, Brig. Gen. James B. Ricketts was assigned the task of meeting any enemy advance through Thoroughfare Gap. Shortly after 10:15 AM, Ricketts received word that the enemy was indeed passing through the gap in force. Ricketts obediently deflected his march to the left, "marching across fields and along by-roads," to Haymarket and then toward the gap. By 3 PM his column neared its objective. Ricketts reported, "The road was entirely obstructed by felled timber [cut down earlier that day by Col. Percy Wyndam's 1st New Jersey Cavalry], which delayed bringing the batteries into position." Stiles's brigade led the advance, supported by Duryee's and Thoburn's brigades. Tower's brigade was held in reserve. "The men moved forward gallantly," Ricketts wrote, "but owing to the nature of the ground, the strongest positions being already held by the enemy, we were subjected to severe loss, without any prospect of gaining the gap...." The division, however, held its ground until dark. Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 383-84; Isaac Hall, History of the Ninety-seventh New York Volunteers ("Conkling Rifles") in the War for the Union (Utica, 1890), p. 67.

1. Duryee Supports Thompson's Battery

After moving to the front, Brig. Gen. Abram Duryee was requested to furnish support for Thompson's battery. For this task the general designated the 107th Pennsylvania, which took position "on the right of the line...to protect the line of railroad in that quarter of the field." Colonel Thomas McCoy of the 107th wrote, "During the progress of the action [Thompson's] battery was moved to the left of the road leading into the gap [modern Route 55], when your order was received to rejoin the brigade, then near that point. The action had become during these movements very spirited.... Meeting you [Duryee] in the road near one of the advanced batteries you ordered me to advance the regiment to the summit of the ridge on the right." The regiment did so and was soon joined by the rest of the brigade. The entire force acted as support for Matthews' battery until ordered to withdraw. 107th Pennsylvania report, op.cit., p. 386; Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 68; Duryee's report, U.S. Army Generals' Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 6, p. 447, RG 94, National Archives; Henry Besancon, Diary, August 28, 1862, Duke University.

2. Tower is in Reserve

Brig. Gen. Zealous B. Tower's brigade acted as the divisional reserve and was not engaged in the fight for the gap. It was in position on the southern bank of Broad Run. Ricketts' report, op.cit., p. 384; Charles McClenthen to "Friend Scott," September 5, 1862, Charles McClenthen Papers, Cornell University; J. C. Bleakney, "At Thoroughfare Gap," Philadelphia Weekly Times, April 15, 1862.

3. Stiles' Brigade Bears the Brunt of the Fight

After depositing their knapsacks under guard at Haymarket, Col. J. W. Stiles' four regiments hurried toward Thoroughfare gap. Within a mile of the defile the brigade was met by Col. Percy Wyndam's 1st New Jersey Cavalry, falling back toward Haymarket. Stiles' men learned that the Jerseymen had been driven back and the Confederates were in control of the gap. A quarter mile further the brigade ran into enemy skirmishers. Stiles halted his column and deployed. Col. Richard Coulter's 11th Pennsylvania was placed to the right of the road, supported by the 83d New York. To the left of the road, adjacent to it, formed the 12th Massachusetts; the 13th Massachusetts was on the extreme left. Company H of the 12th Massachusetts and Company A of the 11th Pennsylvania were thrown out as skirmishers, the Bay Staters in front of the 11th and the Pennsylvanians to the left of the road. A section of Thompson's battery rumbled forward, opened fire, and the advance began. 11th Pennsylvania report, September 5, 1862, 11th Pennsylvania Copybooks, Westmoreland County [Pa.] Historical Society; William H. Locke, The Story of the Regiment (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 102; Bleakney, op.cit.,

The terrain in front of the brigade was formidable. Described one man, "The gap is a narrow file in the Bull Run Mountains, being just about wide enough for the railroad, the creek and the public road to pass through. The mountains consist of three ridges, the eastern being low, with its sides cleared and the crest covered with a thick growth of young pine; the middle range is higher, and was...covered with small timber...while the western range is the highest and is rough and almost inaccessible. In the narrow valley, between the middle and western ridges[,] to the right of the railroad[,] stood an old stone grist mill, while to the left and a little farther down the creek stood a large stone plaster mill." Bleakney, "At Thoroughfare Gap," Philadelphia Weekly Times, April 15, 1882.

North of the road Colonel Coulter's regiment soon came to grips with the enemy's skirmish line. "After slight resistence," the Confederate skirmishers were overcome and the advance continued. J. C. Bleakney of the 11th remembered, "As the advance neared the first ridge a force of the enemy rose from behind the railroad and scampered off around the point of the hill. The Eleventh fired one volley after them, but before we could reload they were out of sight.... We pressed on, crossed the railroad, and toiled up the slope of the central ridge." On gaining the timber atop the ridge, the skirmish line ground to a halt, but the main line continued on. Reported Colonel Coulter, on reaching the summit of the hill to the right of the gap, the line "was met by a heavy fire, but succeeded in establishing a line beyond the summit," with its left resting "near the road through" the gap, and its front "protected by the precipitous character of the hill." The 83d New York took position behind the 11th but was protected by the ridge and did not lose a man.

In front of the left of the regiment was Chapman's Mill, held by the Confederates. From this the Southerners could not be driven, and the left wing of the 11th suffered heavily from their fire. "On the right," wrote Bleakney, "the undergrowth was so thick that the enemy could not be seen." Though the lines were close, the losses here were considerably less. For several hours Coulter's men stood their ground, weathering several Confederate attacks: "In each case the enemy was repulsed with evident loss." Shortly before dark the Confederates appeared opposite Coulter's right and attacked. The 84th New York of Col. Joseph Thoburn's brigade was hurried into position to meet the attack, and beat it back. But it was apparent to Ricketts that his position was becoming untenable. After an hour of heavy fighting, he ordered his infantry withdrawn. Bleakney, ibid., 11th Pennsylvania report, op.cit., Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384; George W. Hussey, History of the Ninth Regiment New York State Militia, William Todd, ed., (New York, 1889), p. 176; Thomas L. Hanna, "First Manassas to Antietam, National Tribune, March 9, 1905.

While the heavy fighting went on north of the road, the 12th and 13th Massachusetts skirmished on the south side. On the left of the 11th Pennsylvania, the 13th Massachusetts advanced until it was stopped by enemy fire. The 12th, apparently, had it somewhat easier. Col. Fletcher Webster recounted, "We sent our skirmishers into the woods in front of us and for a time cleared [the enemy] but shortly they were reinforced—I drew up 'Ours' well under cover and listened to the balls as they whizzed over our heads. We saw the other Regts. retiring; the battery on our side [probably Matthews'] retired and I felt uncomfortable; at last an order came for us to retire which we did across a plain & when the enemy saw us they opened pretty well. It was nasty business, but the 12th marched as if on parade." Warren Hapgood Freeman, Letters From Two Brothers in the War for the Union (Cambridge, Mass., 1871), p. 48; Fletcher Webster to his Wife, August 30, 1862, "Webster's Only Son," Dartmouth College Library Bulletin, December, 1949, p. 27.

4. Thoburn Supports Stiles' Right

Thoburn's brigade was designated to act as support for the right of Stiles' line. It was posted, wrote one of Stiles' men, "in the woods to our right." Only one regiment of the brigade, the 84th New York, saw serious action. Just before dusk, the 84th was dispatched to the right of the 11th Pennsylvania to repel a Confederate advance from that direction. They were successful, but soon the entire Union line was withdrawn anyway. Samuel P. Bates, History of Pennsylvania Volunteers (Harrisburg, 1869), Vol. 1, p. 251.

5. Division Artillery

a. Hall's 2d Battery, Maine Light

Of this battery, only one gun is known to have participated in the fight. Captain Hall somehow managed to manhandle one of his rifles to the top of "the hill to the left which runs along almost parallel with, and but a very short distance from the side of the mountain." The gun was flanked "by a regiment of sharpshooters just covered by the brow of the hill." Captain Hall's getting the gun into position in so rugged a spot was "the most daring feat I have seen performed yet," wrote one admiring onlooker from the 26th New York. Charles McClenthen to "Friend Scott," September 4, 1862, McClenthen Papers.

b. Leppien's 5th Maine Battery

There is no information available to locate this battery.

c. Matthews' Battery (F, 1st Penn. Light) Fires Into the Gap

Matthews' battery was the first Federal battery to open fire on the gap. Its position was initially in advance of Thompson's. Throughout the fight it fired from the left of the road, supported by Duryee's brigade. Like Thompson, Matthews fired until ordered to withdraw after dark. 107th report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 386; Bates, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Vol. 5, p. 866; Charles McClenthen, Op.cit.

d. Thompson's Battery (C, Penn. Light) Supports the Infantry

After Matthews' battery went into position, Captain

Thompson was ordered to detach a section to the right of the line in support of the 11th Pennsylvania. Lt. Charles B. Brockway's section received the assignment, crossed Broad Run, and opened fire "at three hundred yards distance." The remainder of the battery apparently soon followed, going into position on the right of the line, supported by the 107th Pennsylvania of Duryee's brigade. Soon it was ordered back to the left of the road, near Matthews' guns. The Pennsylvanians kept up a brisk fire for an hour after dark. 107th Pennsylvania report, op.cit., p. 386; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 5, p. 866; Bleakney, "At Thoroughfare Gap," Philadelphia Weekly Times, April 15, 1882; McClenthen, op.cit.

C. Reynolds Follows Sigel to Manassas, then Marches Toward the Battlefield

After bivouacking the night of August 27 west of Gainesville, Reynolds was ordered to follow Sigel's corps in the march on Manassas Junction. He did so, with some difficulty, but ran into a Confederate force (Johnson's brigade) as he neared Groveton. Reynolds engaged this force for a short time, and then moved off to the right toward the Junction. Reynolds reported, "About 5 o'clock I received orders to march upon Centreville, and the column turned off at Bethlehem Church and took the Sudley Springs road toward the Warrenton pike. About this time heavy cannonading was heard both to our front and left.... I sent word to the column to hasten its march, and proceeded to the left at once in the direction of the firing, arriving on the field just before dark, and found that Gibbon's brigade, of King's division, was engaged with the enemy...." Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 393.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny Passes Through Manassas Junction and Proceeds to Centreville, But Fails to Locate the Main Body of the Enemy

Leading the advance from Bristoe Station, Kearny's division was the first Federal force to arrive amidst the smoking ruins at Manassas Junction (arriving there at about 11 AM). From there he was ordered to Centreville, where Pope believed Jackson would next be found. But once there all that Kearny found was a body of Confederate cavalry, which fled upon his appearance. As night fell, Kearny bivouacked his troops west of the crossroads. Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 412; Letter of L. W. Avery, September 10, 1862, [Tunkhannock, Pa.] North Branch Democrat, September 17, 1862.

B. Hooker's Division Moves From Bristoe to Bull Run

After its hard fight on the 27th, Hooker's division was placed in support of Kearny's columns as they moved on Manassas Junction. It arrived there, in company with corps commander Samuel P. Heintzelman, about 4 PM. From there Hooker continued his march a short distance and encamped near Union Mills. Samuel P. Heintzelman, Notebook, Samuel P. Heintzelman Papers, Library of Congress; Letter of William C. Wiley, September 4, 1862, William C. Wiley Papers, Pennsylvania State University; Heintzelman's report, op.cit., p. 412.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

Belatedly, Porter's column trudged into Bristoe Station about 10:30 AM on August 28. There they remained for the rest of the day. Pope's report, ibid., p. 37.

VI. Ninth Corps

Reno's command marched from Greenwich to Manassas Junction during the morning, arriving there shortly after Kearny. After a short rest, the column continued onward toward Bull Run, finally camping for the night west of the stream. Letter of William A. Andrews, September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Pa.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 16, 1862; Pope's report, op.cit., p. 37.

VII. Cavalry Commands

General Pope's cavalry consisted of three brigades, each nominally assigned to one of the corps of the Army of Virginia. Col. John Beardsley's brigade was assigned to Sigel's corps. Brig. Gen. John Buford's brigade was officially attached to Banks' corps, but during the battle operated generally with McDowell's corps. Brigadier General George D. Bayard's brigade was assigned to McDowell's corps. Concerting the movements of these three brigades, insofar as it was done, was the job of John Pope himself.

1. Beardsley's Brigade

Beardsley's brigade was assigned to the protection of the trains along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad throughout the day on August 28 and did not rejoin Sigel's corps until the morning of the 29th. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272.

2. Buford's Brigade

Buford's brigade was with Ricketts in the neighborhood of Thoroughfare Gap. As Ricketts fell back from the position Buford covered his withdrawal. That night he and Bayard encamped at Haymarket. Buford's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 188-89; Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91.

The 5th New York Cavalry had been assigned headquarters duty on August 27, and thus was not with the brigade. Seven companies were attached to Pope's headquarters, and three to Heintzelman's. F. B. Dickenson, "In Old Virginia. The 5th N.Y. Cav. in Gen. John Pope's Campaign," National Tribune, September 14, 21, 1893.

3. Bayard's Brigade: Most of the Brigade Moves To Thoroughfare Gap while the 1st Rhode Island Screens the Front of King's Division

On the morning of August 28 Bayard was with Sigel. Shortly after daylight he was ordered to move to the left and occupy Thoroughfare Gap. This was done with Colonel Wydham's 1st New Jersey Cavalry, but the Jerseymen were unable to hold the defile, instead falling back and obstructing the road as best they could. Bayard later reconcentrated his brigade around Haymarket and there spent the night with Buford, covering Ricketts' withdrawal from the gap. Bayard's report, ibid., p. 91; Ricketts's report, ibid., p. 384.

1. The 1st Rhode Island

At midday the 1st Rhode Island, commanded by Col. A. N. Duffie, was assigned to the advance of King's division. The Rhode Islanders took the lead as King's men trudged along the Warrenton Turnpike toward Centreville. As the regiment neared Groveton, Company F, supported by the 2d U.S. Sharpshooters, was thrown out to the front and left as skirmishers. The regiment had just passed Groveton when a Confederate battery appeared "in an opening in the woods to the north." "Our column stood in good order in the road," remembered the regimental chaplain, "with front to the east, and was wholly exposed to the enemy." Shortly the Confederate shells were bursting among the regiment.

Colonel Duffie immediately called in his skirmishers—this was a problem the infantry and the artillery would have to handle. The 1st was then ordered to take position on the right of the Union line to screen it against a flank movement and remained there throughout the ensuing contest. Frederick Denison, "The Battle of Groveton—August 28, 1862," Personal Narratives of the Events of the War of the Rebellion, Being Papers Read Before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society, Third Series—No. 9 (Providence, 1885), p. 19-25;Frederick Denison, Sabres and Spurs: The First Regiment Rhode Island Cavalry in the Civil War, 1861-1865 (First R. I. Cavalry Veteran Association, 1876), p. 140-141; Letter of F. D. [Frederick Denison], September 11, 1862, Providence Evening Press, September 16, 1862.

Map #1, 3-7 PM, August 28

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Leaving Salem early in the morning, Gen. Robert E. Lee pushed on toward Thoroughfare Gap. The head of his column neared the gap about 3 PM. There Lee received a messenger from Jackson, who informed him of Jackson's whereabouts and condition. He also learned that the gap was clear of Federal troops. This was all good news, and Lee took advantage of it by ordering his column to stop for the night. The morrow would bring a hard march and, possibly, hard fighting, and Lee wanted his men to be rested for it. As a precaution, though, Lee wanted to seize the gap. Stripped of his cavalry, he had to send infantry forward, so he selected D. R. Jones' Georgia division for the job. He also, according to one of Stuart's staff officers, sent a message to Jackson stating that Longstreet was just west of the gap and would pass through in the morning. James Longstreet, From Manassas to Appomattox (rpt., Millwood, N.Y., 1981), p. 173; Statement of James Vass (courier for Jackson), May 6, 1903, "Concerning Communications Between General R. E. Lee and General Thomas J. Jackson Before and During the Second Battle of Manassas (26-28 August, 1862), University of Virginia; William W. Blackford, War Years With Jeb Stuart (New York, 1945), p. 118.

Lee then followed Jones' men forward to observe the gap from the hill just west of the defile. Soon Jones' Georgians were engaged; Lee studied the scene for a few moments, and then calmly rode back to the rear. From Mr. Robison, owner of a nearby estate, Lee and his staff received an invitation for dinner, and to his house the general repaired for the evening. John Esten Cooke, Life of General Robert E. Lee (New York, 1876), p. 119-120; Armistead L. Long, Memoirs of Robert E. Lee (New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, 1886), p. 194.

II. Longstreet's Wing

The head of Longstreet's column left White Plains about 10 AM, pushing forward to and reaching Thoroughfare Gap at 3 PM. Jones' division led the march, followed by Hood, then Wilcox, and finally Kemper. The gap was clear, Longstreet and Lee were told, and after a march of less than ten miles Lee ordered the column to halt for the night. First, though, he ordered Longstreet to send D. R. Jones' division forward to hold the gap. As the Georgians moved forward and through the defile they encountered resistence, and Longstreet promptly made preparations for a fight. Longstreet, From Manassas..., pp. 173-74; Longstreet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 564; Lee's report, ibid., p. 555.

A. R. H. Anderson's Division

Left behind to cover the crossings of the Rappahannock, Anderson's column was a day behind Longstreet's main force, not closing up with it until the early morning of August 30. Hence it will not make its appearance on the maps until sheet #9.

B. D. R. Jones Tries to Force the Passage of Thoroughfare Gap

Brigadier General Jones' division led Longstreet's column. A half mile from Thoroughfare Gap, Jones halted his column and dispatched several of his staff officers forward to reconnoiter. They soon reported back that enemy cavalry was approaching the pass. General Jones recalled, "I sent forward the 9th Georgia Regiment, [G. T.] Anderson's brigade, into the Gap, following it with my whole division, which I disposed of by placing Anderson's brigade on the hills to the left, with Drayton's brigade and two regiments of Toombs' [Benning's] brigade on the hills to the right, holding the other two regiments of Toombs' brigade in reserve. The 9th Georgia drove out some few of the enemy's skirmishers, who fell back on their main body, then advancing from the woods in front of the Gap, and taking position on the plateau parallel with the mountain range and distant there from about a half mile. They appeared before my disposition of troops had been completed, and opened a very heavy fire of artillery on the road and on the mountain sides flanking it. Having no artillery to reply with, there being no position in which it could be placed...the enemy advanced his guns to a point but little over 300 yards from the entrance to the Gap and made heavy demonstrations on the right and left, bringing him in contact with Anderson's brigade on the left, which repulsed him in most gallant style....

"On the right the demonstration resulted only in skirmishing. After the repulse of his efforts at flanking, the enemy withdrew his artillery to the plateau on which he had first appeared, and kept up a very heavy fire until dark...." Osmun Latrobe, Diary, August 28, 1862, Virginia Historical Society; Natalie Jenkins Bond & Osmun Latrobe Coward, eds., The South Carolinians: Colonel Asbury Coward's Memoirs (New York, Washington, & Hollywood, 1968), p. 35; D. R. Jones' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 579; G. T. Anderson's report, ibid., p. 594.

1. Benning Arrives at the Gap and is Ordered to Send Two Regiments to the Right to Scale the Mountain

Leaving the neighborhood of Salem at mid-morning, Benning's brigade moved forward with the 20th Georgia in front, followed in order by the 2d Georgia, 15th Georgia, and the 17th Georgia. By the time the brigade reached Thoroughfare Gap, Anderson's men were already skirmishing with the enemy; the 20th Georgia soon came under fire. At this time Benning received orders from Jones to take two regiments and, as Benning reported, "seize and hold the point of the mountain to the right of the Gap." Benning immediately galloped to Maj. J. D. Waddell's 20th Georgia and gave it orders to scale the slope. From there he continued back to the 2d, which "was then on the railroad and separated some little distance from the 20th," and directed it "to follow the 20th as quickly as possible."

While the 2d struggled forward along the railroad, the 20th was already on its way toward the mountain. At the foot of the precipice the regiment formed into line of battle and deployed a company as sirmishers. Despite the rocky terrain and heavy brush, the 20th moved up the slope quickly. "It was well that it did so," Benning recalled, "for when the skirmishers reached the summit the enemy's skirmishers, supported by a line of infantry, were in sight, coming up the other side." The Southerners immediately opened fire and drove the enemy skirmishers and their supports back a short distance. Major Waddell then called up all his men armed with rifles [about 60 soldiers]. The sharpshooters "required but a few moments of well directed fire to drive their infantry in wild disorder and rout from the base of the hill across the open plain until they gained the wood beyond the range of our guns," Waddell wrote.

Soon the Federals attempted to plant a section of artillery "on an eminence slightly to our left, distant between 400 and 500 yards." Before the guns were fairly in position, the sharpshooters' fire sent them scurrying. A second section going into place farther to the right was also driven off.

At this point the 2d Georgia arrived at the summit of the hill. This regiment had found the climb more difficult than the 20th—hence it had been delayed for several minutes—but once atop the mountain went into position on the right of the 20th. But the right of the 2d was "in the air," so Lt. Col. William R. Holmes was directed to reconnoiter his front to see if he could find a way "to advance his pickets...out of the wood into the open ravine behind the house at the foot of the mountain." This ravine was "perpendicular to the mountain" and extended far enough out so that a force concealed there would be opposite the left of the enemy. Within a half hour Holmes had finished

Map 1, 6-7 p.m. August 28th, Confederate the reconnaissance and had pushed his skirmishers into the ravine. The skirmishers were followed first by the rest of the 2d, and then by the 20th, which again formed on the 2d's right. "Thus," recalled Benning, "the two regiments had swung around so that their right was now on the flank of the enemy." Soon after, the enemy withdrew, and the two regiments remained in this position until "after night." Benning's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 581-82; 20th Georgia report, ibid., pp. 591-92; 2d Georgia report., ibid., p. 586; Theodore Fogle to his Parents, August 31, 1862, Theodore Fogle Papers, Emory University.

While the 20th and 2d Georgia skirmished atop the mountain, the 15th and 17th Georgia were ordered to move into the gap itself. Capt. John McGregor of the 17th reported, "The 17th Georgia and 15th Georgia were immediately ordered to take position, and accordingly occupied the Gap. As we entered the Gap the enemy opened a terrific fire of shell upon us; still we pushed forward and took position near their lines...." Anderson's brigade was to the left. The two regiments remained here throughout the evening, under fire, but not actively engaged. 17th Georgia report, op.cit., p. 589; 15th Georgia report, ibid., p. 588.

2. Drayton's Brigade is in Reserve

Drayton's Brigade brought up the rear of Jones' column. Contrary to what Jones states in his report (that Drayton scaled the mountain in conjunction with Benning's men), Drayton apparently remained in reserve, on level ground, throughout the contest for the gap. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 174; Letter of A. S. E. to Willie, September 14, 1862, [Athens, Ga.] Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862; Jones' report, op.cit., p. 579.

3. G. T. Anderson's Brigade: The 9th Georgia Pushes Through the Gap, But is Soon Driven Back. Anderson Brings up His Remaining Regiments, Deploys, and Engages the Enemy

a. The 9th Georgia Lays Claim to the Gap

In the van of D. R. Jones' column, Col. G. T. Anderson's brigade was ordered to halt about one half mile west of Thoroughfare Gap. There Jones learned that the enemy was active in the gap and directed Anderson to send his leading regiment, the 9th Georgia, forward to reconnoiter. Cautiously, Col. Benjamin Beck moved his 9th forward. At the gap Beck's men scattered a small cavalry picket and pushed through. After moving one quarter of a mile beyond the gap the Georgians ran into a strong Union force moving forward, ostensibly to seize the gap. Colonel Beck quickly ordered his men into line of battle and the regiment opened fire. But the force was overwhelming, and the 9th was driven back. As he retreated, Colonel Beck met Anderson, who directed the regiment to reform on the right of the Manassas Gap Railroad. As it did so, the rest of Anderson's men, led by the 1st Georgia Regulars, came into sight. Anderson's report, ibid., p. 594; M. E. Thornton, "Fighting for Thoroughfare Gap," Philadelphia Weekly Times, December 17, 1881; M. O. Young, MS "History of the First Brigade," p. 74, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

b. The Rest of the Brigade Hurries Forward and Fights for the Gap

Seeing the 9th Georgia falling back into the gap, Colonel Anderson directed it to form south of the railroad. The rest of the brigade formed north of the tracks, from right to left, the 1st Georgia Regulars, 8th Georgia, 7th Georgia, and 11th Georgia. Skirmishers were sent out, and the advance began. The skirmishers lost no time in encountering the enemy and opened a scattering fire. The three left regiments scrambled up the slope of the mountain, climbing on their hands and knees over rocks and through briers, stopping every few moments to catch their breath. Only one of these regiments, the 8th Georgia, was able to gain a position from which they could engage the enemy, and then only briefly, as the 8th was soon forced back in confusion. Only one of Anderson's regiments, the 1st Georgia Regulars, was able to obtain a "favorable position." From that position, probably near Chapman's Mill, the 1st Georgia engaged the enemy briskly and inflicted heavy losses on their foe, driving them back after a fight of about half an hour. Subsequently the brigade came under artillery fire. Anderson's report, op.cit., p. 594; Berrien Zettler, War Stories and School Day Incidents for the Children (New York, 1912), p. 100-105; Letter of E. B. B., Macon [Ga.] Telegraph, September 10, 1862; Letter of M. D., September 1, 1862, Rome [Ga.] Tri-weekly Courier, September 9, 1862; Letter of J. D. G., Augusta [Ga.] Daily Consitutionalist, September 13, 1862; Kitrell J. Warren, History of the Eleventh Georgia Vols. (Richmond, 1863), p. 45; Young, MS "First Brigade," p. 74.

C. Wilcox is Ordered to Hopewell Gap to Outflank the Enemy

Subsequent to learning that Thoroughfare Gap was occupied by the enemy, General Longstreet ordered Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox's division to move along a by-road to the left to Hopewell gap to "turn the right and attack the enemy in rear." Wilcox took his three brigades, plus Chapman's and Anderson's batteries, and headed for the gap, not reaching there until 10 PM. PM. Longstreet's report, op.cit., p. 564; Wilcox's report, ibid., p. 597.

D. Hood's Division

1. Hood's Brigade Follows Law But Then Falls Back to the Mouth of Gap

According to Longstreet, upon reaching Thoroughfare Gap Hood's and Law's brigades were "ordered by a foot path over the mountain to turn the enemy's right." In this maneuver Hood's brigade followed Law's. A man of the 5th Texas recalled, "We could see a long line of troops passing obliquely up the mountain north of the Gap. The Texas brigade was ordered to follow, which it did until we had marched one third of a mile, when the brigade was countermarched at dark to the mouth of the gap." Longstreet's report, ibid., p. 564; W. T. Hill, "The First Troops Through Thoroughfare Gap," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 23 (1915), p. 544.

2. Law's Men Climb up the Slopes to the Left

The movements of Col. Evander Law's brigade were vividly described by Law himself in 1887: "My brigade was leading the division when it reached the mountain. There I met General Hood, coming from the direction of the gap. He informed me that it was held on the other side in strong force [by] the enemy, and that Jones' division was unable to force it. He was accompanied by a man living in the vicinity, who, he said, would guide me by a trail across the mountain, a short distance above the gap. [According to local legend, this guide was Mr. Beverly, a nearby resident.] His own brigade was to follow mine. The head of my column was at once turned to the left, and striking a slight trail, commenced the ascent. I had not got half way up the side of the mountain when my guide either missed the trail, or it ran out. At any rate, he seemed to know as little as I did, and told me he could guide me no further. Letting him go, I moved on through the tangled woods and huge rocks until the crest was reached. Here we were confronted by a natural wall of rock, which seemed impassable. Men were sent out on both sides to search for some opening through which we might pass, and a crevice was soon found several feet above our level where men could get through one at a time, the first being lifted up by those behind, and each man as he got up lending a helping hand to the next.... They got through in an incredibly short time.

"As soon as the leading regiment was over a skirmish line was pushed down the mountain, which on this side sloped gently, and presented few obstacles except for a small ravine and a stream which issued from the gap itself. The Federal batteries at the mouth of the gap soon came in sight. They were firing steadily but leisurely, and seemed as if they were there to stay.

My whole brigade were soon over, the skirmishers in the meantime pressing forward on the flank of the batteries, which were less than half a mile off. As they emerged into the open ground at the foot of the mountain and engaged the Federal skirmishers on the ravine already mentioned, there was a commotion among the batteries, which limbered up and rapidly moved off.

"It was now nearly dark. My skirmishers were pressing steadily forward, followed by the main line, when I received an order from a staff officer of General Hood directing me to return at once to the gap by the way I had come—that the enemy were retiring. This was plain enough, but of what had caused them to retire Hood was at that time entirely ignorant. I remonstrated against the order, but was told that it was peremptory. I, therefore, had no choice but to move back...." E. M. Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, November 2, 1887; Robert T. Coles, MS "History of the 4th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry," Chapter 6, p. 9, 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment Files, Alabama State Department of Archives and History.

E. Evans' Brigade

There is no evidence that indicates that Nathan Evans' South Carolinians played any role in the taking of Thoroughfare Gap.

F. Kemper's Division

Brig. Gen. James Lawson Kemper's division played little part in the taking of Thoroughfare Gap. The only brigade known to have been active during the period was Col. Eppa Hunton's. In his memoirs Colonel Hunton wrote, "General Lee, not knowing the [small] force that held the gap, directed me to take the brigade...out of the line of march and go through Lambert's Gap [more commonly known as Glascock's Gap, it is the next gap south of Thoroughfare] and flank the enemy out of the gap. I was selected for this duty because I was born and raised near Lambert's Gap.... I had gotten my brigade nearly out of line when General Lee countermanded the order and directed me to march directly upon [Thoroughfare] Gap. Before I reached the gap another brigade had filed in before me, and a sharp fight ensued.... The enemy was finally driven away." Eppa Hunton, The Autobiography of Eppa Hunton (Richmond, 1933), p. 76.

G. Artillery of the Right Wing

No artillery was used by the Confederates in the taking of Thoroughfare Gap, because, as D. R. Jones wrote, there was "no position in which it could be placed." S. D. Lee's battalion, meanwhile, was in company with R. H. Anderson's division, and will not make its appearance on these maps until sheet #9. D. R. Jones' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 579; J. H. A. Wagener, Diary, August 29, 1862, South Carolina Historical Society.

III. Jackson's Wing

From the spoils of Manassas Junction, Maj. Gen. Thomas Jonathan Jackson moved his three divisions northward along various routes toward the battlefield of July 21, 1861. There, throughout the day on August 28, as his men converged, Jackson sought an opportunity to bring Pope to battle. Early that morning Jackson received word that led him to believe he might be able to bring about that battle along the banks of Bull Run. The enemy, Jackson believed, was "in full retreat" toward the strong defenses at Centreville. At 8 AM he sent orders to division commander A. P. Hill to "move down to the fords [of Bull Run] and intercept him." But Hill, moving along the Warrenton Turnpike from Centreville toward the battlefield, had fresher information. Hill reported, "Having just seen two intercepted dispatches from Pope to McDowell, ordering the formation of his line of battle for the next day on Manassas Plains, I deemed it best to push on and join Jackson." Hill's report, op.cit., p. 670.

At midday another potential opportunity presented itself to Jackson. The 1st Virginia Cavalry encountered an enemy force moving eastward along the turnpike from Gainesville toward Centreville. A noisy skirmish ensued between the Northerners and the 1st, which was supported by Bradley Johnson's brigade. At the same time Jackson made "dispositions...to attack the enemy" with Talliaferro's division, supported by Ewell's. But another captured Union dispatch forced Jackson to change his plans. The dispatch (almost certainly General Orders Number 10, issued by McDowell August 28, 1862; see O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 360.) indicated that the Federals were in reality moving on Manassas, not Centreville. Soon the Federals had deflected out of sight to the south. After this Jackson's force "was advanced through the woods, leaving Groveton on the left, until it reached a commanding position near Brawner's house." Jackson's report, ibid., p. 645 (It should be pointed out that although Jackson's report contains information not found elsewhere, it cannot be considered a primary source on the battle. It was composed in April, 1863, by Colonel Charles Faulkner, one of Jackson's staff officers. Faulkner was not present at the battle. See H. K. Douglas's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 682.); Johnson's report, ibid., p. 664; William B. Taliaferro, "Jackson's Raid Around Pope," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. 2, pp. 508-509.

Once Ewell and Taliaferro were in position near the Brawner House—"towards evening"—a dispatch arrived at Jackson's headquarters containing the news that

Lee and Longstreet were at Thoroughfare Gap and would pass through in the morning. "Where is the man who brought this dispatch?" asked Jackson. "I must shake hands with him." W. W. Blackford, War Years With Jeb Stuart (New York, 1945), p. 118.

After this Jackson laid down in a nearby fence corner to get some rest. He had been sleeping only a short while when some "mounted scouts" rode up to him and stated that a "large body" of Union troops was passing eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike, only a few hundred yards away. Jackson was up in an instant, hastily buckling on his sword, mounting his horse, and galloping away. He rode across the broomsedge fields to "within easy musket range" of the Union column. There he trotted his horse back and forth eyeing the blue troops. One onlooker wrote, "We could almost tell his thoughts by his movements. Sometimes he would halt, then trot on rapidly, halt again, wheel his horse and pass along" the flank of the column. Then, "he pulled up suddenly, wheeled and came galloping towards us. 'Here he comes, by God,' said several and Jackson rode up to the assembled group [of officers] as calm as a May morning and, touching his hat in a military salute, said...'Bring out your men, gentlemen!'" The Second Battle of Manassas was about to begin. Hunter McGuire, "Stonewall Jackson," An Address By Hunter McGuire at the Dedication of Jackson Memorial Hall, Virginia Military Institute (Published by R. E. Lee Camp 1, U.C.V., 1897), p. 12; Blackford, op.cit., pp. 120-21.

A. W. B. Taliaferro Assails the Federal Column

10 AM-5 PM: In his after-action report, Brig. Gen. William B. Taliaferro recounted the movements of his division on August 28: "On the morning of the 28th the enemy made demonstrations upon the road leading from Warrenton, which were checked by [Johnson's] Brigade, and it was ascertained that he was advancing in columns by the railroad on one side and the Warrenton Turnpike on the other; that his intention was to...attempt to cross Bull Run at the stone bridge and Sudley Ford. I received orders about 12 m....to move forward through the woods and attack his left, which was advancing from the direction of Gainesville toward Sudley. I accordingly pushed [Baylor's], [A. G. Taliaferro's], and [Starke's] brigades in that direction, being followed by Major-General Ewell. After marching some 2½ miles in the direction of Gainesville, and coming into the open fields to the right of Groveton, I discovered that the enemy had abandoned his intention of attempting to cross at Sudley, and was moving off to the right of the Warrenton Turnpike; that the troops he had thrown forward had been recalled, and that the whole force that

Map 1, 6-7 p.m. August 28th, Confederate had crossed the turnpike were falling back and recrossing. At the same time I received orders to halt my command."

5-7 PM: After halting, Taliaferro and Ewell were ordered to move forward in the direction of the turnpike and deploy into line of battle "parallel to the road." After a short time, enemy skirmishers (probably the 14th Brooklyn of Hatch's brigade) made their appearance. They were soon supported by a large Federal column passing along the road. At Jackson's order some of Taliaferro's artillery was brought forward in front of Starke's brigade and opened a havoc-inducing fire on the blue columns. Wrote Taliaferro, "At this time our lines were advanced from the woods in which they had been concealed [into] the open field. The troops moved forward with splendid gallantry and in the most perfect order. Twice our lines were advanced until we had reached a farm-house and orchard on the right of our line and were within about 80 yards of a greatly superior force of the enemy. Here one of the most terrific contests that can be conceived of occured. Our troops held the farmhouse and one edge of the orchard, while the enemy held the orchard and the inclusure next to the turnpike. To our left there was no cover, and our men stood in the open field.... The enemy, although re-enforced, never once attempted to advance upon our position, but withstood with great determination the terrible fire which our lines poured upon them." "In this fight there was no maneuvering and very little tactics," Taliaferro wrote after the war. "It was a question of endurance, and both sides endured." Taliaferro's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 656-57; Taliaferro, "Jackson's Raid Around Pope," pp. 509-10.

1. The Stonewall Brigade Engages Gibbon's Men Around the Brawner Farmhouse

It was about 5 PM that Col. William S. Baylor's Stonewall Brigade arrived in the vicinity of the Brawner Farm with the rest of Taliaferro's division and took position on the right of the division line. Forming first "in the edge of woods overlooking an open field in the direction [of] and near the Gainesville pike," about an hour later the brigade was moved forward into the open field and deployed into line of battle. The 4th Virginia was on the right of the brigade, the 27th Virginia to its left. The 2d Virginia anchored the left of the brigade line. By the time the brigade was fully deployed the Union skirmishers "were in full view." Capt. J. Q. A. Nadenbousch of the 2d Virginia reported, "We were then ordered to advance, when our column moved steadily forward in full view of the enemy's lines. On descending a knoll some 150 or 200 yards from the enemy our line was opened upon with a most terrific and deadly fire of musketry from the enemy's line stationed in the edge of woods and behind a fence."

Moving forward through a storm of lead to within 80 yards of their foe, the Virginians took position behind an old rail fence and returned the fired. The right of the 4th Virginia rested "on some outbuildings" near the Brawner House. The firefight swelled to an unprecedented level, but, wrote Nadenbousch, "Our men stood the fire like veterans." W. B. Taliaferro's report, op.cit., pp. 509-10; 2d Virginia report, ibid., p. 661; 4th Virginia report, ibid., p. 661; 27th Virginia report, ibid., p. 662; M. Shuler, Diary, August 28, 1862, Library of Congress; Thomas D. Gold, History of Clarke County, Virginia and its Connection With the War Between the States (Berryville, 1914), pp. 178-79; John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (2d ed., Marietta, Ga., 1951), p. 109.

2. Johnson's Brigade is Not Engaged

As one of the first of Jackson's units to arrive on the field (shortly after midnight), Col. Bradley Johnson was given the responsibility of picketing the approaches to Jackson's position from the west and south. This he spent much of the day doing. The hub of Johnson's position lay at Groveton, and from there he sent feelers to the west along the Warrenton Turnpike and to the south along Lewis Lane. About midday the outposts along the turnpike (part of the 1st Virginia Cavalry) reported the advance of the enemy (Reynolds' division). A sharp little skirmish ensued, and the Federals moved to their right toward Manassas. Later Johnson was ordered to move back to the "crossing of the Sudley Ford Road over the old railroad," and there the brigade remained unengaged throughout the night. Johnson's report, O.R. Ser. I,Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 665; John Worsham, "The Second Battle of Manassas," Southern Historical Society Papers (Herinafter cited as SHSP), Vol. 12 (1904), pp. 80-1.

3. A. G. Taliaferro's Brigade Moves Toward the Fighting

Col. Alexander G. Taliaferro's brigade rested well north of the Brawner Farmhouse until the battle had intensified. At that time, probably about 7 PM, Taliaferro was ordered to the right of the division line to support batteries. After a brief halt there Colonel Taliaferro moved with his three Virginia regiments toward the front to take position on the right of the Stonewall Brigade. The 47th and 48th Alabama, the greenest regiments of the brigade, were left behind by the colonel to support the guns. W. B. Taliaferro's report, op.cit., p. 656; William C. Oates, The War Between the Union and the Confederacy (New York and Washington, 1905), pp. 791, 796.

4. Starke Supports Guns

As the Confederate battle line developed, Starke's men assumed a supporting position, apparently along the unfinished railroad. Wooding's, Poague's, Carpenter's, and probably Balthis' batteries all went into position immediately in front of the Louisianans. W. B. Taliaferro's report, op.cit., p. 656; Jackson's report, ibid., p. 645; Jubal Anderson Early, Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States (Philadelphia & London, 1912), p. 120.

5. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

After arriving on the field, Maj. Shumaker's battalion rested in the neighborhood of Sudley Mill. There it remained until late afternoon when Col. Stapleton Crutchfield received orders to bring all of the artillery to the front. Leaving behind five guns of Caskie's and Cutshaw's batteries "on the opposite side of Catharpin Run in position to command the ford," Crutchfield proceeded forward with the remaining batteries. Arriving at the scene of action, Captain George W. Wooding's battery was the first of Shumaker's to be sent in (with Balthis' Battery of Ewell's Division), taking position in front of Starke's brigade. The battery opened fire on the Union column passing along the turnpike in front. Union counterbattery fire, however, soon forced Wooding to withdraw from his position. Subsequently both William Poague's Rockbridge Artillery and Joseph Carpenter's battery moved to the front and engaged the Federals in a furious duel. None of the other batteries arrived at the front in time to take part in the fight. Crutchfield's report, op.cit., pp. 651-52; W. B. Taliaferro's report, ibid., p. 656; Jackson's report, ibid., p. 645; Edward A. Moore, The Story of a Cannoneer Under Stonewall (rpt., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), p. 114.

B. A. P. Hill's Division Looks on From a Distance

1. Branch's Brigade

Brig. Gen. James Lane related the movements of Branch's Brigade during the late afternoon: "We were ordered from the [Warrenton] road to the right into a piece of woods fronting a large open field, in which one of our batteries was planted. As soon as the engagement was opened on our right General Archer's brigade, which was in front of us, moved from the woods into the field up to and to the right of the battery, where it was halted. Our brigade also moved a short distance into the field in the same direction, when the enemy opened a left enfilade fire upon us. General Branch then ordered the 28th

Regiment to continue its march and directed me to halt it in rear of General Archer, while he [Branch] moved the rest of the command some distance to the left. The whole brigade, with no protection whatever, stood this artillery fire for several hours in the open field." Lane's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 675-76; James S. Harris, Historical Sketches of the Seventh Regiment North Carolina Infantry (Mooresville, N.C., 1893), pp. 18-19.

2. Archer's Brigade

After arriving on the field, Archer's men formed up in a body of woods, in front of Branch, with Field's brigade on their right. 300 yards in front of Archer were two batteries of artillery unlimbered in an open field. Archer reported, "About 5 p.m., when the engagement commenced, I moved forward to support the batteries, and remained under a heavy fire of shell and round shot from batteries to the front and left, but without sustaining any loss, until twilight...." Archer's report, op.cit., p. 700; William F. Fulton, Family Record and War Reminiscences (n.p., 191-), p. 71; H. T. Childs, "The Second Battle of Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 28 (1920), p. 100.

3. Pender's Brigade

The location of Pender's Brigade is obscure, the only specifics known being that it was in an open field from where Pender was able to observe the forward elements of King's division. Samuel A. Ashe, MS Memoirs, p. 7, Civil War Collection, North Carolina State Archives.

4. Field's Brigade

Field's Brigade was, at least initially, on Archer's right. Its movements subsequent to Archer's movement forward to support batteries are unknown. Archer's report, op.cit., p. 700.

5. Gregg's Brigade

After arriving on the field, Maxcy Gregg's South Carolinians arrayed themselves "along the line of the unfinished Independent Railroad track, facing the turnpike...." "About dark," the brigade was ordered to move toward the right "to report to General Ewell." McGowan's report, ibid., p. 679; Joseph Jeptha Norton, Diary, August 28, 1862, University of South Carolina.

6. Thomas' Brigade

Colonel Edward L. Thomas held his brigade in reserve near Sudley Ford. Thomas' report, op.cit., p. 703.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

According to Lt. Col. Lindsay Walker, none of his artillery took any part in the fighting of August 28. Walker's report, ibid., p. 674.

C. Ewell Moves Into the Fight With Lawton's Brigade

After a tedious day's march, about 5 PM Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell moved his division westward to the area of the Brawner Farm, positioning Lawton's and Trimble's brigades behind Taliaferro's division and Early's and Forno's farther to the left. About 6 PM the battle opened, first with artillery, and then with infantry. Taliaferro's men, specifically the Stonewall Brigade, were the first sent in. As the Valley Men engaged the Federals, Ewell's men—situated, as Ewell's staff officer Campbell Brown said, in "the second line"--looked on. After several minutes Ewell sent Brown to bring up some of the troops, and part of Lawton's brigade was chosen. Taliaferro's report, Op.cit., p. 656; Campbell Brown, "Military Reminiscences of Major Campbell Brown," Papers of Campbell Brown and Richard S. Ewell, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

1. Lawton Brings His Men Into Action

Ewell's order to advance first reached Brig. Gen. Alexander Lawton's Brigade of Georgians. The number of regiments initially brought into the battle is uncertain, but the 31st and 61st Georgia were among them, and these regiments suffered severely. Moving forward on the left of the Stonewall Brigade, Lawton's men undoubtedly engaged at least part of the 2d Wisconsin and all of the 7th Wisconsin. I. G. Bradwell, "Cedar Mountain to Sharpsburg," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 29 (1921), p. 297; Letter of J. S. Blaite, September 4, 1862, Augusta [Ga.] Weekly Chronicle, September 23, 1862; 2d Virginia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 661.

2. Trimble is Ordered to the Firing Line

As Brig. Gen. Isaac Trimble's men rested along the woodline behind the unfinished railroad awaiting orders to move forward, they were on Lawton's left. It was probably about 7 PM, after the fighting had been going on for about a half hour, that Trimble received the word to move up. Isaac R. Trimble, "Report of Operations of His Brigade from the 14th to the 29th of August, 1862," SHSP, Vol. 8, p. 307.

3. Forno and Early Are in Reserve

Leaving the vicinity of Sudley Church, Brig. Gen. Jubal Early's brigade led the advance of Ewell's Division toward Brawner Farm. Early reported, "My own brigade was the leading one of the division in this movement and followed Jackson's [Taliaferro's] division, moving through the woods until we reached the track graded for a railroad, and thence along that to the point where it leaves the woods, not far from Groveton. We here turned to the right and were formed in line in the edge of a piece of woods, with the left resting on the railroad track and the right a short distance in rear of Starke's brigade.... [Forno's] brigade was formed just behind my own, and Lawton's and Trimble's were moved farther to the right by General Ewell, who accompanied them, and directed me to take command of my own and [Forno's] brigade." Early and Forno remained in this position until "just before dark." Early's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 710-11.

4. Division Artillery

Of the six divisional batteries, only Balthis' was directly involved in the fighting at Brawner Farm. In conjunction with Wooding's battery, Balthis' guns, commanded by Asher W. Garber, were the first to open fire on the Federal columns, from "an open field on a little knoll," probably near the Brawner House. The battery was able to hold its position for only a short time, however, before being driven off by Campbell's Federal guns. A. W. Garber, "Staunton's Brave Artillery Boys," Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 29, 1905; Crutchfield's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 651-52.

Of the remaining batteries only Brown's and Dement's are known to have gone into action during the fight. Dement's battery opened fire under the direction of A. P. Hill. Brown's guns opened fire from a commanding position, and suffered little loss. There is further information available only on D'Aquin's battery, and this indicates that it came up with the division late, joining Early's brigade after dark. W. W. Goldsborough, The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army (Port Washington, N.Y., 1900), pp. 212, 321; D'Aquin's Battery report, Charles Thompson Papers, Huntington Library.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Of his activities on August 28 Stuart reported, "Early in the day a dispatch from the enemy had been intercepted, giving the order of march from Warrenton to Manassas and directing cavalry to report to General Bayard at Hay Market. I proposed to General Jackson to allow me to go up there and do what I could with the two fragments of brigades that I still had. I proceeded to that point, capturing a detachment of the enemy en route. Approaching the place by a by-path, I saw indications of a large force there prepared for attack. About this time I could see the fighting going on at Thoroughfare Gap, where Longstreet had his progress disputed by the enemy...." Stuart's primary reason for moving to Haymarket was to establish communication with Longstreet, so now he tried by sending "a trusty man with the dispatch to the right of Hay Market. I kept up a brisk skirmish with the enemy without any result until in the afternoon when, General Jackson having engaged the enemy, I quietly withdrew and hastened to place my command on his right flank." Stuart's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 735.

A. Fitz Lee's Brigade

Fitz Lee accompanied three of his regiments, the 3d, 4th, and 9th Virginia, on a raid toward Fairfax and was not present with the army on August 28. Stuart's report, ibid.

The other two regiments of the brigade, the 1st and 5th Virginia Cavalry, remained under Stuart's control with Jackson. The 1st Virginia was assigned to Johnson's brigade for the day, and spent several hours picketing the Warrenton Turnpike west of Groveton, skirmishing with the enemy sporadically. As the fight opened about 6 PM, the 1st Virginia probably moved with Johnson's brigade to the area where the Groveton-Sudley Road crosses the unfinished railroad. Johnson's report, ibid., p. 665; Stuart's report, ibid., p. 735.

The 5th Virginia's activities were reported by Col. Thomas L. Rosser: That morning "I received an order from Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart to bring up the rear of...Hill's division, which I did after destroying one encampment and two pieces of artillery. I then proceeded to Bull Run, where I found General Ewell, who instructed me to report to...Hill." Rosser left a picket at Blackburn's Ford and proceeded to Hill at Centreville. From there the 5th Virginia moved on to Groveton, "where I learned that the enemy was moving his wagons on a private road to Manassas Junction. I procured a section of artillery from Colonel Bradley Johnson and attacked them, dispersing their train and turning them back. Then I reported to General Jackson...." Subsequent to Jackson's attack on King's division, Rosser moved into position on Jackson's right to guard that flank. 5th Virginia report, ibid., p. 750.

B. Robertson's Brigade

On the morning of August 28, Brig. Gen. Beverly Robertson's brigade "rendezvoused near Sudley Church." According to Robertson, from there he proceeded to Groveton and for a while acted as support for the 1st Virginia Cavalry. Between 2 and 3 PM Robertson received orders from Stuart to move to Haymarket, where the enemy cavalry was reported to be concentrating. Moving on a by-road, Robertson encountered the enemy not far from the town and skirmished with them for the remainder of the afternoon. "Shortly before sunset" Robertson received a dispatch from Jackson: "Bring your brigade over immediately as the enemy are falling back." By the time Robertson arrived on the battlefield it was dark. Stuart's report, ibid., p. 735; Robertson to Porter, June 10, 1870, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Robertson's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 215-16.

C. Pelham's Battery

Maj. John Pelham led his battery out of Centreville at the rear of Jackson's column on the morning of August 28. Pelham crossed Bull Run at Lewis Ford, had a short brush with the enemy there, and then proceeded to the Robinson house, where he met Hill's division. Hill's division "had just left the turnpike and was moving along a by-road to the right." Pelham moved past Hill's column to the right and "parked...in a field where General Jackson had ordered all his artillery to await orders." Pelham reported, "Just before night orders came for twenty pieces to move rapidly to the front. I took three pieces at a gallop through a thick woods in front of this general park, bearing to the right of the troops in position (Ewell's division)." Pelham was ready to go into position shortly after 7 PM. Pelham's reports, op.cit., p. 754.

MAP 2

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

It was shortly before 10 PM that General Pope received intelligence from Maj. D. C. Houston, of General McDowell's staff, about the fight at Brawner Farm. Pope testified, "Upon receiving this information I stated to several of my staff officers that were present that the game was in our own hands, and that I did not see how it was possible for Jackson to escape without very heavy loss, if at all." Pope to King, March 23, 1863, in Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," p. 281; Pope's Testimony, McDowell Court of Inquiry, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, p. 206; Rufus King's Testimony, ibid., p. 214; Charles King, "In Vindication of General Rufus King," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. 2, p. 495.

Within the next several hours Pope dispatched a series of orders directing the concentration of his army on Jackson's force. His first, naturally, was to General King directing him to hold his ground. This order, however, never reached King and he ultimately withdrew. Similar orders were sent to McDowell, but McDowell could not be found until after daylight. His next directive (at 9:50 PM) was to Kearny: At 1 AM move out the Warrenton Turnpike from Centreville, "advance cautiously and drive in the enemy's pickets to-night, and at early dawn attack him vigorously." Heintzelman was ordered to move Hooker's division at 3 AM and act as a reserve for Kearny, on the "road 1½ miles beyond Centreville." To Reno, Pope sent verbal orders (via Col. T. C. H. Smith) to follow Hooker toward the field. Sigel, closest to the battlefield, was to "attack the enemy vigorously" at dawn. Pope to King, Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," p. 281; Pope's Testimony, McDowell Court of Inquiry, op.cit., p. 206; Pope to Kearny, 9:50 PM, August 28, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 74-5; Pope to Heintzelman, 10 PM, August 28, ibid., p. 75; Pope to Reno, 5 AM, August 29, ibid., p. 75; Sigel's report, ibid., p. 265.

In his after action report Pope recalled his perception of the situation subsequent to the issuance of these orders: "The only apprehension I had...was that Jackson might attempt to retreat to the north in the direction of Leesburg, and for the purpose of preventing this, I directed Kearny to keep closely in contact with him during the whole of the night of the 28th. My forces were so disposed that McDowell, Sigel, and Reynolds...were immediately west of Jackson and between him and Thoroughfare Gap, whilst Kearny, Hooker, Reno, and Porter...were to fall on him from the east at daylight." Pope's report, ibid., 38.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

Sigel's command remained on and around Henry Hill. After a brief, relatively bloodless brush with the enemy about nightfall, the corps made some slight adjustments before settling in for a restless night. Stahel's brigade, in position near the Robinson farm, marched "toward a hill on the left of the farm [probably Bald Hill]." McLean's brigade set up bivouac 200 yards from the Chinn House. Milroy's brigade consolidated on the right of Schenck. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 284; George B. Fox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 705.

It was probably around midnight that Sigel received orders to "attack the enemy vigorously the next morning." He was, it turned out, to spearhead the Union advance. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 266.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

Hearing the firing of King's guns, McDowell immediately left Manassas Junction to return to his command. En route he decided to take a short cut across country. In the darkness, the general and his staff became lost, and wandered aimlessly until after midnight. At that time, McDowell decided to wait until daybreak to continue the search, and bedded down at a residence not far from the New Market crossroads. "S" [Edmund Schriver], "Notes From My Journal," Box 18, Fitz John Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Washington Roebling to his Father, September 3, 1862, Roebling Papers; McDowell's report, op.cit., p. 336; Joseph C. Willard, Diary, August 28, 1862, Willard Family Papers, Library of Congress.

A. King's Division Holds its Ground and Then Draws Off Toward Manassas

The situation that faced General King at the end of the conflict was perplexing. Corps commander McDowell had not been heard from for hours. An hour after the end of the battle, King dispatched Captain Franklin Haven in search of McDowell with the message that he would remain where he was until he could get "fresh orders to the contrary." But nonetheless some decisions had to be made. His division had had a hard fight, suffered heavy casualties, but firmly held its ground. But it was also apparent that the better part of Jackson's command confronted it. Too, the division was without immediate support. Only Reynolds was known to be in the vicinity; he had promised to come to King's assistance "early in the morning." Ricketts, King learned, was falling back from Thoroughfare Gap toward Gainesville. Gainesville was only three miles away, but whether or not Ricketts would come to his aid was uncertain. If he did, perhaps something positive would be done. At 9:30 King decided to defer action until he heard more from Ricketts. He informed Ricketts, "We have been engaged with the enemy for some hours, but hold our own, and will stay here till we hear from you. I think you had better join us here, tho' that depends, of course, on your orders." Reynolds's report, ibid., p. 393; Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," p. 276; Ricketts' Testimony, McDowell Court of Inquiry, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, p. 216.

Thus matters stood when King called his brigade commanders together for a conference. From them King received grim reports. Casualties in Gibbon's brigade amounted to one-third. The 76th New York and 56th Pennsylvania of Doubleday's brigade were badly reduced as well. Prisoners were reporting that Jackson's force numbered "60,000 or 70,000 men." This intelligence forced King to reconsider his plans. As he saw it, there were only two alternatives: He could continue his march to Centreville, as his earlier orders had directed, or he could fall back to Manassas Junction, where he believed he would find the main body of the army. According to King and Gibbon, subsequent to the acquisition of the brigade commander's reports, holding the ground and resuming the fight at dawn was not considered a viable alternative. Gibbon favored a withdrawal to Manassas, as did Hatch and Patrick (although Patrick repeatedly pleaded a failing memory when pressed about this question after the war). Doubleday, according to his own account, dissented, but was overruled. (The truth of this statement by Doubleday is doubtful. All other witnesses to the conference stated that the decision to withdraw to Manassas was unanimous. When informed of Doubleday's contention after the war, both Gibbon and Hatch thought he was suffering from a conveniently faulty memory.) Hearing nothing further from Ricketts or McDowell, King wrote the latter, "Our position is not tenable, and we shall fall back to Manassas, with the expectation of meeting forces sent to our support." A similar dispatch was sent to Ricketts. At 1 AM the division began an orderly withdrawal. Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," pp. 277-78; King to McDowell, 10:50 PM, August 28, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, pp. 717-18; Ricketts's report, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 384; Ricketts's Testimony, ibid., Pt. 1, p. 216; Franklin Haven's Testimony, ibid., p. 208; Charles King to John C. Ropes, August 26, November 28, December 30, 1882, John C. Ropes Papers, Military Historical Society of Massachusetts Papers, Boston University; Abner Doubleday to John C. Ropes, November 11, 17, 1882, ibid.; Doubleday, Journal, August 28, 1862, p. 11; J. L. Crawford, "Description of Engagements and Movements of King's Division on the 28th and 29th of August, 1862," Porter Papers, Container 18, Library of Congress.

1. Hatch's Brigade

With the exception of the 30th New York, Hatch's regiments continued to act as spectators to the battle, supporting Reynolds' battery. Just before the contest ended, the 30th New York was ordered to move into position on the right of Doubleday's 95th New York, in support of Campbell's guns.

Shortly after the end of the fighting, Hatch apparently moved his command back to the battlefield. They remained there, collecting wounded, until ordered to proceed to Manassas Junction, which they did via a "woods road"—probably Meadowville Lane. Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," p. 362; Hamer, "One Man's War," pp. 11-12; Doubleday, Journal, August 28, p. 10; John Bryson, "Thirtieth New York," p. 53.

2. Doubleday's Brigade: The 76th New York and 56th Pennsylvania Join Gibbon's Brigade in the Fight While the 95th New York Supports Campbell's Battery

a. The 76th New York and 56th Pennsylvania

The 76th New York and 56th Pennsylvania received orders to fill the gap between the 7th and 6th Wisconsin. Wrote A. P. Smith of the 76th, We were "immediately in motion—over fences, through the bushes, around the trees, over logs—the bullets and shells tearing through the woods like a hail storm through a wheat field, on rushed the regiment. Several of the men were killed before leaving the wood. After going about twenty rods, the regiment emerged into the open field. Here was battle in real earnest. Just in front and a little to the left were the gallant boys of the 'Iron Brigade,' fighting and falling in a manner terrible to behold." After clearing the woods Colonel Wainright deployed a detachment of Company A, 76th New York as skirmishers, and pushed his command forward to within ten yards of a rail fence.

"Colonel Wainright," recalled General Doubleday, "arranged his men on the right of and on a line with the 7th Wisconsin, posting his regiment within fifty yards of the enemy—in fact merely separated from them by a slight swell of an intervening ridge." In front of the regiment, concealing the enemy, was a small body of woods. The 56th Pennsylvania took position to the right of the 76th. A. P. Smith, Seventy-sixth New York, pp. 118-120; Doubleday, Journal, August 28, 1862, pp. 8-9.

With the placement of Doubleday's two regiments, the Federal line was complete and the firefight raged with unprecedented fury. "The shadows of night gradually descended," remembered George Noyes, "and it seemed to me that I saw at least a mile of lightning leaping from rebel muskets, while a perfect deluge of rebel thunderbolts went crashing into the woods, or came shrieking like fiends over and among us. The rattle of musketry was terrible and continuous—the air seemed full of lead." Noyes, Bivouac and Battlefield, pp. 117-18.

Recalled Uberto Burnham of the 76th, "The conflict was too terrible and at too close range to last long. The enemy undertook to terminate it by a charge." The charging Confederates hit the 2d Wisconsin. "It was now quite dark," continued Burnham. "I saw the charging lines go rapidly towards ours, the men bending well forward so that the bullets might go above them.... I feared our single line of battle would be broken." As the rebels neared, the Badgers to the left opened fire; they never wavered. Admired Burnham, "Those Western men are not easily scared." Colonel Wainright hollered to the 76th "By the left oblique! Aim! Fire!" and the 76th loosed a deadly enfilading fire. "No rebel of that column who escaped death will ever forget that volley," wrote A. P. Smith. "It seemed like one gun.... When the smoke cleared away a little, the few left of that mass of human beings who had so rapidly left the woods a few minutes before had disappeared, but the ground was literally covered with their dead and wounded." "The Rebels finding they were getting the worst of it turned their backs and pointed for the woods."

As the Confederates fell back, Colonel Wainright passed the order to fix bayonets and prepare to charge. Captured prisoners indicated, however, that Jackson had a very strong force in front, including cavalry, and the movement was cancelled. It was now almost completely dark. The firing gradually began to die away. The 76th and 56th remained in position for a short time, sent out details to collect the wounded, and then about faced and pulled back to an open field near the turnpike. There they remained until 1 AM, when the men were roused and moved off toward Manassas. A. P. Smith, Seventy-sixth New York, pp. 118-20; Doubleday, Journal, August 28, pp. 8-9; Noyes, Bivouac and Battlefield, p. 117-118; Uberto Burnham to his Parents, September 6, 1862, and Burnham, MS "2d Bull Run Battle"; Leander M. Kellog to his Parents, September 4, 1862, Mrs. Rex Oriel Collection, Western Michigan University Archives and Regional History Collection; D. M. Perry, "From the Rapidan to Groveton," National Tribune, March 31, 1892; George E. Hall to his Brother, September 9, 1862, Binghamton Standard, September 17, 1862; 56th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 372-73.

b. The 95th New York

Shortly after ordering the 76th and 56th into the fight, Doubleday received word that Campbell's battery was without support. Consequently, he sent his remaining regiment, the 95th New York, to its support with orders to "follow it wherever it went." The 95th found Campbell's gunners in the open field east of Brawner's woods and remained in support of them throughout the battle. The regiment held its position until ordered to repair to Manassas Junction with the rest of the brigade. Doubleday, Journal, August 28, 1862, pp. 8, 14; Edward L. Barnes, "The 95th New York. Sketch of its Services in the Campaigns of 1862," National Tribune, January 7, 14, 1886; 95th New York report, op.cit., p. 371.

3. Patrick Remains Out of the Fight, Then Sends Out Regiments to Guard the Battlefield

Just after deploying the 23d and 35th New York as skirmishers, Patrick remained covetted just south of the turnpike. He never received orders to enter the fight, so he did not. After the fighting ceased, he withdrew his skirmishers and sent the 21st and 23d New York "to the battleground to guard it and secure the wounded." The troops remained in position until 3 AM, when Patrick received orders to move to Manassas. This he did via a "woods road." Patrick, Journal, August 28, 1862, p. 54; Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 225-27; Charles King, "Gainesville, 1862," p. 276.

4. Gibbon's Men Hold Their Ground Against Great Odds

Gibbon spent most of the fight near the 19th Indiana on the extreme left of his line. After dark, he saw to the security of his position and then joined General King for a conference. There, his suggestion for the command to withdraw to Manassas was accepted. About 1 AM he oversaw the withdrawal of his troops, and moved via Pageland Lane toward Manassas. Gibbon, Personal Recollections, pp. 55-57; Gibbon's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 275.

a. The 2d Wisconsin Repels a Confederate Charge

For the 2d Wiscoinsin the fight at Brawner farm was 1½ hours of hell. Holding the high ground east of the farmhouse, the 2d kept up and received a musketry fire that was, recalled Gibbon, "the most terrific...I have ever listened to." Col. Lucius Fairchild, now commanding the 2d, watched his men carefully, stalking up and down the line, sleeves rolled up and sword clutched, barking orders and directing the regiment's fire. After nearly an hour of fighting, the Badgers had repelled several Confederate advances. It was about 7:30 when the Confederates made their last effort to drive the Federals from the field. From the woods in front emerged a strong line of Rebels heading straight for the 2d. The Badgers stood firm, though, and with help from the 7th Wisconsin and 76th New York to their right, drove the Confederates back. Not long after dark the firing faded away. The 2d remained in place until about 10 PM, when, with as many wounded as could be gathered, they fell back to the woods near the turnpike. Quiner, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers," Vol. 2, pp. 288, 295, 298, 299-300; Vol. 4, p. 15; Hughes, Journal, August 28, 1862; Burnham, MS "2d Bull Run Battle"; Sheldon E. Judson to T. C. H. Smith, October 1, 1877, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

b. The 6th Wisconsin Engages the Confederates on the Right: The Fight as Seen by Maj. Rufus Dawes

Wrote Dawes, "Our fire throughout the line was very rapid and deadly. It was now quite dark, and our position being on low ground we had much the advantage of the enemy. The opposite was the case with the 2d and 7th [to the left]. As the rebels fell back there came a lull in the storm, but it was short. The Rebels had rallied, and in a line overlapping ours both ways...burst from that dark wood volley after volley by battalion that roared and crashed in a manner not surpassed in any action I have seen.... Our men on the left loaded and fired with the energy of madmen and a recklessness of death truly wonderful, but human nature could not long stand such a terribly wasting fire. It literally mowed out gaps in the line, but the isolated squads would rally together and rush up right into the face of death. Still we were being pressed back. The 76th New York [and 56th Pennsylvania] came to the rescue most nobly but could not stay the tide.

"The low ground saved us.... Our line on the left was being slowly forced backwards.... The Rebel line was pushing up with their peculiar Whoop, Whoop, a continuous yell. I galloped down the line of our regiment crying 'Cheer, boys, Cheer! as loud as you can holler.' 'Call out Bully for Sigel.' 'Three and a tiger for the reinforcements.' (Would to God for the sake of our country they had been there.) When I got opposite Colonel Cutler I heard that chug so ominous in a battle, but not a muscle of the man's face quivered as he quietly asked, 'Where is [Lt.] Col. Bragg?' 'I am wounded.' Col. Bragg took command." Dawes, MS "Skirmishes on the Rappahannock and the Battle of Gainesville," T. C. H. Smith Papers.

Colonel Bragg picks up the narrative: "When [Colonel Cutler] left the field I found my right wing engaging the enemy in front at short range, and receiving not only his fire, but also suffering from an oblique fire of an enemy lying upon the crest of the hill, extending beyond our right. I immediately changed position, moving my line to the left so far as was necessary to protect the right from this second fire by cover of a point of wood extending down to my front, and from which we had dislodged the enemy. This was done by the command in excellent order...." 6th Wisconsin report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 382.

According to Dawes, the regiment pushed forward yet again, driving back the Confederates (said by Bragg to have been the 12th Georgia and 21st North Carolina of Trimble's brigade). But soon the line to the left began to fall back. Colonel Bragg ordered the 6th to move rearward "a few rods." While doing so, one of the right companies became disorganized while crossing a ditch, and the regiment halted, firing by file, until the disordered company reformed. Then, for some unexplained reason, the Confederates ceased firing. After gathering the dead and wounded, the 6th fell back by the left flank several hundred yards and rested in the Brawner Woods. Dawes, *op.cit.*; Dawes, *Sixth Wisconsin*, pp. 60-62, 66; Edward S. Bragg to his Wife, September 13, 1862, Edward S. Bragg Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Holford, Diary, September 4, 1862.

c. The 7th Wisconsin Assists the 2d in Repelling the Final Charge of the Enemy

Positioned to the right of the 2d Wisconsin, the 7th Wisconsin bore witness to the worst the battle had to offer. While the Federal line was relatively stationary, the Confederate line was not. "Three times the rebels yelled and started down the hill but were as many times drove [sic] back," recalled George Fairfield. The last of these charges was the largest. It was directed at the 2d Wisconsin. As the Confederates moved forward, Colonel Robinson siezed an opportunity. He ordered his regiment to wheel quickly to the left. "The evolution was executed with as much precision as they ever executed the movement on drill. This brought us within 30 yards of the enemy," reported the colonel. The regiment opened a deadly fire: "Our boys mowed their ranks like grass; but they closed up and came steadily on," wrote Captain Gordon. "But our fire was so terrible and certain that after having the colors in front of us shot down twice they broke in confusion and left us in possession of the field. They left their colors upon the field."

Map 2, 7 p.m. August 28th to 3 a.m. August 29th, Union

"But immediately," Gordon continued, "they formed a new line of fresh regiments, and we proposed to receive them, but they were content to remain back. Some retired to the woods." The firing ceased, and the men of the 7th set about gathering their dead and wounded comrades. Shortly, a picket line was established along the original battle line and the regiment withdrew to the cover of the woods. Fairfield, Diary, August 28, 1862; 7th Wisconsin report, Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 4, p. 15; Letter of Captain Gordon, ibid., p. 13; Letter of J. W. L., ibid., p. 13; L. E. Pond, "An Episode of Gainesville," National Tribune, December 30, 1886.

4. The 19th Indiana Fights on the Federal Left

The vulnerable point of the Federal line, as General Gibbon saw it, was the extreme left, held by the 19th Indiana. Gibbon wrote, "The left of my line rested at the Douglas [Brawner] House, and from that point, as darkness came on, I could see the enemy's line extending far to my left. Should the enemy get possession of this house, and yard full of trees, he would entirely flank my line and enfilade it."

Shortly after 7 PM, while the bulk of the regiment engaged the Southerners in front, the first direct threat to the left flank materialized. Two guns of John Pelham's Confederate Horse Artillery wheeled into position directly opposite the left of the regiment, only a few score yards from the line. The gunners opened fire. Lt. Col. Alois Bachman hastily ordered the two left companies "to wheel on [the battery] and silence it." Captain Dudley of Company B reported, "I immediately wheeled Companies B and G to the left and opened a deadly fire on it." The two companies, operating at right angles to the main line, soon silenced the guns, but for only a moment. Dudley claimed that the gunners ceased firing "merely for the sake of changing its position, for directly it opened again in front of my company. I then threw back my right, and directed all my fire on these two guns, and finally silenced them altogether." (This is in direct conflict with Pelham's report which states that the two guns never changed position and continued to fire throughout the fight.) Dudley then directed the fire of his regiment upon "the two regiments of infantry directly in front of us."

While all this was going on, Colonel Meredith, like Gibbon, spied the Confederate infantry (A. G. Taliaferro's brigade) "moving down on the left flank of my regiment," toward the Brawner house. Gibbon ordered Meredith to move the left of his regiment "obliquely to the rear to protect the flank." Meredith, though, moved his entire command: "I gave the command to fall back to

Map 2, 7 p.m. August 28th to 3 a.m. August 29th, Union a fence about two rods in the rear, which was executed in fine order.... By taking that position the regiment had the advantage of the fence and an offset in the ground of about two feet, which was of great importance." While moving, the regiment ceased firing. According to Gibbon, the enemy took advantage of the lull and "threw forward some men into the yard of the Douglas House, and in the darkness opened fire upon us. Here some confusion took place, but the men readily responded to the voices of their officers and formed line again in the edge of the woods behind them...." The woods, recalled another of the regiment, were about 75 yards behind the line. The regiment took cover behind a rail fence bordering them. Like the rest of the engaged regiments, the 19th did its best to secure its wounded, and then withdrew from the field. Gibbon, Personal Recollections, p. 54; Report of Co. B, 19th Indiana, Richmond [Indiana] Palladium, September 12, 1862; 19th Indiana report, Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, September 12, 1862; William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, pp. 109-110; Sydney Mead, Journal, August 28, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshie Light)

As noted before, there is nothing available to indicate the activities of this battery.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Opens With Two Guns

After getting his guns under cover of woods just south of the turnpike, Captain Monroe searched for a position from which his guns could open. But, he recorded, "The ground the battery had secured appeared in the darkness to be unfavorable for the use of all the guns; therefore two were posted in the road, where they had a flank fire upon both the infantry and artillery of the enemy." Another participant recorded that Monroe's guns were "placed near Campbell's battery with the 95th New York in support of both." The two guns continued to fire until the conflict ceased, then, at 1 AM, withdrew toward Manassas. Monroe, "Battery D," pp. 16-17; D. M. Perry, "From the Rapidan to Groveton," National Tribune, March 31, 1892; Denison, "The Battle of Groveton," p. 28.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light) Suffers from Enemy Fire

Captain Reynolds' guns were scattered along the Warrenton Turnpike. They were badly exposed to Confederate fire, but gamely continuing to fire nonetheless. George Breck, an officer of the battery, wrote, "It proved to be the sharpest and hottest of any of our previous or succeeding encounters with the enemy, and it is a miracle that we were not all killed or wounded and our pieces all dismounted. As it was, the results were fatal to one, if not to two. The rebel guns were on an elevated place, somewhat concealed by trees and bushes, and their range on us was perfect. The shot and shell fell and bursted in our midst every minute...making it almost impossible for the cannoneers to man their pieces. But they stood by them, most manfully, and cooly and steadily replied to the raking fire.... Another battery soon opened on us. We were getting the benefit of a cross fire.... That was too much, and especially as we were situated in the hollow of a road, unable to do but little execution. On our own responsibility—though the order followed immediately—we gave orders to cease firing and limber up." The battery consolidated in the road, and spent the rest of the night along side some woods. Letter of George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.) Provides Much Needed Artillery Support

After moving forward behind the 6th Wisconsin, Campbell ordered his guns to reopen. As support, the 95th New York soon moved to the battery's side. The gunners continued to fire throughout the engagement. Haskell, MS Account; Doubleday, Journal, August 28, 1862.

B. Ricketts' Division Withdraws to Gainesville

Ricketts' artillery continued to bombard Thoroughfare Gap until after dark, when the entire division was drawn off to Gainesville. Tower's brigade, with Thompson's battery, acted as rearguard. En route, Ricketts received a message from General King indicating that the latter planned to retire from the Warrenton Turnpike at 1 AM. Ricketts modified his plans accordingly. Tower to Porter, July 16, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Hussey, Ninth Regiment N.Y.S.M., p. 176; Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384; Bates, Pensylvania Regiments, Vol. 5, p. 866.

C. Reynolds Watches the Fight at Brawner Farm; His Division Bivouacs Near Sigel

General Reynolds was on the field during the entire fight at Brawner Farm. At its end he consulted with both Doubleday and King. King informed him that he intended to hold his position on the field, so Reynolds promised to have his division up by dawn to support. But, Reynolds reported, "Before leaving...I heard [King's] Division moving off, and I learned from General Hatch that it was moving...toward Manassas. I then returned to my own division, which I reached at daylight on the morning of the [29th]." The division was bivouacked, according to General Meade , "in the vicinity of the Conrad House." Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 393; Meade's report, ibid., p. 397; Doubleday, Journal, August 28, 1862, p. 10.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

General Heintzelman spent the night along the banks of Bull Run with Hooker's division. He reported, "At 11 PM I received instructions that General McDowell had intercepted the retreat of the enemy, and that General Kearny's division was ordered to advance at 1 AM until he met the enemy's pickets...and for me to follow at daylight with Hooker's division." Heintzelman's report, op.cit., p. 412; Heintzelman, Journal, August 28, 1862.

A. Kearny is Designated to Lead the Advance

It was probably about 11 PM when Kearny received orders from Pope: "I desire you to move forward at 1 o'clock to-night, even if you can carry with you no more than 2,000 men.... Pursue the turnpike from Centreville to Warrenton.... Advance cautiously and drive the enemy's pickets to-night, and at early dawn attack him vigorously.... Be sure not to march later than 1 with all the men you can take." Upon being handed this dispatch, Kearny read it and snapped at the staff officer bearing it, "Let General Pope go to hell. We won't march before morning." The division moved out at dawn. Pope to Kearny, 9:50 PM, August 28, 1862, op.cit., p. 74; A. E. Voglebach to Porter, August 22, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

B. Hooker Recives Orders to Support Kearny

At 11 PM orders arrived at corps headquarters directing Heintzelman to use Hooker's division to support Kearny's: "It is of the last importance that Hooker shall march at 3 o'clock to-night, taking the turnpike from Centreville to Warrenton, and resting on that road 1½ miles beyond Centreville as a reserve for Kearny." Pope to Heintzelman, 10 PM, August 28, 1862, op.cit., p. 75.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

Porter's men remained at Bristoe. Pope's report, ibid., p. 37.

VI. Ninth Corps

General Reno's command remained in place near Bull Run. Letter of William A. Andrews, September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Pa.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 16, 1862; Pope's report, op.cit., p. 37.

VII. Cavalry Commands

All three brigades remained where they had spent much of the day: Beardsley guarding trains along the Orange and Alexandria, and Buford and Bayard at Haymarket, now covering Ricketts's withdrawal. Beardsley's report, ibid., p. 272; Bayard's report, ibid., p. 91.

The 1st Rhode Island of Bayard's brigade remained on the field at Brawner Farm with King until about midnight when, with that division, it withdrew toward Manassas. Denison, Sabres and Spurs, pp. 141-42.

Map #2, 7 PM August 28-3 AM August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

After dinner at the home of Mr. Robison, Lee received an invitation to spend the night at Avenel, the estate of Mr. William Beverly. Lee accepted, and there spent the night. Long, Memoirs, p. 194.

II. Longstreet's Wing

After seeing that the gap was in his possession, General Longstreet repaired with his staff to "a small cottage...on the mountain" for the night. William Miller Owen, In Camp and Battle With the Washington Artillery of New Orleans (Boston, 1885), p. 113.

A. D. R. Jones' Division Bivouacs Beyond Thoroughfare Gap

The enemy infantry driven off, Jones' men were forced to endure a lengthy cannonade from Ricketts' batteries before they were able to move forward through the gap. Once beyond, at least Benning's brigade was ordered to prepare to support Drayton's brigade in an attack on some of Ricketts' guns, but before the attack took place the enemy withdrew. The division bivouacked on the eastern side of the gap. Jones' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 579; 2d Georgia report, ibid., p. 586; Benning's report, ibid., p. 582.

B. Wilcox Feels His Way Through Hopewell Gap and Encamps at Antioch Church

In his after action report General Wilcox related, "After a tedious, fatiguing, and rather difficult march, [Hopewell] Gap was reached at 10 p.m. Halting the column, a regiment was detached, preceded by a company, both under the direction of Brigadier-General Pryor, with instructions to approach the pass cautiously with the view of ascertaining if it was held by the enemy, and, if so, as to his strength. In one-half or three-quarters of an hour General Pryor reported that he had threaded his way through the pass as far as Antioch Church, near 1 mile beyond." No enemy was found. The rest of the division soon followed in Pryor's footsteps and at midnight all three brigades bivouacked near the church. Wilcox's report, ibid., p. 598.

C. Hood's Division Passes Through Thoroughfare Gap and Bivouacs

After struggling to get his troops over the mountain north of the pass, Colonel Law was ordered to countermarch to the western mouth of the gap and join Hood's brigade there. Frustrated with the order, Law nonetheless had to comply. Once consolidated, Hood's two brigades marched forward through the gap and bivouacked on the eastern side. Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, November 2, 1887; W. T. Hill "The First Troops Through Thoroughfare Gap," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 23 (1915), p. 544.

D. Evans' Brigade

There is no source material relating the activities of Evans' brigade during this period.

E. Kemper Rests West of the Gap

Kemper's division, after taking no part in the fighting for the gap, rested for the night just west of it. William Nathaniel Wood, The Reminiscences of Big I, Bell I. Wiley. ed., (Jackson, Tenn., 1956), p. 31; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell (Raleigh, 1929), Vol. 1, p. 282.

III. Jackson's Wing

After overseeing the fight at Brawner Farm, Jackson retired to Sudley Mill, where he spent the night. Heros Von Borcke, Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence (Edinburgh & London, 1866), Vol. 1, p. 144.

A. Taliaferro Extends His Line to the Right

Once the Federal front on the Brawner Farm had become established, General Taliaferro could see in it a weak spot—its left flank was virtually "in the air." To take advantage of this Taliaferro dispatched three regiments of A. G. Taliaferro's brigade to work their way around the Union flank. While A. G. Taliaferro's men moved, the Stonewall Brigade continued to engage the Federals fiercely in front, Starke continued to support batteries, and Johnson remained too far away to be of immediate use. During the fight General Taliaferro was wounded and command of the division fell to Brig. Gen. William E. Starke. Taliaferro's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 656; Taliaferro, "Jackson's Raid Around Pope," p. 510.

1. Baylor's Brigade Holds its Line While Ewell's Men Attack Farther to the Left

Baylor's line ran from some outbuildings of the Brawner House on the right, along the northern edge of the Brawner's orchard, and ended in the open field in front of the 2d Wisconsin. In the face of a tremendous musketry fire, the Virginians held their ground. It was probably shortly after 7 PM when General Lawton ordered up the 26th Georgia to assault the enemy's line to the left of Baylor's position. As the Georgians moved forward in the gathering darkness they mistakenly opened fire on the 2d Virginia, Baylor's left flank regiment. Calls went out from the 2d to cease fire, and some men even tried to run the gauntlet to the Georgians to inform them of their mistake, but each was shot down. The Virginains could only lay down, take cover, and wait for Lawton's men to cease firing, which they soon did. At that the Virginians reopened fire on the Federal line and the conflict raged until darkness precluded further activity. At the close of the fight Baylor's men slept on the battlefield. Taliaferro's report, op.cit., p. 656; James M. Hendricks, "Jackson's March to the Rear of Pope's Army," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 17 (1909), p. 549 (Hendricks identifies the regiment that fired into the rear of the 2d Virginia as the 28th Georgia. That it was the 26th Georgia—one of Lawton's regiments—is almost certain.); Gold, History of Clarke County, pp. 178-79; 2d Virginia report, op.cit., p. 661; Shuler, Diary, August 28, 1862.

2. Johnson's Brigade Remains Out of Action

Johnson remained at the crossing of the Groveton-Sudley Road and the unfinished railroad throughout the night. Johnson's report, op.cit., p. 665.

3. A. G. Taliaferro's Brigade Moves Up on Baylor's Right and Takes Possession of the Brawner Farmhouse

Col. A. G. Taliaferro with the 10th, 23d, and 37th Virginia was ordered to move into position on Baylor's right. Taliaferro moved his men across the fields to the area immediately around the Brawner farm buildings, threatening and enfilading the Union left in the process. After being engaged for a short time, the brigade bivouacked on the spot. The 47th and 48th Alabama, meanwhile, continued to support batteries farther to the rear. W. B. Taliaferro's report, ibid., pp. 656, 657; Gibbon, Personal Recollections, p. 54.

4. Starke's Brigade

Not in the main Confederate battleline, Starke's Louisianans continued to support batteries. At the close of the battle Starke took control of the division (Taliaferro being wounded) and Col. Leroy Staffford assumed command of the brigade. Stafford's report, op.cit., p. 668.

5. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

The only batteries of this battalion engaged were Poague's and Carpenter's, these in front of Starke's brigade. Crutchfield's report, ibid., pp. 651-652; Jackson's report, ibid., p. 645.

B. A. P. Hill's Division

1. Branch's Brigade

It was shortly after 7 PM that General Branch dispatched the 18th North Carolina "to the support of General Ewell," but the regiment arrived too late to be of service. Meanwhile, reported Colonel James Lane, "about nightfall the whole command was moved into the woods into the railroad cut, where we slept upon our arms." Lane's report, ibid., p. 676.

2. Archer's Brigade

At twilight Archer moved his brigade from the open field back through the woods into the unfinished railroad. Archer's report, ibid., p. 700.

3. Pender's Brigade

There is no material available to locate these North Carolinians. Their position as shown on the map is approximate.

4. Field's Brigade

There is no evidence that Field moved from its position taken earlier in the afternoon. Archer's report, ibid., p. 700.

5. Gregg's Brigade

"About dark" General Gregg was ordered to move his brigade toward the right and report to Ewell. He did so, but by the time the brigade arrived Ewell was wounded and the fighting was over. The brigade slept "on Ewell's battlefield." McGowan's report, ibid., p. 679.

6. Thomas' Brigade

Thomas remained in the vicinity of Sudley Ford. Thomas' report, ibid., p. 702.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

As before mentioned, none of Walker's batteries were engaged. Walker's report, ibid., p. 674.

C. Ewell's Division: Lawton and Trimble Assail the Federal Line; General Ewell is Wounded

Jackson's only offensive of the evening was carried out by parts of Lawton's and Trimble's brigades of Ewell's division. It was an attack that was not only unsuccessful, but it also cost General Lee one of his best division commanders. As Trimble's brigade moved forward into the fight, Ewell joined one of the regiments (probably the 12th Georgia) and, according to Campbell Brown, led it down a ravine to drive away the enemy. As the regiment moved forward, though, it was swept by a crossfire. Ewell knelt on one knee to look under some pine branches for the source of the crossfire, and while doing so was struck "just on the knee-cap" by a bullet "which pierced the joint and followed the leg down for some inches." The general's knee cap was split in two and the tibia shattered.

Ewell lay in the pine thicket alone for some time before he was found by both Brown and General Early. The wounded general insisted that his leg be amputated on the spot, but Early prevailed upon him to wait until a field hospital could be reached. Ewell was brought to Sudley Church that night, and early next morning, because of nearby fighting, was moved to the Buckner House, about 4 miles north of the battlefield. There his leg was amputated by Dr. Hunter McGuire of Jackson's staff. Command of the division devolved upon Brig. Gen. Alexander R. Lawton. Brown, MS "Military Reminiscences," pp. 102-103; Henry W. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade (Atlanta, 1903), p. 219; Early, Autobiographical Sketch, p. 121.

1. Lawton Attacks the 2d Wisconsin

Based on Union accounts, the Confederates launched a determined attack against the 2d Wisconsin of Gibbon's brigade about 45 minutes into the fight. This attack, at least in part, was carried out by an undetermined number of Lawton's regiments. One of the regiments involved was the 26th Georgia. In a letter home after the battle J. S. Blaite of the 26th remembered, "We were ordered in just after dark; we marched steadily across an open field for about four hundred yards, over which the balls were flying by the thousands. Occasionally a man would drop from the ranks, yet not one faltered. When we reached the fence the men were ordered to lie down and commence firing; we poured volley after volley into the ranks of the enemy, who were drawn up in line of battle in the field beyond.... After firing several rounds General Lawton ordered the brigade to charge.... At the command every man went over the fence; then the Yankees did fearful execution."

Lawton's men were receiving fire not only from the 2d Wisconsin in front, but also from the 7th Wisconsin and 76th New York to the left. According to the Yankees, the Georgians staggered in the field, and then yielded. The firing continued for several minutes, but then darkness brought it to an end. Letter of J. S. Blaite, September 4, 1862, Augusta [Ga.] Weekly Chronicle, September 23, 1862; Gaff, "Pinched Bellies and a Hell of a Fight," pp. 49-50.

2. Trimble Directs His Brigade to Attack, but the 12th Georgia and 15th Alabama Miss the Order and the 21st Georgia and 21st North Carolina Go in Alone

Trimble's brigade held the "left wing of our attacking force," connecting on its right with Lawton's brigade. About 7 PM Trimble ordered his brigade forward. The general reported, "My brigade moved forward in beautiful order in line of battle, across an open field, soon met the fire of the enemy, and returned it briskly, but not effectively, as the opposing force was under the brow of the plain." The 21st Georgia was on the right of Trimble's line, flanked on its left by the 21st North Carolina. The 15th Alabama apparently held the left center, and the 12th Georgia the extreme left. The firefight continued, as Trimble recalled, until about 8 PM when he ordered a charge. The attack, however, never really developed. Neither the 15th Alabama nor the 12th Georgia heard the order, and thus the left of the "two Twenty-ones" was exposed as they advanced. The two regiments pushed on for only "forty steps" beyond the fence they were intitially concealed behind and there "held their ground most resolutely" until ordered to fall back.

While the two 21sts fought on the right, on the left the 15th Alabama and the 12th Georgia engaged the Federals in an extended firefight. W. A McLendon of the 15th wrote, "The position of the left wing of the 15th Alabama was in a thick clump of bushes, covering a space not exceeding four acres and was very rocky. Our march, in line of battle which was preceded by skirmishers, led through this clump of rocky woods until we reached an old dilapidated fence which skirted the opposite side. The space in front was clear, but the night was so dark that the 'Boys in Blue' could...be seen or located only by the flash of their guns.... Although dark, they had our range as well as we had theirs.... Their position was out in the open, ours behind the old fence. We were not over fifty yards apart." The enemy, added another man "took position in a gulley which had washed out down the hillside parallel to" the fence. The noisy musketry battle continued for about an hour, until darkness brought an end to the firing and the Federals drew off the field. At that, according to McLendon, "We moved our position a little to the rear and bivouacked for the night." Trimble, "Report of Operations," pp. 307-308; Thomas, Doles-Cook Brigade, pp. 219, 354; William C. Oates, The War Between the Union and the Confederacy (New York & Washington, 1905), p. 138; William A. McLendon, Recollections of War Times (Montgomery, 1909), p. 107; Walter Clark, ed., Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the

Great War, 1861-'65 (Raleigh, 1901), Vol. 2, p. 155; W. R. and M. B. Houghton, Two Boys in the Civil War and After (Montgomery, 1912), p. 24.

3. Early and Forno Move Within Supporting Distance and Encamp There

In his post-battle report General Early chronicled, "Just before dark I received an order from General Jackson...to advance to the front, and [I] immediately put my brigade in motion, followed by [Forno's] brigade, and while advancing I received another order to send two regiments to the right to General Jackson, and detached the 44th Virginia and 49th Virginia, under Colonel William Smith, for that purpose. On arriving at the railroad cut I found it so deep that I could not pass over it, and I moved by the right flank until I reached a ravine with high embankments on both sides and an interval between, through which I moved by [the] flank, forming by file into line in front of it. This movement brought me near the left of the position to which Trimble's brigade had advanced.... By the time I had succeeded in forming my line in front of the railroad the enemy was retiring, and it having become dark and impossible to tell whether I should encounter enemies or friends, I advanced no farther, and [Forno's] brigade was halted on the railroad. In this position the two brigades lay on their arms during the night." Early's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 711; Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 814-15.

4. Division Artillery

No firm information is available regarding any of the batteries of Ewell's division during this time period.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

A. Fitz Lee's Brigade

Most of Lee's brigade continued away on its foray toward Fairfax. Only the 1st and 5th Virginia operated on the field. The 1st was apparently with Johnson's brigade, near General the crossing of the Groveton-Sudley Road over the unfinished railroad. Rosser, meanwhile, continued continued to guard Jackson's right flank on the Brawner Farm. Johnson's report, op.cit, p. 665; 5th Virginia Cavalry report, ibid., p. 750.

B. Robertson's Brigade

By the time Robertson's brigade arrived on the field of battle it was after dark. Seeing he could not be of effective service he proceeded with his troopers to Sudley Mill, where he spent the night. Robertson's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 216.

C. Pelham's Battery

With orders to move to the firing line, Pelham was to be guided into position by Major Shumaker. While moving forward in the twilight Pelham lost track of one of his guns and approached the front with only two three-inch rifles. Pelham reported, "By this time it had become dark, and, Major Shumaker not being aware of the exact position of the enemy, we crossed the old rairoad about a mile to the right of Groveton, and moved but a short distance beyond, when the enemy apprised of his presence by firing a volley into the head of the column, distance about 40 paces." Pelham, now "beyond the firing line," ordered "In Battery," and the gunners unlimbered the two pieces and opened fire at a range of "about 50 or 60 yards." According to the Federals involved (the 19th Indiana), Pelham's fire enfiladed the left of their line and forced a change of position on their part. "After remaining in position about half an hour," continued Pelham, "Major Shumaker ordered me to fall back. Owing to the pole of one of my guns being broken I could not obey the order, and continued firing [with one gun] until the enemy were driven back." Subsequently Pelham gathered his scattered pieces. Pelham's reports, op.cit., p. 754; George W. Shreve, MS "Reminiscences of the History of the Stuart Horse Artillery," in Bruce Catton's and E. B. Long's Research Notes for Bruce Catton's Centennial History of the Civil War (made available by Doubleday and Company), Library of Congress. (Long's notes indicated that the original of the Shreve manuscript was in the Virginia State Library, but investigation at that institution turned up no such document.); 19th Indiana Documentation, 7 PM-Midnight, August 28.

MAP 3

Map #3, 3 AM-10 AM, August 29

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

At 3 AM Pope issued what he hoped would be the final orders necessary to complete his plan of crushing Jackson. To Porter he wrote, "...move upon Centreville at the first dawn of day with your whole command, leaving your trains to follow." Similarly, he wrote to Reno at 5 AM, "I sent you verbal orders by Colonel Smith last night [the exact nature of these orders is unclear]. News from the front makes it necessary to modify them. [What "news" Pope refers to is also ambiguous.] You will accordingly move rapidly on Centreville by the road past these headquarters. Upon arriving at Centreville you will take the turnpike toward Warrenton, and push forward rapidly. You will find the whole corps of Heintzelman in front of you. Pass his stragglers, and keep well up with his command, pushing rapidly toward any firing you may hear." Ruggles to Porter, 3 AM, August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 75; Pope to Reno, 5 AM, August 29, 1862, ibid., pp. 75-76.

Just after daybreak, Pope broke his headquarters along Bull Run and moved on to Centreville. Soon after arriving there he received word (from what source is unknown) of King's night-time withdrawal from the Warrenton Turnpike. This, wrote Pope, made "an immediate change in the disposition and proposed movements of the troops for the for the succeeding day...necessary." His first priority was to reclaim what he believed to be the position yielded by King and Ricketts near Gainesville. Through Captain Piatt, Pope sent orders to McDowell to turn King's division over to Porter and see that Porter and King marched toward Gainesville. While in search of McDowell, Piatt found Porter and delivered the message to him. (Contrary to Piatt's testimony, McDowell makes no mention of ever receiving this order.) John Piatt's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, pp. 1064, 1067; John H. Piatt to Porter, June 28, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; [Fitz John Porter], Narrative of the Services of the Fifth Army Corps in 1862 in Northern Virginia (Morristown, N.J., 1878), pp. 19-20; Gibbon's Testimony, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 276; Pope's Testimony, U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 71, Fitz John Porter Court Martial (Washington, 1863), p. 14; McDowell's Testimony, ibid., pp. 86-87.

A short time after dispatching Piatt with the verbal order, Pope was approached by John Gibbon, who had ridden to meet him from Manassas. Gibbon gave Pope further details of the previous night's fight and impressed upon him the importance of the abandoned position. (It was Gibbon's impression that this was the first Pope knew of King's withdrawal, but Pope had in fact learned of it earlier and issued verbal orders to Porter to reassume King's position along the Warrenton Turnpike.) "At first he did not seem to appreciate the importance of this," recalled Gibbon, but after a short time Pope directed his chief of staff, George Ruggles, to compose orders for Porter to move to Gainesville: "Push forward with your corps and King's division, which you will take with you, upon Gainesville. I am following the enemy down the Warrenton Turnpike. Be expiditious, or we will lose much." These orders were entrusted to Gibbon, who delivered them to Porter at Manassas at 9:30. Gibbon, Recollections, pp. 58-59.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

With orders to "attack the enemy vigorously" at dawn, Sigel spent most of the pre-dawn hours in preparation. Sigel reported, I "formed in order of battle at daybreak, having ascertained that the enemy was in considerable force beyond Young's Branch, in sight of the hills we occupied.... I therefore directed General Schurz to deploy his division on the right of the Gainesville road, and by a change of direction to the left to come into position parallel with the Sudley Springs Road. General Milroy, with his brigade and one battery, was directed to form the center, and to take possession of an elevation in front of the so-called 'stone house,' at the junction of the Gainesville and Sudley Springs roads, General Schenck, with his division, forming our left, was ordered to advance quickly to an adjoining range of hills, and to plant his batteries on these hills at an excellent range from the enemy's position.

"In this order our whole line advanced from point to point, taking advantage of the ground before us, until our whole line was involved in a most vehement artillery and infantry contest. In the course of about four hours, from 6:30 to 10:30...our whole infantry force and nearly all our batteries were engaged with the enemy." Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 266.

A. Schenck Advances on the Left of Sigel's Line

As Sigel had outlined, Schenck was to occupy the left of the corps' line of advance. Before the movement started, however, Milroy's and Schenck's batteries engaged the Confederates in a long range artillery duel. An hour later, wrote William Cheesebrough, Schenck's assistant adjutant general, "We received the order to move one brigade by the flank to the left and advance, which was done. We here obtained a good position for artillery, and stationed De Beck's First Ohio Battery, which did excellent service.... Unfortunately, however, they were poorly supplied with ammunition, and soon compelled to withdraw. Our two brigades were now put in motion. General Stahel...marching around the right of the hill to a hollow in front, was ordered to draw up in line of battle and halt. Colonel McLean advanced around the left of the hill under cover of the woods, pressing gradually forward until he struck the turnpike at a white house about one-half mile in advance of the stone house. General Milroy's brigade arrived about the same time.

"We here halted and sent back for General Stahel, who took the pike and soon joined us. We then formed our line of battle in the woods to the left of the pike, our right resting on the road, and then pushed on slowly. Milroy in the meanwhile had deployed to the right of the road, and soon became engaged with the enemy. Our division was advanced until we reached the edge of the woods and halted. In front of us was an open space (which also extended to the right of the road and to our right) beyond which was another wood. We remained here nearly an hour, the firing in the meanwhile becoming heavy on the right. The enemy had a battery very advantageously placed on a high ridge behind the woods in front of Milroy.... It was admirably served and entirely concealed. Our position becoming known, their fire was directed toward us. The general determined, therefore, to advance, and so pushed on across the open space in front and took position in the woods beyond." In the course of this movement, the division moved across Lewis Lane. Here Schenck's men discovered wounded from the fight of the previous evening. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 279-280; George B. Fox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 707.

1. Stahel Moves Forward With His Right on the Warrenton Turnpike

It was almost 9 AM when Stahel's brigade began to move forward. From the Bald Hill-Chinn Ridge area, Stahel moved his four regiments to a position just behind the J. Dogan house. Stahel reported, "I remained here but a short time, when I received the order to advance on the Warrenton Turnpike beyond Groveton. Having advanced about 1 mile I received the order to take position on the left of the road, resting with my right wing...on the road and with my left wing on [McLean's] brigade. Here I found a number of dead and wounded soldiers from McDowell's corps from the preceding evening." The brigade was drawn up in columns of division, with skirmishers thrown out. These skirmishers soon became briskly engaged. Four companies of the 41st New York were detached as support for Schirmer's battery. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 284; 8th, 41st, 45th New York reports, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, pp. 386-87.

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2. McLean Anchors the Left of the Division

Like the rest of the division, McLean's men began their advance between 8 and 9 AM. The Ohioans moved on Stahel's left, advancing south of the turnpike, across Lewis Lane, until they reached the scene of the previous night's action. Throughout the movement, the skirmishers were engaged. McLean's report, op.cit., p. 288; George B. Fox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 707.

3. Division Artillery

a. Blume's (2d New York Light) Battery Shells the Brawner Woods

Wrote Lt. S. F. Blume, "I marched the 2d N.Y. Battery forward and placed one section in position on the hill to the left of the hospital near the Centreville pike, ordering [it] at once to shell the woods in front. As soon as the enemy opened fire on that section I ordered the remaining three pieces forward...." The battery was supported by four companies of the 41st New York. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; 41st New York report, Ibid.

b. Haskins' Battery (K, 1st Ohio Light) Does Effective Service

Haskins' guns were among the first to go into action, taking position and opening fire prior to the advance of Schenck's division. According to Adjutant General Cheesebrough, Haskins' battery "obtained a good position" and "did excellent service, blowing up a caisson and silencing [a] battery." The battery's position was, apparently, near McLean's brigade on the west edge of Chinn Ridge. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 279.

B. Von Steinwehr's Division

Von Steinwehr's command consisted of only one brigade—John Koltes'. This three-regiment brigade apparently advanced behind Schenck's division, acting as support for batteries south of the Warrenton Turnpike. About 10 AM the 29th New York was detached from the division and sent to Schurz. Schurz utilized the regiment as a reserve, posting it in the interval between Schimmelfennig's and Krzyzanowski's brigades, "on the edge of the roads behind a fence." The remaining regiments of the brigade continued to support batteries south of the Warrenton Turnpike near Groveton. 29th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 863; Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 297.

C. Schurz Contacts the Enemy on the Extreme Right

Just after 5 AM, General Schurz received orders to, as he wrote, "cross the turnpike, to deploy my division north of it, and to attack the forces of the enemy supposed to be concealed in the woods immediately in my front." The division was to form the right of the corps' advance. In his report to Sigel, Schurz wrote, "I formed my division left in front, and after having forded Young's Branch deployed [Schimmelfennig's] brigade...on the right, and [Krzyzanowski's] brigade...on the left. There was a little farm house [probably the Matthews house] in front of Colonel Schimmilfennig's brigade, which he was ordered to take as a point of direction, and after having passed it to bring his right wing a little forward, so as to execute a converging movement toward the Second Brigade and upon the enemy's left flank." Roemer's battery was "ordered to follow the left wing of" Krzyzanowski's brigade, "and to take position on a rise of ground immediately on the left of a little grove, through which Colonel Krzyzanowski was to pass." Hampton's battery was held in reserve.

"As soon as the two brigades," Shcurz continued, "had formed four regiments ts each," in column by company in the first line and two in column doubled on center in reserve behind the intervals, the skirmishers advanced rapidly a considerable distance without finding the enemy. Arrived on the ground behind the little patches of timber the division had passed through, I received from you the order to connect my line of skirmishers with General Milroy's on my left. I pushed my left wing rapidly forward into the long stretch of woods before me, and found myself obliged to extend my line considerably in order to establish the connection with General Milroy, which, however, was soon effected."

Up to this point in the advance, Schurz had encountered no resistence. Then suddenly, "at the point where General Milroy's right touched my left," a scattering musketry fire broke out. The enemy had been found. In response, Schurz first redisposed his artillery to better support his line. Roemer's battery was placed on "an elevation of ground, about 600 or 700 yards behind the point where" Krzyzanowski had entered the woods. Hampton was placed to cover the right of the line, "on high ground behind the woods in which Colonel Schimmelfennig was engaged." The prospects for advancing the line, though, were bleak. What confronted Schurz was unknown. Too, the advance of nearly a mile had disheveled his formations: "The ranks [were] broken up into irregular little squads." At this point one of Schimmelfennig's aides rode up. He reported the fight going well on the right, but warned, "the devil to pay

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ahead," and turned over two prisoners who bore important tidings. Interrogating them, Schurz found that his two brigades confronted all of "Ewell's and Jackson's divisions."

Schurz recalled that about the same time, Schurz learned of a column approaching his right flank, but "it could not be distinguished whether they were Union troops or rebels." As a precaution, Schurz withdrew Krzyzanowski's reserve regiment (the 54th New York) from the woods, "so as to have it at my disposal in an emergency," and ordered Schimmelfennig "to form one of his regiments front toward the right and to send out skirmishers in that direction," to ascertain the "true condition of things there." After a short time, the mysterious column on the right disappeared and Schurz received word that General Kearny had arrived with his division on the field. Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 297; Carl Schurz, The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz (New York, 1907), Vol. 2, pp. 363-64.

1. Schimmelfennig Engages the Enemy on the Right of the Line

Unfortunately there is little material available to specifically delineate the movements of Schimmelfennig's brigade during the period before 10 AM. What is known is that the brigade moved forward on the right of Schurz's line; the 61st Ohio was on the left of the front line, the 74th Pennsylvania on the right, and the 8th West Virginia apparently in reserve. Recalled Maj. Franz Blessing of the 74th Pennsylvania, "Under cover of skirmishers in the front and right flank, we advanced in quick-time over an open field until we arrived at the center of the woods, where in an opening we halted. The skirmishers met the skirmish line of the enemy, opened fire, and drove them from the woods. Forced by the heavy artillery fire of the enemy we changed several times our positions. [The Confederate brigade that Schimmelfennig engaged was undoubtedly Gregg's.] From the right flank came the report that a strong column was advancing, but it was impossible to recognize whether friend or foe." Schurz directed that Schimmelfennig deploy a regiment in that direction as a safeguard. The 74th Pennsylvania was designated. But, wrote Blessing, "It was afterwards ascertained to be General Kearny's corps [sic] for our relief." 74th Pennsylvania report, op.cit.. p. 310; 61st Ohio report, ibid., p. 309; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 297.

2. Krzyzanowski Initiates the Morning's Action

At 5:30 AM Colonel Krzyzanowski was ordered to deploy his brigade and advance on Schimmelfennig's left. Krzyzanowski placed the 75th Pennsylvania on the left and the 58th New York on the right of his first line, in column of companies, and withheld the 54th New York as a reserve. The colonel reported, "A line of skirmishers having been established, we advanced toward the woods through which the Manassas Gap Railroad runs." Upon entering the woods, Krzyzanowski learned that his advance had outdistanced both Milroy's, on his left, and Schimmelfennig's. "I halted my skirmishers to wait until the line was re-established. However, being informed that General Milroy was advancing, I sent the Fifty-fourth Regiment to take position on my right wing and try to find the line of Colonel Schimmelfennig's skirmishers, and then I advanced," together with Schimmelfennig.

"Scarcely had the skirmishers passed over 200 yards when they became engaged with the enemy. For some time the firing was kept up, but our skirmishers had to yield at last to the enemy's advancing column. At this time I ordered my regiments up, and a general engagement ensued. However, I soon noticed that the 54th and 58th Regiments had to fall back, owing to the furious fire of the enemy, who had evidently thrown his forces exclusively upon those two regiments." Krzyzanowski now called up the 75th Pennsylvania, heretofore unengaged, and threw it "upon the right flank of the enemy, and kept him busy until I had brought the 58th at a double quick up to its previous position, when those two regiments successfully drove the enemy before them, thereby gaining the position of the Manassas Gap Railroad." Meanwhile, Schurz had withdrawn the 54th New York and placed it in the interval between Krzyzanowski and Schimmelfennig. Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., pp. 311-312; 54th New York report, ibid., p. 314; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 297.

3. Evidence Regarding the Location of Schurz's Advance

Like so much of the action on August 29, determining the exact venue of Schurz's morning skirmishing is difficult. There are, however, several important clues. Perhaps the most important are those provided by Confederate descriptions of the early morning engagement. Advancing on the right of the Union line, Schurz undoubtedly struck A. P. Hill's division. Hill's front was manned initially by three brigades, from left to right, Gregg's, Thomas', and Field's. Field's brigade, as outlined below, was not engaged before 10 AM. The fighting, one man of the brigade described, began farthur to the left. From Thomas' report it can be gleaned that Gregg's brigade became engaged first, and Thomas advanced his regiments to Gregg's aid one by one. For Gregg's command there are, fortunately, some very detailed descriptions of the morning phase available. From them it is apparent that Gregg's men had to deal with threats from two directions, the right and the left. The narratives given describing

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the fighting on the right of Gregg's line mesh quite well with that given by Krzyzanowski (above).

Other important clues come from Federal sources:

a. Major Blessing of the 74th Pennsylvania of Schimmelfennig's brigade relates that his regiment moved into heavy wood and halted "in an opening" therein. The only wooded area that matches this description is that area just east of Sudley Road, the cleared area being that in which the Newman house rested.

b. General Schurz related that when he placed one of his reserve regiments, the 29th New York, in the interval between Schimmelfennig and Krzyzanowski it rested "on the edge of the roads behind a fence." The road he speaks of is, in all likelihood, the Sudley Springs Road.

c. Krzyzanowski recorded that one of the regiments in his front was the 10th South Carolina. The 10th South Carolina was not on the field, but there were several other regiments from the Palmetto State in the area, all of them with Gregg's brigade. One of Sigel's staff officers also made note of the fact that Schurz was confronted by South Carolina troops.

This evidence leads to the conclusion that Schurz's initial advance covered an area both to the right and left of the Sudley Springs Road, and that the two brigades were engaged almost entirely with Gregg's brigade, supported by Thomas'.

3. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light) Guards the Right of Schurz's Line

Once the division had become involved with the enemy, General Schurz directed Captain Hampton to take position on the right of the line, "on high ground behind the woods in which Colonel Schimmelfennig was engaged." Under a "scorching" Confederate fire, the battery was at one time ordered to fall back "a short distance," but soon reassumed its old position and opened fire again. William Clark, History of Hampton's Battery F, Independent Pennsylvania Light Artillery (n.p,n.d), p. 29; Joseph B. Todd, Diary, August 29, 1862, Private Possession; Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 297.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) Supports Krzyzanowski

According to Schurz, Roemer's battery was directed to take position "upon an elevation of ground, about 600 or 700 yards behind the point where [Krzyzanowski's] brigade had entered the woods, a little to the left, so

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as to protect the retreat of the regiments composing the left wing, in case they should be forced to fall back." Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 297.

c. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light) Supports Schenck's Division

Captain Dilger reported, "The battery was ordered, under protection of Colonel Koltes' brigade, to the support of General Schenck's division, upon the left flank of the First Corps. I advanced to the left of the road and took position upon the outermost elevation in our front, just opposite a large battery of the enemy, which, mounting about ten guns, was posted upon the hill inclosing the valley." Dilger engaged this Confederate battery in a spirited duel. Dilger's report, ibid., p. 305; Daniel Leasure, "Address By Colonel Daniel Leasure," Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Minnesota Commandery, Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle (St. Paul, 1887), p. 153.

D. Corps Reserve Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding)

1. Wiedrich (I, 1st New York Light) Remains Out of Action

According to Captain Wiedrich, his battery did not go into action until 10 AM. His location before that time is unknown, but was likely in the neighborhood of Chinn Ridge or Henry Hill. Wiedrich's report, op.cit., p. 304.

2. Buell's Battery (C, West Virginia Light) Comes Forward

Whether or not Buell's battery (four howitzers) was in action during the early morning hours is unclear. If it was, it was in support of Schenck's division. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, ibid., p. 280.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light) Moves With Milroy

Prior to the general advance of Milroy's brigade, Dieckmann's gunners opened fire from "a commanding position." From there they continued to fire until Milroy advanced, then moved forward with him and took up a new position, but did not open fire: "The battery was not placed in position, but just stood close by behind the infantry in column, utterly useless, and itself in danger." William Wheeler, Letters of William Wheeler of the Class of 1855, Y.C. (Privately Printed, 1875), p. 350.

E. Milroy's Brigade Advances In the Center

General Milroy reported, "At daylight, I was ordered to proceed in search of the rebels, and we had not proceeded more than 500 yards when we were greeted by a few straggling shots from the woods in front. We were now at the creek, and I had just sent forward my skirmishers, when I received orders to halt and let the men have breakfast. While they were cooking, myself, accompanied by General Schenck, rode to the top of an eminence, some 500 yards to the front, to reconnoiter. We had no sooner reached the top than we were met by a shower of musket balls from the woods on our right. I immediately ordered up my battery and gave the bushwackers a few shot and shell, which soon cleared the woods." Riding farther ahead, Milroy found the enemy "in great force." He called up his battery, and ordered his infantry to advance.

The 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia deployed in line of battle, supported by the 2d and 3d West Virginia in column, and moved forward. Schenck was on his left, Schurz on his right. The advance of the 82d and 5th brought them into the Groveton Woods, while the 2d and 3d West Virginia apparently skirted the timber to the south. Milroy recalled, "After passing a piece of woods I turned to the right, where the rebels had a battery that gave us a great deal of trouble. I brought forward one of my batteries [Milroy had two batteries with him—Johnson's and Dieckmann's. The battery he refers to here was probably Johnson's.] to reply to it, and soon heard a tremendous fire of small arms, and knew that General Schurz was hotly engaged to my right in an extensive forest." Milroy, on his own responsibility, decided that Schurz needed assistance and detailed the 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia to go to his aid. Meanwhile, with his other two regiments, the brash general conjured up a plan to attack the battery. Milroy's report, op.cit., p. 319; Robert Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Margaret Paulus, ed., Papers of General Robert Huston Milroy (n.p., 1965), Vol. 1, pp. 81-82; Alfred E. Lee, "From Cedar Mountain to Chantilly," Magazine of American History, Vol. 16 (1886), p. 468; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Generals, and Soldiers (Cincinnati, 1872), Vol. 1, p. 473.

1. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light) Opens Fire From Near Groveton

After firing the first shot of the day about 5 AM, Johnson's battery moved forward with Milroy's brigade, taking position on the ground where the Confederate cemetery now sits. From there, the battery fired at the Confederate guns on the heights overlooking Milroy's position. Basil T. Bowers' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 897; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, op.cit.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

After several hours rest, McDowell left his bivouac at 4:30 AM and set out

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in search of Reynolds. At 5:30 he found him at the Conrad House. There McDowell was informed of what Reynolds had observed the previous evening: King's division had been heavily engaged and had apparently withdrawn to Manassas. Additionally, Reynolds informed him of Sigel's orders to attack at dawn. McDowell directed Reynolds to "support General Sigel in the movement he was about to make..." Then McDowell departed Reynolds and rode toward Manassas Junction for the purpose of "bringing up my corps to put on the left of Reynolds." [Schriver], "Notes From My Journal," Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Willard, Diary, August 29, 1862; McDowell's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 714; McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 338.

At 7:30, McDowell proceeded to Manassas via the Sudley Springs Road. At 9 AM he found both King and Porter at the Wier House (Liberia), but learned that King's division had been assigned to Porter's command for the march on Gainesville. house. McDowell expressed to Porter his misgivings over having so large a part of his command taken from him. At the same time expressed his displeasure in a message to Pope. Meanwhile, a written order reiterating Porter's previous instructions to move with his own and King's command on Gainesville was received (delivered by Gibbon). His frustration exacerbated, McDowell tried to circumvent the command arrangement by requesting Porter to "place King on your right so I can have my command together," and then sent a dispatch to Pope saying hopefully, "of course this [command arrangement] is but temporary." In hopes that Pope would respond to his requests for the reinstatement of King's command to his, McDowell prolonged his meeting with Porter at Liberia until after 10 AM. Porter, Narrative, pp. 19-22; McDowell's Testimony, Porter Court Martial, p. 90; Pope's Testimony, ibid., p. 14; Gibbon, Recollections, p. 60; Porter's Testimony, McDowell Court of Inquiry, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, pp. 241-242; John H. Piatt to Porter, June 28, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. King Relinquishes Command While His Division Rests at Manassas

By the time his column reached Manassas Junction, General King was unfit to continue in command of the division. Forthwith, he proceeded to Liberia and officially relinquished command to Hatch. Meanwhile his division rested near the Junction and received a much needed ration. Roebling to Porter, May 9, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Patrick, Journal, August 28, 1862; Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," p. 363.

B. Ricketts Moves to Bristoe Station and Then on to Manassas

At daylight Ricketts' troops broke bivouac at Gainesville and proceeded to Bristoe Station, arriving there at 7 AM. After a couple hours of rest the column continued its march, taking the road to Manassas. Jaques, Three Years Campaign, p. 99; Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384.

C. Reynolds Moves Forward on Sigel's Right; The Advance is Led By Meade's Brigade and Cooper's Battery (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light)

At daylight Reynolds was visited by corps commander McDowell. Reynolds relayed a request from Sigel for cooperation in the dawn attack the latter was to make. McDowell ordered Reynolds to cooperate as requested. Reynolds' report, ibid., p. 393.

Meade's brigade was apparently directed to spearhead the advance, moving on Sigel's left. Meade deployed the 13th Pennsylvania Reserves (the Bucktails) as skirmishers, formed the 3d and 8th Reserves in columns of divisions on the left of Cooper's battery and the 4th and 7th Reserves on the right, and pushed his column forward on Sigel's right. After advancing a considerable distance, Reynolds received a request from General Schenck for a battery. He chose Cooper's for the job, and directed Meade to support it. Cooper hustled his guns forward, crossed the turnpike, and went into position "on the left of the woods where Gibbon's brigade had been in action" the previous evening. Cooper was, wrote Reynolds, "on the same ridge on which the enemy's right was." Meade dispatched the 4th, 7th, and 8th Regiments to support the battery. The 4th and 7th went directly to the support of the guns, while the 3d, 8th, and 13th maneuvered along the turnpike. Reported Capt. William Lemon of the 8th Reserves, "[We] moved along the road through the woods at double-quick under a heavy fire from the enemy. Found Bucktails beyond the woods at [a] fence." Here the regiment rested for ten minutes. At that point the 3rd regiment came up and formed on the left of the 8th, south of the road. The enemy could be seen approaching the front. The Bucktails moved forward as skirmishers. They had not gone 50 yards before they contacted the enemy. Meade then dispatched orders to the 7th Reserves to join the 8th along the turnpike, which they did, connecting to the right of the 8th. The 4th, meanwhile, was left alone to support Cooper. Reynolds to McDowell, October 9, 1862, ibid., p. 364; Meade's report, ibid., p. 397; 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 128; 4th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., p. 126.

While Meade moved forward with Cooper's battery, Seymour's and Jackson's brigades advanced in support, Seymour on the right and Jackson on the left. In its advance, Jackson's brigade passed close by the Lewis house, and soon thereafter the entire column halted. Ransom's, Simpson's, and Kerns' bat-

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teries remained with Seymour and Jackson. The 1st Reserves of Seymour's brigade were deployed as skirmishers. Charles Barnes's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 646; William Hope's Testimony, ibid., p. 877; J. R. Sypher, History of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps (Lancaster, 1865), p. 338-339; 1st Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 131; Lancaster [Pa.] Daily Express, September 10, 1862.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny's Division Delays Starting; Then is Ordered Into Battle on the Right

In an uncharacteristic disregard of orders, Kearny got his division in motion at daylight, four hours after its appointed time. As the column neared the field, General Heintzelman sent his chief of staff forward to learn from Sigel where he wished Kearny to attack. Sigel indicated that Kearny should move forward on Schurz's right. Without waiting for Heintzelman to come up, Kearny moved into place. The division deployed after crossing Young's Branch, and then "advanced to the northwest across Buck Hill...by Matthews' house." Kearny's left rested on Sudley Road. Heintzelman, Journal, August 29, 1862; Kearny's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 415-16; George W. Mindl's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 806.

1. Robinson's Brigade

General Robinson reported, "I was ordered to support General Poe's brigade and to develop his line of battle to the right. After crossing Bull Run I moved forward in two lines—the first composed of the 20th Indiana and the 105th Pennsylvania, and the second of the 63d Pennsylvania and five companies of the 30th Ohio." As Poe moved forward, Robinson's men were exposed to a heavy artillery fire. Robinson's report, op.cit., p. 421; B. F. Butterfield's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 884; Petitioner's Map #4, Porter Retrial, Pt. 4.

2. Birney's Brigade

According to Kearny, Birney's brigade was ordered to act as a reserve while Poe and Robinson developed the situation. Birney formed the 4th Maine and 40th and 101st New York in line of battle and moved them across the fields north of the Stone House to "the brow of a hill." Here the line came under heavy Confederate artillery fire. The 1st New York supported Poe during the initial part of his advance, while the 3d Maine moved out with Graham's battery. The 38th New York and 57th Pennsylvania were held back as a reserve and for supporting batteries. 4th Maine report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 427; 1st New York report, ibid., p. 428; Theodore Dodge, Journal, August 29, 1862, Library of Congress; 3d Maine report, ibid., p. 426; William Birney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 663.

3. Poe's Brigade

En route to the battlefield, Poe was directed to leave the 99th Pennsylvania behind to guard a "burned bridge"—probably that over Cub Run. Continuing on, Poe arrived on the battlefield between 9 and 10 AM. He proceeded to the neighborhood of the Robinson house, and from there headed across the turnpike northward toward the Matthews house. By 10 AM his brigade was in position between that house and the road, its left resting on the road. Three regiments drew up in line of battle, while the 2d Michigan deployed to the front as skirmishers. Poe's Testimony, ibid., 579; Edwin R. Byles' Testimony, ibid., 696; Poe's report, op.cit., p. 434; Charles Haydon, Diary, August 29, 1862, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

4. Division Artillery: Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island Light) and Graham's (K, 1st U.S) Batteries

It is unlikely that either of these batteries got into action before 10 AM.

B. Hooker's Division Moves Toward the Field

With Grover's brigade leading, followed by Carr and Taylor, Hooker's division left its bivouac along Bull Run at 3 AM, proceeded to Centreville, and then moved along the Warrenton Turnpike toward the battlefield. Carr's report, op.cit., p. 454; Grover's report, ibid., p.438; Taylor's report, ibid., p. 444.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

At 5:20 Porter received a dispatch from Pope directing him to move "upon Centreville at the dawn of day...." "This order," wrote Porter, "surprised me." It seemed to him that the directive would carry him away from the likely scene of action. He grilled the staff officer that delivered it for more information, but could get none. After eating breakfast, Porter put his column on the road. Elby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 91.

Leaving Bristoe with Sykes' division leading, the Fifth Corps arrived at Manassas Junction about 8:30 AM. As the head of the column approached the Wier house, Porter met Capt. John Piatt of Pope's staff. Piatt carried a verbal order for McDowell, directing him to turn over command of King's division to

Porter and for the entire force to reverse direction and march to Gainesville. Soon McDowell appeared, and for nearly an hour Porter and McDowell talked. The two reviewed the happenings of the previous 16 hours, but the crux of the conversation centered on the fact that McDowell was not at all pleased that part of his corps had been assigned to Porter. Undoubtedly, he was not assuaged when at 9:30 General Gibbon rode up with a second order from Pope that essentially reiterated the earlier one. McDowell tried to soften the impact on his command by requesting that Porter place King's division on his right so that the three divisions of McDowell's corps might be better concentrated. Porter, Narrative, pp. 20-21; McDowell's Testimony, Porter Court-Martial, p. 90.

While all this was going on, the two divisions of the Fifth Corps received a bit of a breakfast back near the Junction. Both replenished their ammunition supplies. Morell's men rested at the junction of the Manassas-Gainesville Road and the railroad. Sykes was farther up the tracks toward the station. Morell to Porter, February 21, 1874, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Sykes to Morell, 8:30 AM, August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 730.

A. Piatt's Brigade

Though Piatt was under Porter's command, Porter was unaware of that fact until 1878. Hence, until the afternoon of August 30, Piatt wandered around somewhat aimlessly. At 8 AM on August 29, the two regiments left Bristoe Station and proceeded toward Manassas. Porter to John C. Ropes, October 3, 1881, John C. Ropes Papers, Military Historical Society of Massachusetts Collection, Boston University; Isaac R. Rathbun, "A Civil War Diary," New York History, Vol. 36 (1955), p. 338.

VI. Ninth Corps

Reno's command left its bivouac near Bull Run at daylight, and by 10 AM was en route to the battlefield from the direction of Centreville. Hazard Stevens' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 242.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

Beardsley's troopers arrived on the field that morning, though by then the command was of little practical use. Colonel Beardsley reported, "My horses were completely worn out and almost in starving condition. All along our route, from White Plains and from Warrenton to Bull Run, they were dropping down with their riders and dying, so that when I reported to [Sigel]...most of my horses were unable to carry the rider and had to be led. Nevertheless I selected all that could possibly be used and placed them on duty." The remainder spent the day "near the headquarters of General Sigel." Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272; 1st Maryland Cavalry report, ibid., p. 273.

B. Buford's Brigade

Buford's brigade covered the withdrawal of Ricketts' division from Haymarket through Gainesville and to Manassas via Bristoe. As Buford moved into Gainesville the head of the Confederate column closed up behind him. The general lingered a few moments to observe the southerners, counting flags and making estimates of numbers. At 9:30 AM he sent a note to Ricketts:

> Seventeen regiments, one battery, five hundred cavalry passed through Gainesville three quarters of an hour ago, on the Centreville road. I think this division should join our forces now engaged at once.
> Please forward this.

Buford's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 88-89; Buford to Ricketts, 9:30 AM August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 730.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard followed Ricketts' division until it reached Bristoe, where he pushed ahead and reported to McDowell at Manassas. Bayard's report, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 91.

Map #3, 3 AM-10 AM August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

General Lee left Avenel early in the morning, immediately proceeded to the head of the column and led it through Gainesville and then eastward on the Warrenton Turnpike toward the sound of Jackson's guns. A. D. Payne to Fitz John Porter, October 6, 1877; Lee's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 556.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Longstreet's command broke bivouac at daylight and pushed forward toward Gainesville. Hood's division led the column, followed by Evans' brigade, then Kemper's division, then Jones', and finally Wilcox's. Near Haymarket the column was joined by Beverly Robertson's brigade of cavalry. This Longstreet immediately deployed to the front as a screen. Passing through Gainesville about 8:45, the column turned left along the Warrenton Turnpike. The van of Hood's division was approaching Jackson's position at 10 AM. Charles Williams' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 256; W. W. Blackford's Testimony, ibid., pp. 672-73; Beverly H. Robertson's Testimony, ibid., p. 216; Frank Stringfellow's Testimony, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 966; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 180; Longstreet's report, op.cit., p. 564; Buford to Ricketts, 9:30 AM, August 29, 1862, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 730.

III. Jackson's Wing

Jackson arose on the morning of August 29 to find that the enemy had abandoned the battlefield of the previous evening. Consequently he redistributed his troops over a wider front, along the unfinished railroad. Starke's division (formerly W. B. Taliaferro's) was on the right, Lawton's (formerly Ewell's) in the center, and A. P. Hill's on the left, "in the direction of Sudley's Mill." Jackson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 645.

It was about 8 AM that Jackson was met by a messenger from Longstreet, John Cussons. Cussons met Stonewall "within 1000 yards of the spot" where S. D. Lee's guns were put in position the following day. The messenger told Jackson, "Longstreet's through the Gap, and I reckon at Haymarket by this time." Who were the leading elements, Jackson wanted to know. "Texas Brigade," Cussons answered. Jackson turned to a staff officer, "Major, put the Texas Brigade there! Its left on the Pike! Gallop, sir!" By 10 AM the head of Hood's column was in sight. John Cussons to John Warwick Daniel, August 15, 1905, John Warwick Daniel Papers, University of Virginia; A Confederate Scout [John

Cussons], The Passage of Thoroughfare Gap and the Assembling of Lee's Army for the Second Battle of Manassas (York, Pa., 1908), pp. 12-13.

A. Starke's Division Takes Position Behind the Unfinished Railroad

1. Baylor's Brigade

Dawn found the Stonewall brigade on the ground it had occupied during the fight of the previous evening. Shortly the enemy opened fire with some artillery, and the brigade was moved to the rear and left, four of the regiments taking position along the edge of a woods 200 yards behind the unfinished railroad. Meanwhile, the 2d Virginia, according to Capt. Rawley Colston, "was ordered to take the road leading in the direction of Sudley Ford. I had not advanced more than half a mile in the woods when least expecting it I came upon the enemy's pickets. I was then ordered to place my men behind a fence which separated the woods from an open field directly on our left, and to keep a sharp lookout upon what appeared to be a regiment of Yankees, who were advancing as skirmishers through a cornfield about 600 yards in front of us." Colston deployed skirmishers to meet the enemy, but these were soon driven back. The enemy by now was "concealed along the railroad." At that the 2d was relieved by one of Gregg's regiments and "fell back into the woods a short distance," where it remained until 3 PM. Robert McEldowney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 895; Hendricks, "Jackson's March," p. 549-550; 4th Virginia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 662; 2d Virginia report, ibid., p. 658-659.

2. Johnson's Brigade

At daylight Johnson was ordered to rejoin the division. Johnson's first task upon arriving was "to clear the woods we had just left" of enemy skirmishers. He dispatched the 48th Virginia, supported by the 21st Virginia, for the job. "They did their work at once and well," wrote Johnson. "Our line of battle was then formed...parallel to the Warrenton road, fronting it and to the west of it, Ewell's division being on my left and Starke's brigade on my right.... Our line was on the crest of a ridge covered with timber, and in front of the wood in the open ground was the embankment in one place and the cut in another, according as the ground lay, of an unfinished railroad." Johnson's skirmish line was established along the excavation. Johnson's report, ibid., p. 665; John H. Worsham, One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry (New York, 1912), pp. 126-127.

3. Taliaferro's Brigade

There is an absence of source material relating directly to this brigade for this phase of the battle. Subsequently, on August 30, Taliaferro was on the right of the division line, and it can only be assumed that he was there on August 29 as well. Johnson's report, op.cit., p. 666.

4. Stafford's Brigade

Stafford was on Johnson's right, along the edge of the woodline "nearly opposite that 'terrible deep cut.'" A. L. Slack, "A War Waif in the Army," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 2 (1894), p. 13; Johnson's report, op.cit., p. 665; Stafford's report, ibid., p. 668.

5. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

As the Federals moved toward Groveton, Major Shumaker brought forward at varying times Poague's, Carpenter's, and Brockenbrough's batteries. At one point Poague engaged a battery that had "managed to get into one of the positions occupied by our battery during the morning." Captain Poague immediately turned his attention to this threat (probably Cooper's battery of Reynolds' division) and after a short time drove it off. But most of Shumaker's attention was focused on the enemy batteries that appeared on the "plateau overlooking Groveton," and the Confederate gunners engaged these batteries throughout the morning. Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 652; Edward A. Moore, The Story of a Cannoneer Under Stonewall Jackson (rpt., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), p. 117; William T. Poague, Gunner With Stonewall, Monroe E. Cockrell, ed. (Jackson, Tenn., 1957), p. 37; Clarence Albert Fonerden, A Brief History of the Military Career of Carpenter's Battery (New Market, Va., 1911), p. 37.

B. A. P. Hill's Division Opens the Fighting

General Hill recorded, "Friday morning, in accordance with orders from General Jackson, I occupied the line of the unfinished railroad, my extreme left resting near Sudley Ford, my right near the point where the road strikes the open field, Gregg, Field, and Thomas in the front line, Gregg on the left and Field on the right, with Branch, Pender, and Archer as supports. My batteries were in the open field in rear of the infantry, the nature of my position being such as to preclude the effective use of much artillery." Hill's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 671.

1. Branch is in Reserve on the Extreme Left

Colonel Lane reported that on the morning of the 29th, "We were marched a circuitous route and brought back into an open field near the spot where we had spent the night." There the brigade deployed in "the second line," the 7th North Carolina on the right and the 28th North Carolina on the left.

The 33d North Carolina was on the 28th's right. The position of the brigade was, wrote one man, "in an open field, under cover of a grove which screened us from the enemy's view." Crenshaw's battery unlimbered to the left-front of the brigade. Not long after being in position, Captain Crenshaw informed Branch of the presence of the enemy in front. Branch immediately ordered Capt. John Turner's company of the 7th to move forward to the left of Crenshaw's guns and deploy as skirmishers. General Gregg's brigade, Branch was to learn later, was to his right. Lane's report, ibid., p. 676; James Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 19; Clark, North Carolina Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 370, Vol. 2, p. 30, 552; Letter of L. O. Branch, September 8, 1862, in James H. Lane, "History of Lane's Brigade (Conclusion)," SHSP, Vol. 10 (1882), p. 243.

2. Archer is Designated as a Support

Soon after daylight, Archer reported, "My brigade, with Braxton's battery, was posted on a hill on the extreme left of the division, with skirmishers thrown out to the front and on the left flank. In this position it was not actively engaged, although it was somewhat annoyed by shells from batteries in front, but not in sight." (The evidence suggests that rather than being on the "extreme left of the division," as Archer says, his brigade was probably to Branch's right.) Archer's report, op.cit., p. 700; H. T. Childs, "The Second Battle of Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 28 (1920), p. 100; W. F. Fulton, "Incidents of Second Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 31 (1923), p. 452.

3. Pender Supports Thomas

Pender was apparently on the left of Hill's supporting line, in rear of Thomas' brigade. Here the brigade "remained until the afternoon." Pender's report, op.cit., p. 697.

4. Field's Brigade Holds the Line to Thomas' Right

According to Hill, Field's brigade held the front line to Thomas' right. Unfortunately, data regarding the activities of this brigade is almost nonexistent, and the extent of fighting on Field's front can only be determined by evaluating the Federal accounts, as well as the tabular lists of casualties. These both indicate that Field was only moderately engaged during the day. Hill's report, ibid., p. 670.

5. Gregg Takes Position on Hill's Left and Becomes Engaged

a. Initial Deployment

At 7 AM General Gregg received orders to move his brigade back toward the left of Jackson's line and rejoin Hill's division. Shortly the brigade fell in, the 12th South Carolina in front, followed in order by the 13th South Carolina, 1st South Carolina, Orr's Rifles, and 14th South Carolina. Maj. Edward McCrady of the 1st remembered, "On our approach to the spot we were to occupy we were halted, and a company from each regiment was detailed as skirmishers, to cover our front and flanks. The skirmishers crossed the railroad cut, and pushed into the woods opposite, while General Gregg posted our regiments upon the hill on which the left of our line of battle was to rest....

"Our position upon this hill or rocky knoll was slightly in advance of Jackson's general line; here the ground rising to some extent, the grade of the railroad bed, in our immediate front, rendered the depth of the cut about six feet, but sloping away to our right and left, reduced it to one or two feet on our flanks, while further on our right in front of Thomas' brigade, it rose to an embankment. The ground upon our side of the road-bed was almost entirely bare, while on the other side it was covered by a thick growth of brush. On our right, too, this growth extended to [within] about fifty yards of our flank, while on our left, at the same distance, was a field enclosed by a worm fence. The portion of this field nearest our position was cleared and open, but on one side of the field, furthest from us, there was a stand of corn closely covering it. This position was important, not only because it was our extreme left, but because of the Sudley Road, which it commanded." Colonel Samuel McGowan of the 14th added that there was a "little tongue of woodland" atop part of the knoll. The entire area was "barely large enough to hold the brigade."

After arriving on the knoll, Gregg deployed his brigade. According to Colonel McGowan, who wrote the report for the brigade after Gregg's death at Fredericksburg, the 13th South Carolina was placed on the right of the line; to its left was the 1st South Carolina, then the 12th South Carolina, and on the left of the brigade, the 14th South Carolina. The 14th was "thrown back along the fence bordering the field." Orr's Rifles, commanded by Col. Jehu F. Marshall, was held "behind the center in reserve." Edward McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade in the Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 13 (1885), pp. 15-16; 1st South Carolina report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 685; McGowan's report, ibid., pp. 679-80; J. F. J. Caldwell, The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians Known First as Gregg's and Subsequently as McGowan's Brigade (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 34.

b. The 1st South Carolina Goes Into Action

Gregg's skirmishers had been in the woods in front only a short time before a rattling musketry fire signaled the presence of the enemy. Gregg immediately dispatched Major McCrady's 1st Regiment to the front. McCrady moved his men forward, stopping them briefly about "60 yards behind and parallel to" the unfinished railroad. Then orders came for McCrady to cross the cut. There, McCrady was told, he would be met by an officer who would guide him to the skirmish line. Once there, McCrady recalled, "I was to give them two or three volleys, and then charge them with the bayonet."

After crossing the cut one rank at a time, McCrady continued, "I had to change front to the left.... Our advance soon drew upon us the fire of the enemy, who were posted in a hollow. The ground through which we were advancing was quite thickly wooded and covered with underbrush, making it difficult to see more than a very few yards in our front. Here, too, it sloped both to our front and flanks, and in the hollow at the bottom of the slope lay the enemy awaiting our approach. From this hollow they opened fire as soon as we were in range. This fire was returned...but endeavoring to move forward to the charge I found the enemy were in force upon our left." McCrady sent back for support. "This messenger had scarcely gone when a fire was opened upon us also from our right and rear." McCrady again sent an officer to explain the seriousness of the situation to Gregg, but the fire became too heavy too fast, and McCrady was forced to order his regiment to fall back before a reply was received. "My order to this effect, I regret to say, was executed with considerable confusion." Soon, however, the regiment was rallied.

At this point Col. Dixon Barnes brought his 12th South Carolina up on McCrady's left and the two regiments launched a charge that forced the Federals back. But on McCrady's right there were still problems. The enemy was still in force there and enfiladed the right of the 1st. McCrady halted his regiment and threw back his right wing and sent out some of his staff in search of the 13th South Carolina, which was reported to be moving forward to support his right. But the 13th had also run into difficulty and could not give the needed support to the 1st. McCrady had to be content to hold his own. 1st South Carolina reports, op.cit., p. 684, 685-686; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," pp. 16-17.

c. The 12th South Carolina Supports McCrady's Left

When the 1st South Carolina crossed the unfinshed railroad and engaged the enemy, the 12th South Carolina was the first regiment sent to its support. Commanded by Colonel Barnes, the 12th crossed the cut to the left of the 1st's line of advance and moved to the support of the 1st's exposed left flank. Lt. Col. Cadwalader Jones reported, "Very soon the enemy, in numbers considerably exceeding our own, were seen advancing through the woods on our left. It became necessary immediately to change front, which being done we exchanged several rounds with the enemy, when the 12th advanced and the enemy retreated. They soon reformed with the assistance of fresh troops, who endeavored to flank us on the left. Here one or two of our companies on the left were caused to change front and fire on the flanking column. A single well directed volley put them to flight." 12th South Carolina report, op.cit., p. 693; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., p. 680.

d. The 13th South Carolina Support's McCrady's Right

Col. O. E. Edwards of the 13th South Carolina reported, "The first important move of my regiment, about 9 a.m., was an order to me to move by a flank across the railroad track to support [the 1st South Carolina], who had been ordered to drive the enemy from the woods on our left. I had scarcely formed my regiment when I was informed that the enemy was approaching me in the rear in force. I faced my regiment to the rear and challenged the approaching column in person. No regard having been paid to my challenge satisfied me that I had not been mistaken. I at once ordered my left wing to fire, which it did with telling effect. I moved immediately to my right wing, where I found another column approaching. I ordered a fire. The firing became general." 13th South Carolina report, ibid., pp. 694-95; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., p. 680.

e. The 1st South Carolina Rifles and the 14th South Carolina Remain out of Action

Neither Orr's Rifles nor the 14th South Carolina took part the fighting during this period. The 14th South Carolina continued to hold the left of the original brigade line, deployed along a worm fence. Joseph J. Norton, Diary, August 29, 1862, South Carolina Historical Society; 12th South Carolina report, op.cit., p. 693; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., p. 685.

6. Thomas' Brigade Prepares to Aid Gregg

According to Colonel Thomas, that morning his brigade was directed "to be prepared for an attack near the railroad." After taking position near the excavation, General Gregg's brigade, to Thomas' left, became engaged. One by one Thomas threw his regiments into the fight to the right of Gregg. Thomas' report, ibid., p. 702; Hill's report, ibid., p. 670.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

A. P. Hill's artillery was for the most part arranged on the ridges north of the Groveton-Sudley Road, several hundred yards behind Hill's front line of infantry. Braxton's battery was with Archer's brigade; Crenshaw's was in front and to the left of Branch's; McIntosh's battery was in support of Gregg, "covering Sudley Road"; Latham's battery was also along the rear-ridge line. Walker's report, ibid., p. 674; Archer's report, ibid., p. 700; Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 652; Lane's report, ibid., p. 676; Clark, North Carolina Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 370; John O'Farrell, Diary, August 29, 1862, Museum of the Confederacy; William E. Jones, Diary, August 29, 1862, William Clements Library, University of Michigan; Joseph W. Brunson, Historical Sketch of the Pee Dee Light Artillery, Army of Northern Virginia (Winston-Salem, 1927), p. 6.

Specific information regarding the activities of any of these batteries can be had only for Crenshaw's battery. Artilleryman William Ellis Jones recorded in his diary, "Skirmishing commenced early this morning. We were put in a commanding position on a slight rise in an open field and had to keep a bright lookout for yanks. We had not been there long before a column of them were seen making their way through a cornfield about a hundred yards off, when we opened on them a very destructive fire, saving Gen. Gregg's brigade from a very hard fight, for [the enemy] skeedaddled ingloriously. We were under a hot fire from one of their batteries, shells bursting and scattering their fragments all around us but doing no damage to either the men or the horses. We were pretty quiet after this...." Jones, Diary, August 29, 1862, p. 39.

C. Lawton's Division Operates on Separate Parts of the Field

1. Trimble's and Douglass' (Lawton's) Brigades Take Position Along the Unfinished Railroad

These two brigades, the only ones of Lawton's division along the main line of battle, moved into position on the left of Johnson's brigade of Starke's division. According to Trimble, the 12th Georgia and the 15th Alabama were dispatched along the embankment of the unfinished railroad, while the 21st Georgia and 21st North Carolina were apparently held in reserve. The right of the 15th Alabama rested on a large gap in the embankment. Trimble, "Report of Operations," p. 308; McLendon, Recollections, p. 111; Johnson's report, op.cit., p. 665. (The reader may notice that no citation for Oates' Union and Confederacy appears here, though a very long account of what Oates purported to be the fighting of August 29 appears there on page 144. This is because, after

Map 3, 3-10 a.m. August 29th, Confederate weighing all available sources, it is believed that Oates confused the fighting on August 30 for that on the 29th.)

2. Early and Forno Guard the Right of the Confederate Line

About sunup General Early was ordered to take his own and Forno's brigade to the extreme right of Jackson's line to protect against any Federal movement from the direction of Manassas. Early promptly moved, putting his men on "a commanding ridge" "about a mile" north of the Warrenton Turnpike, west of Pageland Lane. Jackson soon met with Early and directed him to send two of his regiments, the 13th and 31st Virginia, to picket the front. The two regiments moved forward, crossed the turnpike, and established their position along Meadowville Lane. These units were soon skirmishing with the advanced elements of Reynolds' division. Early's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 711; Forno's report, ibid., p. 718; Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 809-10; Early to Porter, July 26, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Samuel D. Buck, With the Old Confeds; Actual Experiences of a Captain of the Line (Baltimore, 1925), p. 54.

3. Division Artillery

Dement's and Latimer's batteries were assigned to a position with Shumaker's Battalion, "facing obliquely toward Groveton." Johnson's battery, meanwhile, went with Early to the extreme right of the line and "was placed in position so as to command" Early's front. D'Aquin's battery was on the left of the line with the detached 8th Louisiana of Forno's brigade "a short distance from Sudley Ford." Crutchfield's report, op.cit., p. 652; Early's report, ibid., p. 711; D'Aquin's battery report, Charles Thompson Papers, Huntington Library.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Stuart spent the night with Jackson at Sudley Mill. Early on the morning of the 29th he was directed "to establish communication with Longstreet," but before he was able to leave Jackson a report came that Federal skirmishers "had penetrated the woods," and threatened to cut off Jackson's trains. Immediately Stuart ordered Captain Pelham to move his battery into position and directed Maj. William Patrick and his six companies of the 1st Virginia cavalry to be ready. At that he left word that Pelham was hereafter to report to Jackson, and with Robertson's brigade and the 5th Virginia Cavalry of Fitz Lee's brigade he set out on his mission to meet Longstreet.

Longstreet would be found at either Gainesville or Haymarket, Stuart told his scout, Franklin Stringfellow. Stringfellow led the column so that it "would strike at the halfway point" between the villages. The cavalry cut its way cross-country and at length met Longstreet. Stuart informed Lee and Longstreet of Jackson's position. "I then," reported Stuart, "passed the cavalry through the column , so as to place it on Longstreet's right flank, and advanced directly toward Manassas, while the column kept directly down the pike to join General Jackson's right." Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; Franklin Stringfellow's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, p. 966; Robertson's Testimony, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 216.

Fitz Lee, meanwhile, arrived back in the vicinity of Sudley with his command and was placed so as to guard Jackson's left. There they remained all day. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; Von Borcke, Memoirs, p. 150.

A. Pelham's Battery

It was almost 10 AM when Pelham received orders from Stuart to go into position and open fire on an enemy force "that seemed to be moving toward Sudley Mill." Pelham did so, and remained here for about an hour. Pelham's report, op.cit., p. 755; Orlando Poe, MS Map, T. C. H. Smith Papers. (This last source shows a Confederate battery—surely Pelham's—in position on the east bank of Bull Run, just north of its confluence with Catharpin Run.)

Map 3, 3-10 a.m. August 29th, Confederate

MAP 4

Map #4, 10 AM-Noon, August 29

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

It was shortly after 10 AM that Pope received two dispatches, one from Porter and one from McDowell. Porter's dispatch contained a request for written orders outlining what was required of him for the day. McDowell's message communicated McDowell's dismay over having King's division withdrawn from his command, and asked that Pope reinstate it. In response, Pope issued the famous Joint Order. The primary purpose of this order was to reassign King to McDowell's command, but it also informed the officers of the situation as Pope understood it at the time and reiterated Porter's earlier orders to move on Gainesville. The order read:

> Generals McDowell and Porter:
>
> You will please move forward with your joint commands toward Gainesville. I sent General Porter written orders to that effect an hour and a half ago. Heintzelman, Sigel, and Reno are moving on the Warrenton Turnpike, and must now be not far from Gainesville. I desire that as soon as communication is established between this force and your own the whole command shall halt. It may be necessary to fall back behind Bull Run to Centreville to-night. I presume it will be so, on account of our supplies. I have sent no orders of any description to Ricketts.... I do not even know Ricketts's position, as I have not been able to find out where General McDowell is until a late hour this morning. General McDowell will take immediate steps to communicate with General Ricketts, and instruct him to rejoin the other divisions of his corps as soon as practicable.
>
> If any considerable advantages are to be gained by departing from this order it will not be strictly carried out. One thing must be had in view, that the troops must occupy a position from which they can reach Bull Run to-night or by morning. The indications are that the whole force of the enemy is moving in this direction at a pace that will bring them here by to-morrow night or the next day. My own headquarters will be for the present with Heintzelman's corps or at this place [Centreville].

Pope to Porter and McDowell, August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 76; Pope's report, ibid., p. 38; Pope's Testimony, Porter Court-Martial, p.29.

Pope later testified, "When the joint order was issued, I was not certain at what point, if any, of the Warrenton turnpike east of Gainsville [sic], the enemy could be brought to a stand. The joint movement of McDowell and Porter was therefore made so as to intersect the Warrenton turnpike at Gainsville, and being on a road which constantly converges toward the Warrenton turnpike, these two corps would have been near enough to the turnpike, in case the enemy were brought to a stand at any point of it, to be brought on the field in a short time. I could not tell, of course, at the time that order was issued, not knowing where the enemy would be brought to a stand or whether he would be brought to a stand or not, whether the forces of McDowell or Porter would come up in his front or on his flank." Pope's Testimony, ibid., p. 32.

Subsequent to issuing the joint order, Pope broke headquarters at Centreville and headed for the battlefield. Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 92.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

By 10 AM it was obvious to Sigel that he faced the larger part of Jackson's force. Too, it was becoming apparent his sparse line needed help. Initially, Sigel deployed additional artillery to shore up the position. He reported, "I ordered one battery of reserve to take position on [Milroy's] left, and posted two pieces of artillery, under Lieutenant Blume, of Schirmer's battery, supported by the 41st New York...beyond their line, and opposite the right flank of the enemy, who was advancing in the woods. These pieces opened fire with canister most effectively, and checked the enemy's advance. I now directed General Schenck to draw his lines nearer to us, and attack the enemy's right flank and rear by a change of front to the right, thereby assisting our troops in the center. This movement could not be executed...with his whole division, as he became briskly engaged with the enemy, who tried to turn our extreme left."

In addition to controlling his own command, Sigel had other worries. As senior commander on the field, the responsibility of positioning newly arriving troops fell to him. In that regard, it was a busy two hours for the general. The first help to arrive was Kearny's division. Sigel directed it to deploy "by the Sudley Springs road on our right." Shortly, Hooker's and Reno's commands arrived. Sigel directed Hooker to send support toward the center, while Reno's command was dispersed to various parts of the field. Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 266; Grover's report, ibid., p. 439; Hazard Stevens' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 342.

A. Schenck Ponders Attacking a Confederate Battery, But then Sends Stahel to Assist Milroy While McLean Holds Fast on the Left

Since moving beyond Groveton, Schenck's division had been annoyed by a Confederate battery on the heights in front of Milroy's position. One of Schenck's staff officers reported, "It was now determined to flank the battery and capture it, and for this purpose General Schenck ordered one of his aides to reconnoiter the position. Before he returned, however, we were requested by General Milroy to assist him, as he was very heavily pressed. General Stahel was immediately ordered to proceed with his brigade to Milroy's support."

While Stahel was gone ominous tidings came from General Reynolds, off to the left. According to Colonel McLean, Reynolds reported that "he had discovered the enemy bearing down on his left in heavy columns, and that he intended to fall back to the first woods behind the cleared space, and had already put his troops in motion." Colonel McLean, who had relayed the report to Schenck, asked "if he should act accordingly." Schenck directed him to, and McLean fell back with Reynolds. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, op.cit., p. 280; Cheesebrough to McDowell, October 20, 1862, ibid., p. 365; McLean's report, ibid., p. 288.

1. Stahel Moves to the Right to Support Milroy but is of Little Use

Not long after taking position in the woods south of the turnpike beyond Groveton, General Stahel received orders to proceed across the turnpike to the right to assist Milroy, who was then "hard pressed." Guided by one of Milroy's orderlies, Stahel moved out (He left behind, however, four companies of the 41st New York in support of batteries). Stahel reported, "Arriving at Young's [actually Dogan's] Branch with my brigade I reported myself to General Milroy, and took my brigade to the left of Milroy's, along Young's [Dogan's] Branch, where I could prevent the enemy from breaking our lines and be ready at any time to render assistance to General Milroy." Stahel's position was in the open, with "but little cover" for the men, and his four regiments suffered heavily from an accurate fire from Confederate artillery. Stahel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 284; 8th, 41st, 45th New York reports, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, pp. 386-87.

2. McLean Conforms to the Movements Around Him

According to Major Cheesebrough, when Stahel moved his four regiments north of the turnpike, Mclean adjusted the position of his brigade so that his right rested where Stahel's right had been, along the turnpike. At the same time, Meade's brigade was in place on McLean's left. McLean reported, "General Meade informed me that he had placed a battery, which he had been compelled to withdraw on account of a superior force [of] artillery which had been brought against it, and that the enemy were marching around on our left in such heavy force that he had decided to fall back immediately, and he then marched his troops...to some point in my rear. I reported the facts to General Schenck, and he then ordered me to fall back a short distance to another position, which was accordingly done." The brigade fell back to the "narrow belt of woods" just west of Groveton. McLean's report, op.cit., p. 288; George B. Fox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 705-706; Asa Bird Gardner's Testimony, ibid., p., 1072.

3. Division Artillery

a. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Continues to Fire

According to General Sigel, Lieutenant Blume was ordered to turn two of his guns on the woods to the north to enfilade a Confederate advance being made in that direction (against Milroy's retreating regiments). This was successfully accomplished. Subsequently, the battery was ordered to take position on Dilger's left, where it remained until afternoon. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 266.

b. Haskins' Battery (K, 1st Ohio Light) Runs Out of Ammunition and Withdraws

Haskins' battery continued to fire until 11 AM when it exhausted its supply of ammunition and withdrew. This battery was probably the first of Sigel's corps to run out of ammunition, and strangely, was never able to procure more. It sat out the rest of the battle. Why this battery was unable to obtain a resupply is a mystery. Several of Sigel's other batteries ended their day with empty limber chests, but were able to resupply and rejoin the action. Haskins' report, ibid., 296.

B. Von Steinwehr's Division (Koltes' Brigade): The 29th New York Supports Schurz and Becomes Engaged

The 29th New York remained at rest along the road until called upon by Schurz. The center of Schurz's line had crumbled and was being pursued out of the woods. The 29th moved forward and, wrote Schurz, "poured several vollies into them, checking the pursuit of the enemy only for a moment, and then fell back in good order." After withdrawing a few yards, the regiment reestablished line and was joined by the heretofore broken 54th New York, which formed "en echelon behind the 29th New York." Again the 29th advanced, this time supported by the 54th, and pushed into the woods. Meanwhile the remaining regiments of the brigade continued to support batteries near the Warrenton Turnpike. Schurz's report, ibid., p. 298; 29th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 863.

C. Schurz's Division Suffers a Temporary Setback, but Keeps up the Fight

At 10 AM Schurz received word that General Kearny wished to confer with him. Schurz found him "in the open just outside of my woods." After being appraised of the situation, Kearny requested that Schurz contract his line to the left "so as to make room for his division on my right." Schurz consented, and sent orders to Schimmelfennig accordingly.

Shortly after Schurz returned to his command post, the enemy made a dash at the interval between Schimmelfennig's and Krzyzanowski's brigades. The 54th New York and a force from another brigade (probably the 1st New York of Birney's), holding the interval, were "thrown out of the woods in disorder." Schurz quickly ordered up his only remaining reserve regiment, the 29th New York, to stem the retreat and slow the Southern pursuit (made by the 12th South Carolina). The New Yorkers loosed several vollies that retarded the Confederate advance. Too, Schurz ordered Roemer's battery to open fire. "This was done with very good effect." Meanwhile, the general rallied the 54th New York and moved it forward once again, placing it en echelon behind the 29th New York. The Confederates fell back into the timber and the two Northern regiments pushed forward into the woods and opened fire.

Just after the Federal front had been re-established, Schurz received a note directed to Kearny from Sigel requesting Kearny to "at once...attack with his whole force." In anticipation of this, Schurz ordered a general advance of his line. To his right, though, Kearny's guns did not open. Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 297-98; Schurz, Reminiscences, Vol. 2, p. 364; James W. Deems' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 801; 12th South Carolina report, op.cit., p. 693.

1. Schimmelfennig Shifts to the Left to Make Room for Kearny's Advance; the 8th West Virginia is Swept Away by a Confederate Counterattack

After determining that the mysterious force approaching from the right was indeed Kearny's troops, Colonel Schimmelfennig received orders from Schurz to shift his position to the left to accomodate Kearny's expected advance. The 74th Pennsylvania consequently moved "400 yards" to the left under a heavy fire, "where it took its position in the general battle line." As near as can be determined, at this point the brigade line had the 8th West Virginia on the left, the 74th Pennsylvania in the center, and the 61st Ohio on the right.

The two left regiments skirmished briskly with Gregg's brigade. Initially the Federals had the best of it, but before long the Confederates mounted a localized attack that drove back not only the 54th New York of Krzyzanowski's brigade, but apparently the 8th West Virginia of Schimmelfennig's as well. In turn the 74th Pennsylvania fell back. Major Blessing of the 74th wrote, "By the withdrawal of a regiment stationed on the left of the 74th the enemy took advantage, and, outflanking us, we were forced back about 100 yards."

The regiment. however, quickly reformed and readied to retake the offensive. 74th Pennsylvania report, op.cit., p. 310; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 298.

To the right of the 74th, the 61st Ohio was apparently unaffected by the brief reverse on the left of the brigade. 61st Ohio report, ibid., p. 309.

2. Krzyzanowski's Brigade: The 54th New York is Driven Back, but the 58th New York and 75th Pennsylvania Hold Position

After his command had become firmly established in the woods in front of the unfinished railroad, Colonel Krzyznaowski observed a brigade moving up on his right. (Krzyzanowski identifies this brigade as Roberts', but Roberts' brigade was with Porter's corps and at that time not on the field. After examining the source material, it seems that the only unit it could have been was the 1st New York of Birney's brigade. The description of its movements given by its commander dovetails reasonably well with that given by Krzyzanowski and Schurz, though both of the latter are at variance over the size of the unit—Krzyzanowski called it a brigade and Schurz called it "two small regiments.") Krzyzanowski explained his position to the brigade commander, "after which," wrote the colonel, "we advanced together a short distance." On going into the woods, however, the brigade commander discovered that his force had intervened between Krzyzanowski's and Schimmelfennig's brigades. He decided to withdraw it. But before he could, the Confederates attacked and drove his force, along with the 54th New York of Krzyzanowski's brigade and the 8th West Virginia of Schimmelfennig's brigade, back out of the woods. General Schurz promptly brought the 54th New York to a stand, and with the 29th New York of Koltes' brigade it advanced back into the woods. Meanwhile, the 58th New York and 75th Pennsylvania held fast to their position along the unfinished railroad. Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 312; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 298; 1st New York report, ibid., p. 428.

3. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light) Remains on the Right of the Line

According to its historian, Hampton's battery remained on the right of the line in support of Schimmelfennig's brigade until afternoon. While there, the Confederates pushed some skirmishers forward in an attempt to harass the battery. Double shotted with canister, the guns fired, sending the Confederates scurrying. Todd, Diary, August 29, 1862; Clark, Hampton's Battery, p. 29.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) Drives the 12th South Carolina Back into the Woods

Roemer's five guns were in position behind Krzyzanowski's brigade, "near a clump of trees." Recalled the captain, "The ground in front of Battery L was a clear field extending out some eight or nine hundred yards to a piece of woods, in a downward slope; on the right the ground sloped sharply to the east." Three of the guns were concealed from the enemy's view by timber.

It was probably about 11 AM that the enemy attacked the interval between Krzyzanowski's and Schimmelfennig's brigades, driving the Federals there back. As the Confederates issued from the woods, Roemer's guns were ready for them. At Schurz's order they opened fire with canister. After only a handful of rounds, the Southerners turned and hurried back to the woods, followed by the 29th New York. Jacob Roemer, Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865 (Flushing, 1897), pp. 67-68; Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 298.

c. Dilger (I, 1st Ohio Light) Continues to Fire From Near Groveton

Until after 11 AM Dilger kept up his duel with the annoying Confederate battery on the heights in front of Milroy's brigade. Captain Dilger recalled, "After two hours incessant firing the enemy's guns were silenced for a while—in consequence, no doubt, of the successive explosion of two of their caissons. During this pause...opportunity was...afforded me to support the infantry on our right [Milroy], that had been compelled to fall back across the railroad track, with two pieces of artillery posted on the right of my battery. The enemy's battery, however, was not long in making its appearance again. I engaged it until Wiedrich's battery and two pieces of Dieckamann's battery were sent by my request...to my assistance." Dilger continued to fire until his ammunition was exhausted, then the two aforementioned batteries relieved him. Dilger's report, ibid., p. 305.

D. Corps Reserve Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding)

1. Wiedrich's Battery (I, 1st New York Light) Moves Up to Support Dilger

Captain Wiedrich reported that it was about 10 AM when Captain Schirmer ordered the battery forward. "After advancing a short distance," wrote Wiedrich, "we were met by Major-General Sigel, who ordered me to take position on the right of the road, to support the infantry in case they should be driven back. After remaining in this position about half an hour Major-General Sigel came to me and ordered me ahead with the four Parrott guns to support Captain Dilger's battery, which order was executed as promptly as possible by taking position on which the enemy had the range with one of his batteries...." But fifteen minutes firing sufficed to silence the rebel guns. Wiedrich's position was, according to one of Stevens' staff officers, to the right of the turnpike. Wiedrich's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 304; Hazard Stevens, The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens (Boston, 1900), p. 451.

2. Buell's Battery (C, West Virginia Light) Supports Schenck

Buell's smoothbores went into action supporting Schenck's division, undoubtedly near Groveton. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, op.cit., p. 280.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th New York Light) Stands By Near Milroy's Brigade

Dieckmann was temporarily attached to Milroy's brigade. According to William Wheeler, the battery advanced with the brigade and, once the infantry had become engaged, stood nearby in column without firing. Milroy's men, however, were soon repulsed and Milroy ordered the battery into action to stem the Confederate pursuit. Wrote Wheeler, "After a sharp fight in the woods, our men had to retire, when suddenly a couple of rebel brigades came swarming over the railroad embankment, and our brigade had to beat a hasty retreat. We did not move until the enemy were pretty near, and then we went back through the opening, the bullets flying in great abundance." Captain Dieckmann was able to bring five of his six guns into action. Wrote Milroy, they "commenced mowing the rebles [sic] with grape and canister most beautifully." The sixth gun, though, had one of its pole horses shot. At Milroy's insistence, the gunners unlimbered the piece on the spot and opened fire. The remaining five guns, firing "on a hill behind us," provided covering fire for the isolated piece until a fresh horse was brought up and the gun was limbered and brought back, though under heavy fire and at the expense of another of the team. Wheeler, Letters, p. 350; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, p. 83.

E. Milroy's Brigade: The 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia Attack the Unfinished Railroad and are Driven Back While the 2d and 3d West Virginia Vainly Attempt to Assist

Without any solicitation from Schurz, General Milroy, upon hearing the intensifying fire in the woods to his right, decided to send two regiments to his aid. The 82d Ohio, under Col. James Cantwell, and the 5th West Virginia, commanded by Col. John Ziegler, were selected for the task. Their orders, as Milroy recalled, were to "attack the enemy's right flank," thereby relieving the pressure in front of Schurz. Meanwhile, Milroy intended to send his remaining two regiments, the 2d and 3d West Virginia, to attack a Confederate battery "a short distance from us over the top of a hill to our left." While he prepared the 2d and 3d for this, a crash of musketry to the right indicated that Cantwell's and Ziegler's men had become engaged. The attack on the battery would have to wait. Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, p. 82-83; Milroy's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 320.

1. The 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia

According to Alfred Lee of the 82d Ohio, though Milroy intended for the 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia to move to Schurz's support, "the fact is that these two regiments...moved through the woods straight at the enemy." Lee continued, "[We] were alone—two regiments groping through a coppice in search of Ewell's division. Deep in the woods the unfinished railway embankment...ran along a flat, marshy piece of ground. Behind this embankment, which was eight or ten feet high, the Confederates lay concealed." Cantwell and Ziegler's men broke through the underbrush toward the excavation. When "within a few paces" of it the Confederates rose "and with a wild yell poured a deadly volley full into our faces." The volley shook the Federal line and the bluecoats fell back a short distance "to the fence." Colonel Cantwell then commanded, "Right about and give it to them boys!" and the 82d Ohio pushed steadily forward, apparently leaving the 5th West Virginia behind. The Buckeyes, chronicled another man of the regiment, "commenced scaling the embankment, a portion of the regiment passing it through an opening for a culvert. Just at this moment a large force of Rebels appeared on the regiment's right flank." Colonel Cantwell immediately ordered his regiment to wheel to the right to meet the Confederates head on. "The movement was executed successfully, under a galling cross-fire," but while accomplishing it Colonel Cantwell was shot in the head and killed.

Unsupported and without its colonel, the 82d Ohio had no choice but to fall back across the unfinished railroad. There was little hope, however, that the 82d and 5th would be able to hold their position in the timber. Despite an attempt by Milroy to support them with the 2d and 3d West Virginia, the 82d and 5th West Virginia "were driven out of the woods." The Confederates followed, but fire from Federal batteries discouraged too vigorous a pursuit. Lee, "From Cedar Mountain to Chantilly," p. 469; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War, Vol. 2, p. 473: S. F. Jacobs to his Brother, September 10, 1862, Ashland [Ohio] Union, September 17, 1862; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, op.cit., p. 83.

2. The 2d West Virginia

According to Milroy, as soon as he saw that the 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia were in trouble, "I sent the 2d Va. to support them." The 2d was directed to "approach the R.R. at the point on the left of my other Regts where the woods ceased." The 2d ran into a hotbed of Confederate fire and "was soon thrown into confusion and fell back in disorder." Milroy to his Wife, ibid.
Lee, op.cit., p. 469.

3. The 3d West Virginia

After sending the 2d West Virginia into the battle, General Milroy rode up to Maj. Theodore Lang of the 3d and said, "Major Lang, now is the opportunity for you to distinguish yourself. I want you to charge the railroad embankment just in front of our position, and see what is behind it." Lang and the rest of the officers of the 3d hurriedly readied their men, then the advance began. Major Lang recalled that the West Virginians passed out of the timber and pushed across the field, receiving only a scattering fire from the Confederates, until they "were within 150 feet of the embankment, when immediately a deluge of bristling muskets poured over the embankment and sent such a crash of leaden hail into our ranks that we beat a hasty retreat, leaving many of our dead and wounded on the field; we had met 'Stonewall' Jackson's own command. They did not follow us, but immediately fell back behind the embankment." The 3d, meanwhile, fell back to the Groveton woods. Theodore Lang, Loyal West Virginia From 1861-1865 (Baltimore, 1865), p. 100.

4. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light) Supports Milroy

According to Basil T. Bowers of the battery, Captain Johnson brought his six Wiard rifles into action first on the ridge overlooking Groveton, north of the turnpike (where the Confederate cemetery now rests).

From there, the battery moved forward to "a point of woods...600 or 700 yards" from Groveton, and there reopened fire in support of Milroy's attack. Basil T. Bowers Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 897; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 82-83.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

After waiting in vain until after 10 AM for orders from Pope reinstating King to his command, McDowell set about the task of carrying out his orders as they then stood. The general soon learned that Ricketts' division was nearby. McDowell directed it to follow King's division, now commanded by Hatch, toward Gainesville. As McDowell moved along the Manassas-Gainesville Road he received the Joint Order, which, much to his pleasure, had the effect of reassigning Hatch's division to his control. The order also reiterated Pope's desire for an advance on Gainesville.

Shortly, McDowell and his two divisions were on the move. The column, however, soon stopped. McDowell rode to the front to discover the difficulty. En route he received a dispatch from General Buford, forwarded by Ricketts, time dated at 9:30 AM:

> Seventeen regiments, one battery, five hundred cavalry passed through Gainesville three quarters of an our ago, on the Centreville road. I think this division should join our forces now engaged at once.
>
> Please forward this.

Armed with this intelligence, McDowell continued to the head of the column. There he found Porter along the side of the road surrounded by his staff. For about 15 minutes the two generals exchanged information and ideas. McDowell informed Porter of the note from Buford, though he manifestly underestimated its importance. He also found that Porter had received the Joint Order as well, and it was of this directive that the two primarily talked. As Porter and McDowell saw it, the joint order contained several important points. First, by addressing the order jointly to both of them, Pope was in effect reassigning Hatch to McDowell's control, since McDowell held seniority. Too, the halting, guarded tone of the note seemed to dictate caution. Push forward until connection is made with the forces along the Warrenton Turnpike, it read, then halt; "the troops must occupy a position from which they can reach Bull Run tonight or by morning." But the Joint Order also contained a proviso that McDowell apparently considered even more important than these: "If any considerable advantages are to be gained by departing from this order, it will not be strictly carried out." At General Porter's court-martial, McDowell testified, "I decided that considerable advantages were to be gained from departing from that order, and I did...not strictly carry it out." This decision was based on an unfortunate misjudgement of the situation and terrain by McDowell.

Throughout the conference, the skirmishers in front of Porter's column kept up a scattering fire. This, combined with dust rising above the distant woodline (assumed by McDowell to be caused by the force reported by Buford as moving along the Warrenton Turnpike), led McDowell to believe that the Turnpike was only a short distance off. He recalled, "It did not seem at that time to be a great distance to that road—the Warrenton Turnpike. I had an impression at the time that [Porter's] skirmishers were engaged with some of the enemy near that road." (In fact, the Warrenton pike was nearly three miles away.) The distant crash of battle indicated another, heavier, engagement farther to the right. As McDowell saw it, his troops were too far back to be of any use in front of Porter. It would be far more expeditious to simply move them up the Sudley Springs Road and put them in on the left of Reynolds' division, already engaged. According to McDowell (testifying at Porter's court-martial), he said to Porter, "You put your force in here, and I will take mine up the Sudley Spring Road, on the left of the troops engaged at that point with the enemy." (Exactly what McDowell said was a point of great controversy at Porter's trials. See the section for Porter's corps for his view and that of his supporters.) At that point, McDowell left Porter to return to his command and put it on the Sudley Road. McDowell's Testimony, Porter Court-Martial, pp. 84-85, 91-92; McDowell's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 743; 755-58, 760; McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 338.

A. Hatch (King) Follows Porter

After allowing Porter's corps to pass it, King's division took up the march along the Manassas-Gainesville Road. Patrick's brigade led, followed in order by Sullivan, Doubleday, and Gibbon. The column moved forward, Patrick's brigade halting about "one-half mile" beyond Bethlehem Church. Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 228; Petitioner's Map #4, ibid., Pt. 4.

B. Ricketts Arrives at Manassas

From Bristoe Station, General Ricketts moved his division to Manassas Junction, arriving about noon. En route Ricketts received the aforementioned dispatch from Buford. This he passed on to McDowell. Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384; Tower to Porter, July 16, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; William Davis, MS "Record of Movements, Camps, Campaigns, Skirmishes and Battles of the 7th Indiana Infantry, 1861-1863," Vol. 1, p. 77, Indiana State Library.

C. Reynolds Engages the Right of the Confederate Line

For some time after 10 AM Cooper's battery, supported by Meade's brigade, engaged the Confederates from the heights north of the turnpike, west of Brawner's woods. It continued to do so until its ammunition was expired. Reynolds decided to replace Cooper with Ransom's battery of Napoleons. The general recalled, "In returning...to bring up the other battery and Seymour's brigade I passed through Schenck's troops, drawn up on the right of the woods...in which Gibbon had been engaged. But in bringing up Ransom's battery and Seymour's brigade along the pike I noticed that Schenck's troops had disappeared from this position and were nowhere in sight. I understood that Schenck had detached a brigade [Stahel's] to the right, to the support of Milroy, and that I was therefore left alone, as far as I knew. I immediately arrested Seymour's movement, and directed the division to occupy the position across the pike from which it had moved; in doing which McLean's brigade was discovered occupying a piece of woods just on the left of the pike, and as soon as could be this movement was arrested and made to correspond with his position. It was subsequently ascertained that he was disconnected from the rest of Sigel's troops, and the position was again changed to make them connect." Reynolds to McDowell, October 9, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 364-65; Reynolds' report, ibid., p. 393.

1. Meade Withdraws

The larger part of Meade's brigade continued to operate astride the turnpike until, in all likelihood, shortly after 10:30. The 3d Reserves formed south of the road, the 8th Reserves astride it, and the 7th Reserves to their right. The Bucktails skirmished out front, driving the Confederates from an "old house" and out of the woods. The 4th Reserves were apparently the only regiment in direct support of Cooper's guns north of the turnpike. About 10:30, word came from General Meade to fall back, which the brigade and battery did—"through a wood to an open field, where we had formed line of battle before." The halt here was but short; Meade continued his withdrawal until he had reached the plateau near the Lewis house. Meade's report, ibid., p. 398; Letter of J. H. Marsten, September 5, 1862, The Warren [Pa.] Mail, September 20, 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 128; 4th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., p. 126.

2. Seymour Moves Forward Along the Turnpike

When Reynolds decided to withdraw Cooper's battery and replace it with Ransom's, he ordered Seymour's brigade forward to support the latter. Of the regiments of the brigade, only the 1st and 2d Reserves became engaged. Upon reaching the turnpike, the 1st Reserves pushed to the left, apparently assuming the ground just abandoned by Meade's brigade. Col. Hugh McNeil of the 1st reported, "On reaching Groveton I was ordered to call in the skirmishers, move along the road westward, and take a position to protect our left flank. In passing the point indicated my command was under a most severe fire from the enemy's battery...causing a considerable loss in wounded. Soon after the enemy's sharpshooters opened upon us from a thicket and house on our left. I deployed on either side of the road and advanced the line, driving them back and discovering the enemy in force with artillery. The house from which we drove them I ascertained had been occupied as a hospital by King's division during the severe engagement of the evening before. In this lay thirty-eight wounded. While preparing to send these to the rear, I was ordered by the general to retire." The 1st rejoined the balance of the brigade, "farther to the left."

While the 1st Reserves skirmished along the turnpike, the 2d Regiment was apparently sent off farther to the right to threaten the Confederate guns that had harrassed both Schenck's and Reynolds' advances. The 2d, wrote Evan Woodward, was sent "into a dense woods to the right from which we soon drove the enemy's skirmishers without any loss." "Having advanced through the woods to the opening upon the other side," the regiment came under heavy fire. It remained for some time, when it was withdrawn to rejoin the rest of the brigade, which apparently was well to the left and rear. 1st Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., p.131; Evan M. Woodward, Our Campaigns (Philadelphia, 1865), pp. 178-79; Sypher, Pennsylvania Reserves, p. 339-340; Lancaster [Pa.] Daily Express, September 10, 1862; E. B. Cope to G. K. Warren, August 5, 1865, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; E. B. Cope's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 868.

3. Jackson Moves on the Extreme Left

At 11 AM Jackson's brigade, the 12th Pennsylvania Reserves on the left, moved forward on the left of Seymour's brigade. Passing near the Lewis house, the brigade pushed forward to near what was apparently Meadowville Lane, fronting it, well south of the turnpike. There they remained, relatively unengaged, until ordered to withdraw. Martin Hardin, History of the Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps (New York, 1890), p. 93; Charles Barnes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 646-47.

Map 4, 10 a.m.- Noon August 29th, Union

4. Division Artillery: Simpson's (A, 1st Penn. Light), Cooper's (B, 1st Penn. Light), Kerns' (G, 1st Penn. Light) and Ransom's (C, 5th U.S.) Batteries

Of the four batteries, only Cooper's and Ransom's are known to have seen activity during this period. Cooper's battery continued to fire from their previously taken position until out of ammunition. It was then withdrawn in conjunction with Meade's brigade. Ransom's battery (supported by Seymour's brigade) was ordered forward to replace it, but before it came into action, Reynolds ordered the advance to halt. The remaining two batteries were apparently not in action and can only be assumed to have been with the rest of Seymour's and Jackson's brigades. Reynolds to McDowell, October 9, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 364-65; Reynolds's report, ibid., p. 393.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny Delays Attack

According to several sources, Kearny received orders to attack immediately upon his arrival on the field. For some reason, however, he delayed, much to the chagrin of Heintzelman. Instead, Kearny dispersed his three brigades, sending Poe across Bull Run, Birney, at least in part, to Schurz's support, and holding Robinson in reserve. Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 416; Gilman Marston to Porter, May 11, 1870, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Kearny's report, op.cit., p. 416.

1. Robinson Supports Poe's Advance

After arriving on the field, General Robinson received orders to support the left of Colonel Poe's advance. Robinson reported, "...I formed the 63d [Pennsylvania] and 105th [Pennsylvania] in line of battle on the Leesburg [Sudley Springs] Road, holding the 20th Indiana and Ohio battalion in reserve." Of the latter, the 20th Indiana was on the right. Robinson's report, ibid., p. 421; B. F. Butterfield's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 884; Erasmus C. Gilbreath, TS History of the 20th Indiana, p. 37, Indiana State Library.

2. Birney's Brigade: The 1st New York goes Directly to the Firing Line, the 4th Maine, 40th New York and 101st New York Come Under Fire and Then Withdraw, While the 38th New York, 3d Maine, and 57th Pennsylvania Remain Out of Action

a. The 1st New York

As near as can be told, the 1st New York was that regiment mentioned by both Schurz and Krzyzanowski as advancing into the interval between Krzyzanowski's and Schimmelfennig's brigades of Schurz's division. As such, it was the only regiment of Birney's brigade to go to the immediate assistance of Schurz's men. Maj. Edwin Burt reported, "The regiment was formed in line of battle in rear of the 5th Michigan and on the left of the 37th New York [both in Poe's brigade], forming the second line to the right of the Warrenton road, near Bull Run. I was ordered to advance in line of battle as then formed, but to go no farther than the [Sudley] road, about one-third of a mile in front. After marching to the point designated the second line was halted while the first line disappeared into a thick wood. Soon after halting I was ordered forward. I immediately put the regiment in motion and advanced to within 50 yards of the railroad, when I was attacked by a very heavy force of the enemy. The regiment returned the fire with great vigor, driving the enemy behind the bank caused by filling a low piece of ground for the road.

"After holding this position about half an hour I found that the enemy was swinging around my flanks, and had succeeded on the left in getting so far behind me that I mistook their fire for that of our own troops coming to my relief, but on turning in that direction I saw the error, and ordered the regiment to retire. About 300 yards from the first point of attack I reformed the regiment under fire, and held the enemy at this point for one-half hour. The men seemed determined not to be forced from this ground, but, the enemy getting around both of my flanks, I found it necessary to take a new position farther to the rear, while I anxiously looked for help, but none came.

"Calling the colors about 200 yards farther to the rear the regiment rallied a third time...but being overpowered and no assistance coming, I withdrew the regiment from the field and formed a new line." Again Major Burt ordered his tattered regiment forward, but to no avail. He withdrew them from the woods and sought out Birney. Instead he ran into one of Heintzelman's aides, who ordered him back into the woods yet again. This advance met the same as the previous ones, and Burt withdrew his command, now numbering only 87 men, to General Birney. 1st New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 428; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 298; Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 312.

b. The 4th Maine and the 40th and 101st New York

Shortly after arriving on the field, General Birney sent the 4th Maine, 40th New York, and the 101st New York forward on Schurz's right. The three regiments moved a "considerable distance through woods and fields" until they came upon "the brow of a hill." Here they were opened upon by "a masked battery." Between them and the battery, wrote one man, was a "ravine containing a body of rebel infantry." Lying down, the men endured the fire for nearly 20 minutes. At that point they were ordered by Birney to move back toward the woods they had just passed through. No sooner had they arrived here than word came that the enemy was playing havoc farther to the left. Birney ordered the three regiments in that direction. Reported Lt. Col. Nelson Gesner of the 101st New York, "In the execution of this order we had to cross a deep cut in the road and a small open space." After passing through a cornfield, the new line of battle was formed "at right angles with the first line some 200 paces in the rear." Amidst heavy timber, the three regiments remained for half hour, keeping up a steady fire with the Confederates in front. At that time the command was ordered to the rear, where they stacked arms and rested. 101st New York report, ibid., p. 431; 4th Maine report, ibid., p. 427; Theodore Dodge, Journal, August 30, 1862, Library of Congress; Letter of "B", September 1, 1862, Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, September 9, 1862; William E. S. Whitman and Charles H. True, Maine in the War for the Union (Lewiston, 1865), p. 96; Daniel Fletcher Cooledge, Reminiscences of California and the Civil War (Ayer, Mass., 1894), pp. 168-69.

c. The 38th New York

Arriving on the field, Col. John Henry Hobart Ward's 38th New York was designated as a reserve, the rest of the brigade heading elsewhere. The 38th remained a "short distance in rear," east of Sudley Road, until ordered to rejoin the rest of the brigade. 38th New York report, op.cit., p. 430.

d. The 3d Maine and 57th Pennsylvania

Both of these regiments were ordered to act as support for batteries. The 3d Maine was directed to support Graham's battery, which it did until noon. The 57th Pennsylvania, recalled Col. William Birney, "was directed to support a battery or a section of a battery on the right, which was posted on a hill. I took my position immediately in front of it at the base of the hill, and I remained there the greater part of the day." 3d Maine report, ibid., p. 426; William Birney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 663.

3. Poe Unknowingly Threatens Jackson's Trains

With the 2d Michigan deployed as skirmishers and the 37th New York (on the right), 3d Michigan, and 5th Michigan in line of battle, Colonel Poe moved his brigade forward from the area of the Matthews House, his left resting on Sudley Road. Poe recounted, "We found a good deal of difficulty in preserving our organization because of the woods through which we were moving. Our advance was continued until our skirmishers had crossed Bull Run some 400 or 500 yards, and the three regiments in support had also crossed.... I saw the enemy's skirmishers deployed to meet us along the line of the railroad, and could see the glistening of the bayonets of the supports in the cornfield beyond." Suddenly, from the left, the enemy opened with a battery of artillery. Poe was now, he admitted, in a "very bad" position. He was soon ordered to retreat. Wrote a man of the 2d Michigan, "At this moment we got orders to face about and 'double quick' to the shelter of the wood. We had to pass through a perfect hail of grape and canister which ripped the sod under our very feet. In noticeable gusts the missles swept through our ranks." Meanwhile, a Federal battery offered covering fire from behind, and Poe's men were able to scurry back across the run with little loss. The brigade caught its collective breath "upon the steep bluff bordering the creek." Poe's report, op.cit., p. 434; Poe's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 579-80; Poe, MS Map, T. C. H. Smith Papers; John V. Reuhle, Diary, August 29, 1862 Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library; Charles Haydon, Diary, August 29, 1862 Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; William O'Meagher to L. L. Doty, September 25, 1865, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

4. Division Artillery: Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island Light) and Graham's (K, 1st U.S.) Batteries

Both of these batteries went into action with Kearny's division. Graham's battery was supported by the 3d Maine of Birney's brigade. Randolph, farther to the right, was apparently supported by the 57th Pennsylvania. 3d Maine report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 426; William Birney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 663.

B. Hooker's Division Arrives and Plays a Supporting Role

1. Grover Supports Milroy

Arriving on the field about 11 AM, wrote Martin Haynes of the 2d New Hampshire, "The brigade marched down the Warrenton road toward Groveton, past the stone house and the crossing of the Sudley road, and at length filed into the fields to the right, when the 1st Massachusetts was sent to support Sigel's line, while the remaining four regiments rested in two lines, sheltered from the enemy's artillery by a roll of the field in front. The position was nearly opposite the southern limit of the woods, and in view of the batteries on Jackson's right...." The 1st Massachusetts supported the 82d Ohio and 5th West

Virginia of Milroy's brigade after the latter had been driven back from the unfinished railroad. Martin A. Haynes, A History of the Second Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion (Lakeport, 1896), pp. 128-29; Grover's report, op.cit., p. 439; Charles C. Perkins, Diary, August 29, 1862, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Henry N. Blake, Three Years in the Army of the Potomac (Boston, 1865), p. 126.

2. Taylor Brings up the Rear and is Held in Reserve

Taylor's was the last of Hooker's brigades to arrive on the field. As such, they were designated as a reserve, resting in support of batteries, apparently near Dogan Ridge. The 72d New York held the right of the brigade with the 70th New York next to them. Taylor's report, op.cit., p. 444; Henry E. Tremaine's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 827; 70th New York report, op.cit., p. 447.

3. Carr Takes Position on Grover's Right

According to Colonel Carr, his brigade arrived on the field at 11 AM. It passed the Stone House, then deflected to the right and took position under cover of a ridge in support of some batteries. Grover was to its left. Carr's report, op.cit., p. 454; Carr's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 798; Robert Thompson's Testimony, ibid., p. 270.

4. McGilvery's (6th, Maine Light) Battery Supports Kearny

Upon arrival, McGilvery's guns were sent to the right to support Kearny's division. O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 419; Letter of E. B. Dow, September 6, 1862, Portland Daily Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

It was probably shortly after 10 AM that Porter's meeting with McDowell east of Manassas Junction broke up. Porter then reversed his corps' march and with it headed out the Manassas-Gainesville Road, Morell's division now leading. Porter had advanced about two miles when he received the Joint Order, delivered by Dr. Robert Abbott of Pope's staff. By then Morell's skirmishers had contacted the enemy and the column ground to a halt. Abbott's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 64; Porter, Narrative, p. 23.

Soon McDowell arrived, Joint Order in hand, ready to reclaim command of Hatch's division. According to Frederick Locke, Porter's chief of staff, as soon as McDowell had a chance to survey Porter's position, McDowell said in a tone loud enough to be heard by many, "Porter, you are out too far already; this is no place to fight a battle." Subsequently Porter and McDowell rode off to the right, across the railroad, and reviewed the situation. McDowell informed Porter of the latest dispatch from Buford which indicated that 17 Confederate regiments had passed through Gainesville that morning. They also discussed the Joint Order. The Joint Order provided the commanders with substantial freedom of action, but it also admonished them not to move so far as to be unable to fall back behind Bull Run that night, if that proved necessary. Keeping this in mind, McDowell decided to modify the order. He told Porter that rather than try to push his command cross country to link up with the forces along the Warrenton Turnpike, he would move his corps directly northward along the Sudley Road and from there move into position on Reynolds' left where Porter would, theoretically, once again link up with him. At that the two Generals parted and Porter wheeled to return to his command. McDowell's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 85; Frederick Locke's Testimony, ibid., p. 135; Porter, Narrative, pp. 23-25; Porter, MS Narrative, p. B4, Porter Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

A. Morell's Division Advances Until Contact is Made With the Enemy

Leaving Manassas Junction, General Morell's division passed northwestward up the Manassas-Gainesville Road. Griffin's brigade led the march, followed by Roberts' and Butterfield's brigades. Passing King's division resting along the road, the advance continued until Morell's skirmishers contacted the enemy. At that point, along Dawkins Branch, Porter ordered Morell to halt his column. After a brief consultation with his chief, Morell set about the business of disposing his troops. Morell to Porter, February 21, 1874 and June 10, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; C. A. Johnson to Porter, April 29, 1878, ibid.; Morell's Testimony, Porter Court-Martial, p. 146.

1. Roberts' Brigade Follows Griffin; The 13th New York is Deployed On the Skirmish Line

Charles Roberts' brigade followed Griffin's in the march of Morell's division, the 13th New York in front, followed by the 18th Massachusetts, 22d Massachusetts, 2d Maine, and 1st Michigan. The march continued until the column reached the ridge overlooking Dawkins Branch. Here, after a brief respite, Porter ordered the 13th New York, commanded by Col. Elisha Marshall, to deploy as skirmishers while the rest of the brigade formed on the right of the road. At noon, they were probably in the process of doing this. J. S. Slater's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 347-48; Walter S. Davis' Testimony, ibid., pp. 405-406; Solomon Thomas' Testimony, ibid., p. 802; E. G. Marshall's Testimony, Porter Court-Martial, p. 190; Griffin's Testimony, ibid., p. 161.

2. Griffin's Brigade Leads the Advance; The 62d Pennsylvania Acts As Skirmishers

Griffin's brigade led the advance of Morell's division. Before the Porter court-martial Griffin recalled, "I had marched about two miles, having passed King's division in the road, when a countryman said, 'Look out; a trooper has been taken here, just in front a short distance.' I asked him what forces were in front. He said none, except a few mounted men. I halted my brigade, threw four companies of the 62d Pennsylvania to the front with instructions to move on in advance about half a mile.... I then moved on until we came to a cleared space, where our skirmishers commenced firing with the enemy's pickets.... At this point General Porter rode up and we halted. I also ordered the other eight companies of the 62d Pennsylvania to the front to support those that were already out as skirmishers." Griffin's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 161-62; Morell's Testimony, Ibid., p. 146; Petitioner's Map #4, Porter Retrial, Pt. 4; Francis S. Earle's Testimony, Ibid., p. 421.

3. Butterfield Follows Roberts

Butterfield's brigade followed Roberts'. At noon it was probably in the process of taking position. Petitioner's Map #4, Ibid., Pt. 4.

4. Division Artillery

a. Martin's Battery (C, Massachusetts Light)

When the column halted, Captain Martin was ordered to put his guns in position on the left of the Manassas-Gainesville Road. They were not, however, engaged. A. P. Martin, MS Account, Joshua Chamberlain Papers, Library of Congress.

b. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island Light)

Waterman was apparently attached to Griffin's brigade and did not go into position until afternoon. Morell's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 146; A. P. Martin, op.cit.

c. Hazlett's Battery (D, 5th U.S.)

When the division halted, Hazlett moved his guns to the front, taking position on the ridge to the right of the road. The battery, however, did not open fire immediately. Francis S. Earle's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 426; Walter S. Davis's Testimony, ibid., pp. 412-13; Warren's Testimony, ibid., p. 87.

B. Sykes Follows Morell

Initially at the head of the column, when the corps reversed direction and headed out the Manassas-Gainesville Road, Sykes division became the rear element of the corps. Of the three brigades, only the leading one, Warren's, deployed—it that to the left of the road. The remaining two, Buchanan and Chapman, apparently remained in line near the road, extending most of the way back to Bethlehem Church. Warren's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 80-82; Buchanan's Testimony, ibid., p. 252; Petitioner's Map #4, ibid., Pt. 4; Warren to Porter, September 15, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

1. Division Artillery (Stephen Weed Commanding): Randol's (E & G, 1st U.S), Weed's (I, 5th U.S), and Smead's (K, 5th U.S.) Batteries

In column with Sykes' division, none of these batteries came into action during this period. Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147.

C. Piatt's Brigade

Continuing his march from Bristoe, Piatt arrived at Manassas Junction about noon, only to find that Porter had redirected his march toward Gainesville. Sturgis to Porter, August 20, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division Arrives and is Dispersed Along the Front

Stevens' division arrived on the field about 11:30 AM. According to Captain Hazard Stevens, the general's aide and son, upon reporting to Sigel, the three brigades of the division were dispersed to various points along the line. Farnsworth was sent to support Schurz, Christ to Milroy, and Leasure to Schenck. Stevens, Stevens, p. 452; Daniel Leasure, "Address...," MOLLUS Minnesota, pp. 150-51.

1. Christ's Brigade Supports Milroy

By all accounts, Colonel Christ was ordered to take his two regiments, the 50th Pennsylvania and 8th Michigan, to support Milroy's brigade. In all likelihood the brigade did not move to the firing line until after noon. Stevens, Stevens, p. 452; Leasure, op.cit.; Letter of "W. H. M.," September 9, 1862, Pottsville [Pa.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862.

2. Leasure Moves to the Left to Support Benjamin's Battery

After arriving on the field, Sigel directed Reno to send Leasure's brigade and Benjamin's battery to the left to support Schenck. In company with

General Stevens, the brigade moved up the turnpike toward Groveton. Recalled Hazard Stevens, "The little column was moving without skirmishers in front, for it was said that our troops held the ground beyond Groveton, the battery first, followed by the infantry in marching column of fours. The general and staff had reached the crossroad, the battery was descending the slope in the road...when an extended line of gray-coated skirmishers emerged over the crest of the opposite ridge, two hundred yards distant, and, catching sight of the group of horsemen and the battery, quickly began firing upon them." Stevens ordered Benjamin to put his guns into battery. The infantry that had passed over the crest of the ridge was ordered to hastily countermarch and take position on the eastern slope of the ridge. Five companies of the 100th Pennsylvania were deployed as skirmishers. They, wrote Colonel Leasure, "double quicked into the valley in front of us and well forward towards the position of the enemy on the heights opposite to us, and deploying as they ran, entered a large field of standing corn...and got position at its farther boundary, where they took the fence for alignment and partial protection, and opened a withering fire on the enemy." The position of the skirmish line, Stevens added, was "along the crossroad" (Lewis Lane). Stevens, Stevens, p. 450; Leasure, "Address...," MOLLUS Minnesota, p. 154; Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 22, 1862, Andrew J. Morrison Papers, Huntington Library; Letter of John McKee, September 6, 1862, Lawrence [Pa.] Journal, September 13, 1862; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 556.

3. Farnsworth is Dispatched to Schurz's Aid

Farnsworth's two regiments, the 79th New York and 28th Massachusetts, were sent to the right to support Schurz's men, where they probably reported to Schurz at or shortly after noon. William Todd, The Seventy-ninth Highlanders New York Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion (Albany, 1886), p. 199.

4. Benjamin (E, 2d U.S.) Goes Into Action on the Ridge Overlooking Groveton

In conjunction with Leasure's brigade, Captain Benjamin was ordered to move his four 20-pounder. Parrotts down the turnpike to the support of Schenck's division. The column moved forward without incident until it neared Groveton. As the battery rumbled down the slope toward the crossroads, Confederate skirmishers just west of Groveton opened fire. Because of a deep cut in the roadbed, recalled Hazard Stevens, "it was impossible to turn the guns either to the right or left....but Benjamin coolly led his battery thirty yards forward to where the banks were lower, the skirmishers coming nearer and their fire sharper every minute, then turned the leading team short to the left; the drivers plied the whip, the horses leaped up the steep bank, and with a sudden pull jerked the gun out of the cut." The remaining guns followed and wheeled back up the slope into position. While doing so, one of the caissons overturned and was, at least for the moment, abandoned. Once in position, the battery's position was "on the ridge, just this side [east] of Groveton, about 200 yards from the house." Within moments the guns opened fire. Stevens, Stevens, pp. 449-50; Leasure, "Address...," MOLLUS Minnesota, p. 153; Benjamin's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 607.

B. Reno's Division Arrives on the Field

Reno's division, following Stevens', apparently arrived on the field after noon. Nagle's brigade led the march. Lyman Jackman, History of the Sixth New Hampshire Regiment in the War for the Union (Concord, 1891), p. 78; Ferrero's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Sevice, Vol. 3, p. 277, RG 94, National Archives.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

The bulk of Beardsley's command spent the day near Sigel's headquarters, probably not far from the Robinson House. Some detachments were engaged in "scouting and flanking." 1st Maryland Cavalry report, O.R. Ser. I, vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 273.

B. Buford's Brigade

Buford continued on with Ricketts' division, arriving at Manassas Junction about noon. Buford's testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 188-89; Ricketts' report, op.cit., p. 384; Tower to Porter, July 16, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

C. Bayard's Brigade

At Manassas Junction General Bayard reported to McDowell. Bayard was then ordered to move up Sudley Road and "take position on the left of line formed by our forces." A detachment of the 1st Pennsylvania Cavalry was sent to the head of Porter's column and remained there throughout the day. Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91; J. P. Taylor's Testimony, Porter Retrial, p. 857.

Map #4, 10 AM-Noon, August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

General Lee, near the head of Longstreet's column, arrived on the field about 10 AM. As he moved eastward down the turnpike the general could see troops in front. Were they Jackson's men? According to one of Lee's couriers, Alexander Payne, Lee ordered Payne and his company of the 4th Virginia Cavalry to ride forward and check. Within minutes Payne returned with word that the men in front were indeed Jackson's. A. D. Payne to Porter, October 6, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

One of Lee's staff officers, however, tells a different version of Lee's arrival on the field. Col. Charles Scott Venable recorded that instead of sending scouts forward to locate Jackson's troops, Lee rode forward himself—alone. Upon returning Lee turned to Venable and said quietly, "A Yankee sharpshooter came near killing me just now." Lee's cheek bore the mark of a bullet that had grazed him. Charles Scott Venable, MS "Personal Reminiscences of the Confederate War," pp. 55-56, McDowell-Miller-Warner Family Papers, University of Virginia (Accessed by permission of Mr. C. Venable Minor, Redart, Virginia).

After determining Jackson's troops' locations, Lee inquired for that general, "who happened to be near by." Jackson rode up and met with Lee. He presumably informed his chief of his activities of the preceding days. Payne to Porter, op.cit.; Charles Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 203.

A report also reached headquarters that there was a federal corps at Manassas, five miles away. Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 519.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Arriving on the field about 10 AM, Longstreet spent the next two hours overseeing the deployment of his troops. The general reported, "On approaching the field some of Brigadier General Hood's batteries were ordered into position, and his division was deployed on the right and left of the turnpike at right angles with it, and supported by...Evans' brigade. Before these batteries could open the enemy discovered our movements and withdrew his left. Another battery (Captain Stribling's) was placed upon a commanding position to my right which played upon the rear of the enemy's left and drove him entirely from that part of the field. He changed his front rapidly so as to meet the advance of Hood and Evans." Wilcox was put into position to support Longstreet's left, while

Kemper's division was sent to Longstreet's right. D. R. Jones moved up on the right rear of Kemper's main force. Longstreet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 565; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 181; Longstreet to Porter, September 23, 1866, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. D. R. Jones Moves Toward Longstreet's Right

The next-to-last division in column (in front of Wilcox), Jones did not arrive on the field until nearly noon. At that time he was assigned to a position on Longstreet's extreme right. At midday Jones' men were just moving into place. Jones' report, op.cit., 579; Charles Williams to Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

B. Wilcox Brings Up the Rear of the Column

Wilcox's division did not catch up to the main column until Gainesville, and then fell in behind it. Nearing the field, Wilcox moved his men north of the turnpike and deployed them into line of battle. Then Wilcox's men moved forward "near[ly] a mile." Wilcox to Porter, August 11, 1866, ibid.; Wilcox's report, op.cit., p. 598; Petitioner's Map #4, Porter Retrial, Pt. 4.

C. Hood's Division Leads the March and Deploys Astride the Turnpike

Hood's own brigade was the first of Longstreet's units to arrive on the field. Hood immediately deployed his five regiments into line of battle, the 1st Texas on the left, its left resting on the turnpike, the 4th Texas to the right of the 1st, the 18th Georgia in the center, and the 5th Texas and Hampton's Legion on the right. Hood ordered the division to move forward, which it did until it was "on a line established by General Jackson." The brigade halted under cover of woods. Hood's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 605; 4th Texas report, ibid., p. 614; John B. Hood, Advance and Retreat (rpt., Millwood, N.Y., 1981), pp. 33-34.

Law's brigade followed Hood's in the line of march. In his report of operations Colonel Law wrote, "On arriving about midway between Gainesville and the stone house...I was ordered by Brigadier General Hood...to form the brigade in line of battle to the left of the turnpike and almost at right angles with it, the right resting on the road and the left connecting with General Jackson's line. The Texas Brigade had been previously formed on the right of the road, its left joining my right. With a strong line of riflemen in front, which drove the enemy's skirmishers as it advanced, the brigade moved forward, accompanied by Generals Longstreet and Hood, until it reached a commanding position in front of the enemy, about three-fourths of a mile from Dogan's house, which seemed to be the center of his position." His brigade, Law elaborated after the war, "was on a high ridge immediately north of the Warrenton Turnpike." Once there the enemy's batteries opened a "severe" fire. Law's report, op.cit., pp. 622-23; Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1887," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, November 2, 1862.

1. Hood's Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding): Bachman's (German Artillery), Garden's (Palmetto Artillery), and Reilly's (Rowan Artillery) Batteries

Upon arriving on the field Major Frobel placed Reilly's battery on the left of Longstreet's line, somewhere near the turnpike. At 11 AM, Frobel recalled, "I was ordered by General Hood to proceed to the right of the turnpike and report to General Stuart. This I did with Captain Bachman's battery, Reilly being already in position on the left, and Garden having no long-range pieces. General Stuart had selected a position near the Orange and Alexandria [actually the Manassas Gap] Railroad; the battery was brought up and immediately opened with marked effect on a column of the enemy moving to the right, which at once changed direction, moving rapidly to the left. Fifteen rounds were fired, when, the distance being greatly increased, I ordered Captain Bachman to cease firing." Frobel's report, op.cit., p. 607; Frobel's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 686; Letter of W. K. Bachman (no date), Charleston Courier, September 17, 1862; J. H. A. Wagener, Diary, August 29, 1862, South Carolina Historical Society.

D. Evans Supports Hood

Following Hood's division, Brig. Gen. Nathan Evans' brigade went into position in support of Hood's brigade, south of the turnpike. Longstreet's report, op.cit., p. 564; Holcombe's Legion report, ibid., p. 630.

E. Kemper Deploys on the Right

1. Jenkins' and Hunton's Brigades

Kemper's division arrived on the field after Hood's forces had already started to deploy. Immediately it was sent off the turnpike to the south to take position on Hood's right. Jenkins' brigade first moved to near the Manassas Gap Railroad, then apparently more toward the left, where it halted "on the skirts of an extensive plain." Hunton was apparently to Jenkins' left. James R. Hagood, MS "Memoirs of the First South Carolina Regiment of Volunteer Infantry in the Confederate War For Independence from April 12, 1861 to April 10, 1865," South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Wood, Big I, p. 30; Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 625.

2. Corse Moves to Confront Porter

Brigade commander Montgomery Corse reported that after arriving on the field "We were at once placed in line of battle in rear of Jenkins' brigade near the Manassas Gap Railroad. After remaining in this position for a short time the brigade moved forward east of the railroad. The 24th Virginia was here detached and sent to support Rogers' battery, stationed near the _____ house. The rest of the brigade, by [Kemper's] order, was then moved west of the railroad, forming line of battle a few yards from the outskirts of a wood. The 7th Virginia went forward in skirmishing order across a field some 300 yards in front.... Remaining in this position for half an hour, I received...an order to move forward and to the right, to withdraw the 7th, connect it with my line and occupy a wood in front distant 400 yards." Throwing out skirmishers again, Corse came in contact with the enemy. "Not being aware that any of our troops were on my right, and seeing the enemy a few minutes before display a considerable force in front, which at once moved to the right under cover of a wood, I deemed it prudent to fall back a short distance." The brigade remained here until relieved by Drayton's brigade early in the afternoon. Corse's report, *ibid*., p. 626; James Mitchell's Testimony, *Porter Retrial*, Pt. 2, p. 402.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. The Washington Artillery (Major J. B. Walton Commanding): Richardson Moves with Benning, Eshleman Moves with Pickett, and Squires and Miller Act as Reserves

Both Captain Richardson and Eshleman were with their assigned brigades, Benning's and Hunton's respectively. Squires and Miller, meanwhile, were designated as reserve, filing into a piece of woods north of the Warrenton Turnpike. There they remained until 1 PM. Walton's report, *op.cit*., p. 571; Owen, *Washington Artillery*, p. 115.

2. Miscellaneous Batteries

Of the five miscellaneous batteries of Longstreet's wing only two can be located, Stribling's and Rogers'. Stribling's battery (Fauquier Artillery), reported Longstreet, "was placed upon a commanding position to my right, which played upon the rear of the enemy's left and drove him entirely from that part of the field." Rogers (Loudoun Artillery), meanwhile, moved farther to the right, near a house, supported by the 24th Virginia of Corse's brigade. Huger's and Moorman's batteries were assigned to Anderson's brigade and therefore not yet on the field. Longstreet's report, op.cit., p. 564; Corse's report, ibid., p. 625.

III. Jackson's Wing

Jackson spent most of the morning hovering near the right of his line awaiting the arrival of Longstreet. Prior to 10 AM he spent time placing two of Early's regiments to cover the Warrenton Turnpike. Shortly after 10 AM he learned that Lee had arrived. He promtly rode to his chief, who he had not seen since August 24, and met with him. The substance of this meeting is not known. Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 809; A. D. Payne to Porter, October 6, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. Starke's Division Remains Inactive

After taking their positions on the right of Jackson's line, Starke's four brigades rested quietly, with little activity on their front. A. G. Taliaferro was on the right, Baylor next to Taliaferro, then Stafford, and finally on the left, Johnson. Johnson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 665; Worsham, Foot Cavalry, p. 127.

1. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

Shumaker continued to focus his attention on the Federal artillery and infantry around Groveton. Poague, Brockenbrough, and Carpenter, along with some batteries from Ewell's division, all continued to fire at intervals, causing Reynolds' and Schenck's Federal divisions considerable discomfiture. Crutchfield's report, op.cit., p. 652; Jackson's report, ibid., p. 645; Moore, Cannoneer, p. 117.

B. A. P. Hill Fights Against Schurz

1. Branch's Brigade

Branch's brigade did not become heavily engaged until later in the day. Until that time it continued to rest behind Gregg's brigade. Lane's report, op.cit., p. 676; Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 19; Letter of Branch, Lane, "History of Lane's Brigade," p. 243.

2. Archer's Brigade

Archer's brigade remained in Hill's reserve line, unengaged. Archer's report, op.cit., p. 700.

3. Pender's Brigade

Pender remained within supporting distance of Thomas' brigade. Pender's report, ibid., p. 697.

4. Field's Brigade

As mentioned before, the source material relating to this brigade is meager. Judging from Federal activity likely occuring along Field's front and the lone account relating to the brigade, there was nothing more than a prolonged skirmish occuring along the brigade front during this period. John C. Towles, Diary, August 29, 1862, p. 66, Virginia State Library.

5. Gregg Continues to Engage Krzyzanowski and Schimmelfennig

1. The 1st South Carolina

The 1st South Carolina continued its fight in front of the unfinished railroad, but not without difficulties. To the right of the 1st was the 13th South Carolina, but despite the best of attempts to concert effort with that regiment, Major McCrady found it impossible. Soon came a request from Col. Dixon Barnes' 12th South Carolina for aid to the left, but McCrady felt his position so critical that to move would jeopordize Gregg's entire line. "Indeed," wrote McCrady, "it was all we could do to hold our own."

This McCrady's men did for quite a while. Meanwhile, the 12th had launched an attack farther to the left, and was soon supported by Orr's Rifles. McCrady wrote, "I remained, holding the position protecting their rear and flank. After some time, learning that Colonel Edwards [the 13th] was retiring, and seeing Colonel Marshall [the Rifles] moving his regiment from our left and passing us by a flank in our rear, I supposed an order to fall back had missed me, which I accordingly did joining the rear of Colonel Marshall's regiment." The 1st continued rearward until it reached its first position of the morning, on the knoll behind the unfinished railroad. The 13th took position 20 yards in front of the 1st and a heavy skirmish line was again thrown out. The front of the brigade, at least for the time being, had been cleared of the enemy. 1st South Carolina report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 686; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," pp. 24-25; McGowan's report, op.cit., p. 680.

b. The 1st South Carolina Rifles Move to Support the 12th South Carolina, then Withdraws

As the reserve regiment of the brigade, the 1st South Carolina Rifles remained out of action until the fighting was fairly underway. It was probably about 10:30 AM that Colonel Marshall received orders to move his regiment forward. The Rifles had advanced across the unfinished railroad and "some distance" into the woods when it met the 12th South Carolina, newly returned from a daring attack upon the foe. Closing down on the 12th was "a fresh column of the enemy." Colonel Marshall quickly formed his regiment on the right of the 12th, and in "a fierce engagement" that "lasted only a few minutes," drove the enemy back. The Rifles then returned to their starting point north of the unfinished railroad and took position "fronting the cornfield" along with the 14th South Carolina. 1st S. C. Rifles report, ibid., p. 690; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., p. 686; 12th South Carolina report, ibid., p. 693; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," p. 23.

c. The 12th South Carolina Drives the Enemy and Pursues

After encountering and driving off a Federal force approaching from the left, Colonel Barnes realigned his front. Then, reported Colonel Jones, "the 12th charged in the most gallant manner, firing as it advanced, and putting the enemy completely to rout, pursued them with heavy slaughter through the woods and until they crossed the field beyond and ran out of sight. Being now about half a mile from our starting point, we fell back into the woods a short distance. Very soon a fresh column of the enemy, probably three regiments, were seen advancing. Just at this time the First Rifles, most opportunely, were also seen advancing through the woods to our support. Forming a line with and on the left of this regiment, together we gave them battle, and without much difficulty or loss again drove back the enemy. Soon thereafter, under orders from Brigadier General Gregg, we returned to our first position." There the 12th aligned itself behind McCrady's 1st South Carolina. 12th South Carolina report, op.cit., p. 693; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," p. 23.

d. The 13th South Carolina Holds Position, then Falls Back

The 13th South Carolina continued to hold its position on the right of the firing line until its front was clear of the enemy. At that time the regiment was ordered back across the unfinished railroad, where it took position about 20 yards in front of the 1st South Carolina. There it remained until afternoon. 13th South Carolina report, op.cit., pp. 694-95; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., p. 686.

e. The 14th South Carolina

The 14th South Carolina remained in its position taken earlier, along the fence fronting the cornfield. McGowan's report, ibid., p. 680; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," p. 23.

6. Thomas' Brigade Progressively Becomes Engaged

As the fighting intensified on the Confederate left, Colonel Thomas continued to throw his regiments into the fray on Gregg's right. Judging from the descriptions of the fighting given by Krzyzanoski's brigade (the unit most likely confronting Thomas), Thomas' men did most of their fighting north of the unfinished railroad. Thomas' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 702.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

The positions taken that morning by the respective batteries were unchanged during this period. Walker's report, ibid., p. 674; Jones, Diary, August 29, 1862, p. 39.

C. Lawton's Division is Still Dispersed

1. Trimble's and Lawton's Brigades Along the Main Confederate Line

Though there is no mention in the source material relating to these brigades of heavy fighting during the morning of August 29, the evidence gathered from Federal sources indicate that the attack made by the 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia of Milroy's brigade struck the Confederate line along Trimble's front. The Confederate sources mention only "hot" skirmishing along the line in their front. Trimble, "Report of Operations," p. 308; McLendon, Recollections, p. 111; Documentation for Milroy, Map #4, 10 AM-Noon.

2. Early Recalls His Two Regiments from the Firing Line and Orders Forno to Proceed to the Left

Shortly after 10 AM the head of Longstreet's column made its appearance. General Early immediately sent a staff officer to confer with General Hood, leading the column. At the same time sent orders to the 13th and 31st Virginia to return to the brigade as soon as they were relieved by some of Hood's men. While the two Virginia regiments cautiously pulled out, Early directed Forno to move to the left and rejoin the division. The 13th and 31st Virginia did not rejoin Early until early afternoon, and the general held his brigade near Pageland Lane until that time. Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 804, 810; Early to Porter, July 26, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Forno's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 718.

3. Division Artillery

Dement and Latimer continued to do service in the neighborhood of Shumaker's battalion, on Jackson's right. J. R. Johnson remained with Early near Pageland Lane, and D'Aquin remained with the 8th Louisiana on the opposite end of the line, not far from Sudley Ford. The locations of Balthis' and Brown's batteries are unknown. Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 652: Early's report, ibid., p. 711; D'Aquin's battery report, Charles Thompson Papers, Huntington Library.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Stuart remained with Longstreet's column and was busy throughout most of this period placing batteries on Longstreet's left. Before long reports arrived that indicated a Federal force was approaching from Manassas Junction. Stuart waited until its strength was known before reporting it to the commanding general. Stuart's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 736.

A. Fitz Lee's Brigade: Part of the 1st Virginia Cavalry Repulses a Threat Against Jackson's Trains. The 5th Virginia Cavalry Operates on the Extreme Right

It was about 11 AM that reports came in indicating that a Federal force was threatening to intervene between Jackson's wagon train and his main infantry force. Jackson immediately ordered his baggage train to "start for Aldie." At the same time six companies of the 1st Virginia Cavalry under Maj. William Patrick were sent from their outpost "near Sudley" to neutralize the threat.

Patrick quickly dismounted his troopers and, according to Federal accounts, moved them across Bull Run and deployed them along the unfinished railroad. There, supported by Pelham, they had little trouble in repulsing the half-hearted Federal advance. During the action Major Patrick was killed. Stuart's report, O.R., ibid.; Von Borcke, Memoirs, pp. 146-47; Poe's brigade documentation, 10 AM-Noon, August 29.

The 5th Virginia Cavalry, meanwhile, operated in conjunction with Longstreet's column on the extreme right. Colonel Rosser moved his regiment forward on the left of the Manassas-Gainesville Road and engaged the enemy there. To deceive the enemy as to the strength of the Confederate force along the road, Colonel Rosser was directed to have some of his men drag brush in the road. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; James Landstreet's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, p. 997; Blackford, War Years, p. 127.

B. Robertson's Brigade

Robertson screened the right of Longstreet's wing, passing from Gainesville down the road toward Manassas. Once there Robertson placed his command in the woods south of the Vessel house as a point of observation. He soon reported the presence of the enemy in front. Robertson's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 216; Petitioner's Map #4, ibid., Pt. 4; Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; John Blue, Memoir, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.

C. Pelham's Battery

Pelham remained in position on Jackson's left until he was relieved by "two other batteries." He then proceeded to the right of the line where Jackson gave him discretionary power as to the employment of his guns. He apparently operated in the neighborhood of Shumaker's battalion for the remainder of the day. Pelham's report, ibid., p. 755.

MAP 5

Map #5, Noon-2 PM, August 29

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Wending his way from Centreville, Pope arrived on the battlefield shortly after midday. Upon arrival, Pope recalled, I "found the two armies confronting each other, both considerably cut up by the sharp action in which they had been engaged since daylight.... Heintzelman's corps occupied the right of our line, in front or west of the Sudley Springs road. General Sigel was on the left, with his line extended a short distance south of the Warrenton turnpike, the division of General Schenck occupying the high ground to the left of that road. The extreme left was occupied by the division of General Reynolds. General Reno's corps had reached the field, and most of it had been pushed forward into action, leaving four regiments [in fact, probably only three regiments—those of Nagle's brigade] in reserve and in rear of the center of our line."

Pope set up his headquarters on "the hill immediately in rear of the center of our line, immediately east of the Sudley Spring Road, and north of the Warrenton turnpike. Immediately in front...was the reserve of Reno's command" (undoubtedly Nagle's brigade). Word was sent to all commanders that headquarters had arrived on the field. Shortly, wrote Pope, "General Sigel reported to me that his line was weak; that the divisions of Schurz and Steinwehr were much cut up, and ought to be drawn back from the front. I informed General Sigel that this was utterly impossible, as there were no troops to replace them, and that he must hold his ground; that I would not again push his troops into action, as the corps of Porter and McDowell were moving forward from Manassas Junction on the road to Gainesville and must very soon be in position to fall upon the enemy's right flank, and probably upon his rear. I rode to the front of our line and inspected it from right to left, giving the same information to General Heintzelman and Reno. The troops were accordingly suffered to rest in their positions and resupply themselves with ammunition." Pope's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 39; Pope's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 35; Ruggles' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 309-10; Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 92.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

With Pope's arrival on the field, Sigel's responsibilities were considerably reduced, and once again he was able to give full attention to his own corps. From Pope he tried to gain some relief for his tired men, especially Schurz's, but Pope replied that there were then insufficient troops available to spare Sigel's fighters. Failing at that attempt for assistance, Sigel sent yet another request to directly to General Kearny "to change his front to the left, and to advance, if possible, against the enemy's left flank." This movement, however, never developed, and Schurz's men were compelled to hold their own until 2 PM. Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 266-67.

A. Schenck's Division Pulls Back and Consolidates

It was about noon that Colonel McLean reported to Schenck that Reynolds' division, on the left, was being withdrawn because of an enemy force pushing down on its left flank. Schenck ordered McLean to conform to Reynolds' withdrawal. Shortly after came an order from Sigel to "attack the enemy's right flank and rear by a change of front to the right, thereby assisting our troops in the center." This, replied Schenck, was impossible. To launch such an attack would expose the left of the division to the enemy. With Sigel's blessing, the order was countermanded. William Cheesebrough to McDowell, October 20, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 366; Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, ibid., p. 280; Schenck's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, pp. 1009-10, 1014; Sigel's report, ibid., p. 266.

1. Stahel Joins McLean South of the Turnpike

The arrival of Benjamin's battery near Groveton made it possible for Stahel to leave his exposed position in support of Milroy. Benjamin's fire "governed all the open ground to the right of the turnpike"; therefore, the threat to Milroy's left was neutralized. Consequently, Stahel remembered, "I received orders from General Schenck to take my brigade through a small defile to the left of the turnpike" and resume position there. He put his brigade in "position on the borders of the woods, resting my right wing on the turnpike, and the Second Brigade [McLean's] joining on the left." "In front was an open field, and the rebels occupied a wood several hundred yards beyond," recalled a man of the 27th Pennsylvania. The 8th New York and 27th Pennsylvania were placed in Stahel's first line, the 41st and 45th New York behind them. Benjamin's battery took position on the brigade's right wing, "about 200 paces to the rear." In front the skirmishers clashed with the enemy "on a small hill near Groveton Farm." The Confederate skirmishers proved persistent and were only driven off when Stahel sent the 8th New York to the top of the ridge and front, where they fired a nasty volley that drove the Southerners back. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 284; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 387; 8th, 41st, and 45th New York reports, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

2. McLean Falls Back to Stahel's Left

After falling back to the "narrow belt of woods" just west of Groveton, McLean paused briefly and then continued his withdrawal. It was probably shortly after noon that he took up position in the woods along Lewis Lane to the left of Stahel's brigade. McLean's report, op.cit., p. 288; George B. Fox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 706.

3. Division Artillery

a. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Continues its Work

Blume's guns were directed to hold a position to the left of Dilger's battery, which was done. The battery remained in position long after Dilger's withdrawal—until 3 PM. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

b. Haskins' Battery (K, 1st Ohio Light)

This battery ran out of ammunition at 11 AM and was unable to procure more for the remainder of the battle. Haskins' report, op.cit., p. 296.

B. Von Steinwehr's Division (Koltes' Brigade): The 29th New York Remains With Schurz While the Remaining Regiments Support Batteries Elsewhere

The 29th New York of this brigade continued to fight with Schurz's division, charging the unfinished railroad with, as Schurz wrote, "firmness and intrepidity." The 73d Pennsylvania still supported batteries on the Union left. The position of the 68th New York can only be guessed, but one of Carr's officers reported relieving a "New York regiment of General Steinwehr's division" along the unfinished railroad. Perhaps he refers to the 68th New York. Scurz's report, ibid., p. 298; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 863; 7th New Jersey report, op.cit., p. 460.

C. Schurz's Division Pushes Forward, Then Gets Some Relief

Schurz recalled that just after he had reestablished his line in the woods in front of the unfinished railroad, he received word that Sigel had requested that Kearny cooperate with Schurz in an attack on the Confederate right. Schurz wrote, "I then ordered a general advance of my whole line, which was executed with great gallantry, the enemy yielding everywhere before us.... On my right, however, where General Kearny had taken position, all remained quiet.... I advanced and attacked alone. The fight came to a stand on my left at an old railroad embankment running through the woods in a direction almost parallel to our front. From this cover the enemy poured a rapid and destructive fire into our infantry, who returned volley for volley. Colonel Schimmelfennig's brigade on my right gained possession of this embankment and advanced even beyond it, but found itself obliged by a very severe artillery fire to fall back; but the embankment remained in its possession."

Meanwhile, Schurz brought up more artillery support: Hampton's and Roemer's batteries as well as two mountain howitzers. The latter were placed on a line with Krzyzanowski's skirmishers and opened fire. "A few discharges sufficed to cause a backward movement of the enemy in front of my left. Now the whole line advanced with great alacrity, and we succeeded in driving the enemy," and the embankment fell into Union hands on the left as well. In the course of all this, Schurz found that his connection with Milroy on his left was broken; the enemy began to harass Krzyzanowski's left. Nonetheless, the line held on until relieved by parts of Kearny's and Reno's divisions about 2 PM. Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 299; Kryzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 311.

1. The 74th Pennsylvania and 61st Ohio Seize the Unfinished Railroad

Shortly after midday, Schimmelfennig's brigade reformed and again moved forward against the Confederate line. Major Blessing of the 74th Pennsylvania reported, "Forming again in column for attack the regiment advanced in quick time toward the enemy, who gave way until he arrived at the other side of the railroad dam. Here [we were] again flanked by the enemy, and under a galling fire of grape-shot and canister, the regiment had to leave its position, which it did by making a flank movement to the left, forcing the enemy to withdraw from the woods." The regiment crossed the railroad excavation and continued forward until it reached a "seam in the woods." Here it came under heavy fire once again, and withdrew to the embankment where it remained for "about thirty minutes." 74th Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 310.

The 61st Ohio endured a similar experience. According to its colonel, Stephen McGroarty, the 61st drove the Confederates "over the railroad, over which we followed them through a ravine and up to a cornfield, where we in turn were driven back, but rallied at the railroad, which we held until relieved...." Whether or not the 8th West Virginia joined the other two regiments of the brigade in this operation is unclear. Schurz remarked that the West Virginians behaved badly during the late morning fighting; if they refitted enough to take part in the afternoon attack it is not recorded. 61st Ohio report, ibid., p. 309; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 298.

Map 5, Noon-2 p.m. August 29th, Union

2. Krzyzanowski's Brigade Drives the Confederates from the Unfinished Railroad

According to General Schurz, as soon as he had reestablished his line in the timber following the late morning setback, he ordered Krzyzanowski's brigade to advance. Though the advance ran into stiff resistance, Krzyzanowski's men were able to seize and hold the line of the unfinished railroad until relieved. Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 312; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 299; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 917.

3. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light) Supports the Right

Captain Hampton's guns remained in position on the right of the line supporting Schimmelfennig. This was not done, however, without difficulties. Wrote Schurz, "The crossfire of the enemy's batteries was so severe that Captain Hampton's battery failed in two successive attempts to establish itself until I sent Captain Roemer's battery to its support." Clark, Hampton's Battery, pp. 29-30; Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 299.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) Remains in Place

Roemer's gunners remained close to the position taken by them in the morning. According to Schurz, the battery's fire was instrumental in allowing Hampton's battery, farther to the right, to maintain position. Roemer, Reminiscences, pp. 69-70; Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 299.

c. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light) Withdraws

After expending all of its ammunition, Dilger's battery was relieved by Wiedrich's battery and two pieces of Dieckmann's battery and withdrew. Dilger's report, ibid., p. 305.

D. Corps Reserve Artillery (Capt. Louis Schirmer Commanding)

1. Wiedrich (I, 1st New York Light) Holds Position

Wiedrich continued to hold the position taken by him before noon, on the right of the turnpike overlooking Groveton. Wiedrich's report, ibid., 304; Stevens, Stevens, p. 451.

2. Buell's Battery (C, W. Va. Light)

It can only be assumed that this battery remained in position supporting Schenck's division. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, op.cit., p. 280.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light)

At least part of the battery remained in action for most of the afternoon. Dilger reported that he was relieved by, along with Wiedrich, a section of Dieckmann's battery. The remaining two sections may very well have gone to the rear to replenish ammunition and make repairs. Wheeler, Letters, p. 351; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, p. 86; Dilger's report, op.cit., p. 305.

E. Milroy Reforms and Holds His Ground

Those Confederates that dared to pursue after Milroy's attack were quickly driven back by the combined fire of several artillery batteries north of the turnpike. Thus relieved of direct pressure, Milroy reformed his lines in the Groveton Woods. Milroy wrote, "I maintained my ground, skirmishing and occasionally firing by battalion the greater part of the afternoon." Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, ibid., p. 84; Milroy's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 320.

1. Johnson's Battery, (12th, Ohio Light) Withdraws

After running out of ammunition, Johnson's battery withdrew. Milroy to his Wife, op.cit., p. 86; Basil T. Bower's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 897.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

After completing his conversation with Porter, McDowell returned to the head of his column (Patrick's brigade) and ordered it to countermarch. But rather than return down the Manassas-Gainesville Road to the Sudley Road, Patrick's brigade took a by-road across country to the Sudley Road. By the time he found the Sudley Road, his was the rear brigade of the column. In front of him was Gibbon, then Doubleday, and at the head of the division, Sullivan. (Sullivan's regiments were, from front to back, 2d U.S. Sharpshooters, 14th Brooklyn, 22d New York, 24th New York, and 30th New York.) Ricketts' division did not move until after 2 PM. J. A. Judson to Porter, May 9, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 228-29; Doubleday, Journal, August 29, 1862, p. 31; McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 338; E. D. Roath's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 695; Davis, MS "Seventh Indiana," Vol. 1, p. 77; Tower to Porter, July 16, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. Reynolds Receives a Respite

The period between noon and 2 PM was apparently a period of rest for Reynolds' men. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

A. Kearny Sends Robinson to the Firing Line While Birney Withdraws and Rests

Of this phase of the battle General Kearny reported, "In early afternoon General Pope's order, per General Roberts, was to send a pretty strong force diagonally to the front to relieve the center in the woods from pressure. Accordingly I detached for that purpose General Robinson, with his brigade." Kearny's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 416.

1. Robinson Takes Position Along the Unfinished Railroad

Robinson's men rested in their position along the Sudley Springs Road until nearly 2 PM. Wrote Robinson, "At this time there was a heavy musketry fire to our left and front, and I was directed to move forward through the woods to turn the enemy and cut off his retreat through the railroad cut." At 2 PM the brigade began to move. Robinson's report, ibid., p. 421.

2. Birney Gathers his Scattered Command

After pulling the 40th and 101st New York and the 4th Maine out of the woods and moving them to the rear, Birney did his best to consolidate his entire command. Soon the 40th and the 101st were joined by the 1st New York. Birney then sent orders for the 33th New York to join him. For the 38th, this proved to be a difficult task. Recalled Colonel Ward, "About 12 m. [I] received orders...to advance to a position occupied by General Birney. On arriving at the point designated, and while in the open field, [I] found that the command of General Birney had moved to the left.... I found the regiment surrounded on three sides by the enemy, who poured in their fire from the roads in front and a cornfield on my right and rear. I immediately moved by the left flank to the road and from thence to the woods on my left, the enemy not following. In the meantime learning General Birney's location, I joined him." 4th Maine report, op.cit., p. 427; 101st New York report, ibid., p. 431; 1st New York report, ibid., p. 428; 38th New York report, ibid., p. 430; Theodore Dodge, Journal, August 29, 1862.

The 3d Maine, meanwhile, remained in support of Graham's battery. The 57th Pennsylvania also maintained its position taken that morning. 3d Maine report, op.cit., p. 426; William Birney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 663.

3. Poe Redeploys and Sends the 3d Michigan to Robinson

After resting his men briefly along the banks of Bull Run, Poe pulled his brigade back and rearranged his troops: "The 2d Michigan Volunteers deployed as skirmishers," Poe wrote, "their left resting upon the Leesburg [Sudley] Road and extending to the right along the bank of Bull Run a distance of about half mile, the 3d Michigan and 5th Michigan supporting them, and the 37th New York facing the Leesburg Road and about 70 yards from it." It was probably about 2 PM that Poe received a request from Robinson for a regiment. He sent the 3d Michigan, and for the remainder of the day it fought along the unfinished railroad with Robinson. Poe's report, op.cit., p. 434.

4. Division Artillery: Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island) and Graham's (K, 1st U.S.) Batteries

Neither of these batteries saw heavy action at this time. Graham was apparently east of the road, supported by the 3d Maine. Randolph was probably in the same general area, but not in action. 3d Maine report, ibid., p. 426; George Lewis, The History of Battery E, First Rhode Island Light Artillery (Providence, 1892), p. 94.

B. Hooker Sends Carr to Relieve Part of Sigel's Line While Grover and Taylor Remain in Reserve

1. Grover's Brigade

Grover's regiments remained in the positions they had taken earlier, behind Milroy. The 1st Massachusetts continued to work on the firing line with the 82d Ohio and 5th West Virginia of Milroy's brigade. Grover's report, ibid., p. 439; Charles C. Perkins, Diary, August 29, 1862.

2. Taylor's Brigade

The Excelsior men remained in place without activity. 70th New York report, op.cit., p. 447.

3. Carr Sends the 6th and 7th New Jersey to the Front

After resting for about an hour, Colonel Carr received a request to send two regiments to the front to relieve some of Sigel's men. Carr refused to obey the order until he consulted with division commander Hooker, but soon Hooker arrived to issued the formal orders, and Carr dispatched the 6th and 7th New Jersey to the front. The 7th led the advance, moving forward into the timber and relieving "a New York Regiment of General Steinwehr's division" (perhaps the 68th New York; the 29th New York is known to have been much farther to the right). Moving 50 yards farther, the 7th ran into the Confederate skirmishers. "A spirited engagement ensued, with varying success," wrote Colonel Revere of the 7th. Shortly, the 6th came up on the 7th's left and for a time assumed the brunt of the fighting. Meanwhile, the rest of the brigade continued to wait in support of batteries, "in a ravine, near a dense wood." Carr's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 798; Carr's report, op.cit., p. 454; 6th, 7th, 8th New Jersey reports, ibid., p. 459, 460, 462, 115th Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 464. [The report of the 115th Pennsylvania, combined with information from some of Taylor's reports, is vital in determining the location of Carr's advance. Lt. Col. Robert Thompson, commanding the 115th, brought his regiment to the support of the 6th and 7th New Jersey and speaks of having to cross a road to do so. This road is undoubtedly the Groveton-Sudley Road. Too, in the evidence regarding Taylor's brigade, to be cited in full below, is indication that Taylor's brigade had opposite its left an open field while the rest of the brigade was in the woods. There is only one place along the unfinished railroad that this would be possible, and that is near "The Dump." Taylor came to the direct support of Carr.]

4. McGilvery's (6th, Maine Light) Battery

McGilvery apparently continued to support the right of the army line. O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 419.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

After closing his conversation with McDowell, Porter rode across the fields to the left to rejoin his command. By now the presence of the enemy in front was well established, and Porter felt that to accomplish his purpose, i.e. to push to the right and connect with the forces there, he would need the services of Hatch's division. Consequently he sent his chief of staff to McDowell with a request to leave Hatch under the control of Porter. To this McDowell responded, "Give my compliments to General Porter and say to him that I am going to the right, and will take General King with me. I think he (General Porter) had better remain where he is; but if it is necessary for him to fall back, he can do so upon my left." Locke's Testimony, Porter Retrial, p. 135; Porter, Narrative, p. 25; Porter, MS Narrative, pp. B5-B6, Porter Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

Though sans Hatch's division, Porter apparently decided to try to push to the right anyway. To Morell he sent orders to "push over to the aid of Sigel and strike in his rear. If you reach a road up which King is moving, and he has got ahead of you, let him pass, but see if you cannot give help to Sigel." (In the sequence of dispatches produced at the Porter court-martial, Porter's attorneys maintained that this dispatch was sent much later in the day. But, given the situation at the time and the wording of the dispatch, it would seem that it was actually issued earlier, not long after McDowell had left to start Hatch's division up the Sudley Road.) While Morell made the effort, Porter returned to Bethlehem Church. Porter, Narrative, p. 26; Morell's testimony, op.cit., p. 146.

A. Morell Skirmishes With the Enemy While Griffin Attempts to Push Through the Fields to the Right

Soon after arriving at the front, and shortly after Porter's conversation with McDowell, General Morell received orders to "push over to the aid of Sigel and strike in his rear." Morell directed Griffin to attempt the operation. Griffin testified before Porter's court-martial, "I received an order, almost directly after General McDowell had left, to recall my pickets, and...move my command to the right. I attempted to go to the right, and moved my command probably 600 yards, until, with the head of my column, I crossed a railroad.... Here we met with obstructions which we could not get through. It was reported by somebody, I cannot say who, 'You can't get through there.' We then faced about and moved back to the hill where the battery...was stationed. As we were getting on this hill, the enemy's batteries opened upon us. My brigade was then placed in position in rear and to the right of the batteries, and remained there during considerable artillery firing." Griffin's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 162.

After Griffin returned from his abortive cross country foray, Morell decided to deploy to the front as skirmishers the 13th New York of Roberts' brigade. Colonel Marshall of the 13th described, "I crossed the creek [Dawkins Branch], following the Manassas and Gainesville road...and occupied [the] timber east of Vessel's." In the woods the New Yorkers found only Confederate cavalry, which was quickly dispersed. Marshall sent word back that he thought the enemy was retreating. Soon, however, a column of Confederate infantry appeared, deployed skirmishers, and clashed with Marshall's men. Marshall immediately reversed his earlier report; the enemy was forming against the left, he told Morell. Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 131; Morell's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 146; Morell to Porter, no date, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 734.

1. Division Artillery: Martin's (C, Massachusetts Light), Waterman's (C, 1st Rhode Island), and Hazlett's (D, 5th U.S.) Batteries

All three batteries remained in the same position, though Waterman's may have followed Griffin's brigade in its attempt to move to the right. Only Hazlett was engaged. He reported, "We took up position on an eminence where the enemy were supposed to be, and in a short time they opened on a column of our infantry with one gun, a six pounder. We replied, but with what effect could not be ascertained, as the enemy were concealed in the woods. The enemy kept up the firing a very short time, none of their shots reaching us, then ceased, but shortly after opened upon us again with two rifled guns. None of their shots took effect in the battery, though some of the infantry some distance in the rear were injured by ricochet shots." Hazlett's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 468; Lloyd M. Harrison to Porter, May 3, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; A. P. Martin, MS Account, Chamberlain Papers; John S. Slater Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 348; Francis S. Earle's Testimony, ibid., p. 426.

B. Sykes' Division Remains in Place

There were no significant movements in Sykes' division. Warren's brigade remained in front, deployed in a field to the left of the road about one-quarter mile from Dawkins' Branch. Buchanan's and Chapman's brigades still rested along the road, extending to within a half mile of Bethlehem Church. Of the artillery, only Randol's battery (E & G, 1st U.S.) moved—to the front behind Hazlett. It was not ordered to open fire. Warren's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 80; Petitioner's Map #4, ibid., Pt. 4; William L. Haskin, The History of the First Regiment of Artillery (Portland, Maine, 1879), p. 514.

C. Piatt's Brigade

With General Sturgis accompanying it, Piatt's brigade arrived at Manassas Junction around noon. There Sturgis found that Porter had turned onto the Manassas-Gainesville Road. Sturgis ordered Piatt to move up that road, while he rode ahead to confer with Porter. Porter told Sturgis to "march my command back to Manassas Junction and take up a defensive position as the firing on our right seemed to be receding." Piatt, meanwhile, had approached the rear of Porter's column. Sturgis sent back Porter's order to countermarch, and shortly Piatt's men were on their way back to the Junction. Sturgis to Porter, August 20, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Piatt's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, pp. 978-79.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division Does Work on Various Parts of the Field

1. Christ's Brigade: The 50th Pennsylvania Takes Position Along the Unfinished Railroad

Sent to the support of Milroy, it was shortly after noon that Colonel Christ moved his 50th Pennsylvania to the firing line, probably to the right of Milroy's former position. A man of the 50th wrote, "We were marched down through thick woods, and at the bottom of the woods a kind of railroad or embankment was thrown up.... On the inside of the bank and the side of the woods there was a ditch about four or five feet deep, and on the outside of the bank was a steep bank of about twenty feet down to the level fields below, in the ditch on the inside of the embankment is the spot we were placed, and immediately sent skirmishers out.... Our regiment laid some two hours without seeing a rebel, but all this time the fight was raging furiously on our left and further up the woods." Unfortunately, the location and doings of the 8th Michigan are unknown. Letter of "W. H. M.," September 9, 1862, Pottsville [Pa.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862.

2. Leasure's Brigade Supports Benjamin's Battery

Leasure's brigade continued to support Benjamin's battery, which was on the ridge overlooking Groveton. Five companies of the 100th Pennsylvania—"the Roundheads"—remained on the skirmish line along the edge of the cornfield in front of the battery, while the rest of the 100th and five companies of the 46th New York rested on the slope behind the guns. They witnessed a fierce artillery duel. After two hours of firing, Benjamin's guns began to run low on ammunition. The only immediate resupply could come from the ammunition in the overturned caisson on the slope in front of the battery. Colonel Leasure ordered Company G of the 100th to retrieve the caisson, which it did, under a heavy fire. Leasure, "Address...," p. 157; Stevens, Stevens, pp. 450-51; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 3, p. 556; Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 22, 1862, Morrison Papers.

3. Farnsworth Puts His Two Regiments In Between Schimmelfennig and Krzyzanowski

After arriving on the field, Farnsworth was ordered by Sigel to report to General Schurz. Schurz directed that Farnsworth report to Colonel Schimmelfennig in regards to the placement of his brigade. Schimmelfennig simply requested that Farnsworth relieve "a portion of his men, [so] that the latter might retire to get something to eat." But rather than relieving Schimmelfennig, Farnsworth's two regiments were apparently placed behind and to the left of his men. The regimental historian of the 79th New York recalled, "We occupied a position on the left of Schimmelfennig's brigade. On our our left was the brigade of Colonel Krzyzanowski.... As we moved to our place in the front line of battle, the enemy's sharpshooters were busy picking off our men; and when our line was formed, orders were given to fire a few volleys into the woods. We did so, but were unable to see the enemy." The position of the brigade, rather than being on "the front line," was actually along the edge of the woods, well back from the firing line. Hence the relative inactivity of the brigade the remainder of the day. Todd, Seventy-Ninth Highlanders, pp. 199-200.

4. Benjamin (E, 2d U.S.) Engages the Confederates in a Duel and Has Two of His Guns Disabled

Shortly after going into position near Groveton, Benjamin came under a heavy fire from the enemy. Most of the fire, Benjamin recalled, came from "eighteen guns, ranging from 1,000 to...about 1,500 yards from me [probably the Washington Artillery]." Benjamin immediately got his four twenty-pounder Parrotts into action "as cooly as if he were practising for fun," recalled an admiring onlooker. "Benjamin himself rode slowly about among his guns, and sometimes dismounted to point a piece. He used a crutch, owing to a wound received in a previous battle...." The battery, though, was engulfed in flying iron. An enemy shell exploded in the midst of one of the crews, killing two men and wounding five. One of the Parrotts burst two feet from the muzzle; the gun crew dismounted it and buried the jagged remains on the slope of the hill. Shortly another gun was hit on the face of the muzzle, denting the piece so badly that it could not be fired. But Benjamin continued to work his two remaining guns until he was nearly out of ammunition. Then he requested that Colonel Leasure send out a detachment to retrieve the overturned caisson in front. This was done, and Benjamin's gunners continued to ply their task. Benjamin's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 607; Leasure, "Address...," pp. 155-57.

B. Reno's Division

1. Nagle Waits Before Going into Action

Arriving just after noon, Nagle moved his three regiments to the right of the turnpike and rested them in the fields north of the Stone House, out of view of the action. Jackman, Sixth New Hampshire, p. 78; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 1193.

2. Ferrero Moves Up and Supports Durell's Battery

Ferrero arrived on the field soon after midday. Immediately he moved his brigade toward the front. To the left of the brigade was a wide expanse of open ground, while beyond the ridge just in front was an open field "several hundred" yards wide, extending down to a thick wood. The 51st Pennsylvania was placed in support of Durell's battery. George C. Parker to his Mother, October 15, 1862, George C. Parker Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Charles F. Walcott, History of the Twenty-first Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers (Boston, 1882), p. 142; Thomas H. Parker, History of the 51st Regiment P.V. and V.V. (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 210-11.

3. Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light) Takes Position

Moving forward with Ferrero's brigade, Durell relieved another battery, went into position "on a hill in front of the enemy," and opened fire. The 51st Pennsylvania was in direct support of the guns. Letter of "C. C.," September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Pa.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862; Charles A. Cuffell, Durell's Battery in the Civil War (n.p., n.d.), p. 64.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

Broken down from hard service, Colonel Beardsley's regiments remained inactive near Sigel's headquarters. 1st Maryland Cavalry report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 273.

B. Buford's Brigade

The exact whereabouts of Buford during this period can only be guessed. It is known that later in the day Buford made his appearance on the field. The 5th New York Cavalry remained assigned as headquarters guard, seven companies at Pope's headquarters and three companies at Heintzelman's. F. B. Dickenson, "In Old Virginia. The 5th N.Y. Cav. in Gen. John Pope's Campaign," National Tribune, September 14, 21, 1862.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard's horsemen remained out of action on the left of the line. Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91.

Map #5, Noon-2 PM, August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

As soon as Longstreet had completed his deployment, Lee recommended to his wing commander that an attack be made against the Union left. Longstreet agreed with the idea, but desired to make a reconnaissance first. The results of this reconnaissance, as reported by Longstreet, indicated that conditions were not favorable for an attack at this time. The Federal position, Longstreet found, extended well south of the Warrenton Turnpike. It would be possible to slide to the right and attack the left of the Federals, but the earlier reports of a Federal force at Manassas Junction suggested that such a movement might expose the right flank of the attacking column to an assault from that direction. More intelligence was needed about this "unknown quantity at Manassas" before an attack could be made.

Lee was not entirely pleased with Longstreet's report and prepared to send out some of his engineer staff for "a more critical survey of his right front." But before Lee could send anyone in that direction, General Stuart reported that there was a force moving up the Manassas-Gainesville Road against Longstreet's right. Nothing could be done until the strength and intentions of this force were determined. Longstreet, From Manassas..., pp. 181-83; Longstreet, "Our March Around Pope," pp. 519-20; Lee's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 556; Stuart's report, ibid., p. 736; Lee to Porter, October 31, 1867 and February 18, 1870, Porter Retrial, Pt. 1, p. 551; Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 117.

II. Longstreet's Wing

His troops deployed and ready for action, Longstreet received word from Lee that the army commander desired that an attack be made against the Union left. Since he was unfamiliar with the ground in front, Longstreet requested permission to conduct a reconnaissance prior to attacking. Lee assented. Longstreet rode to the right, in the neighborhood of Brewer's Spring, east of Hampton Cole's house. There he spent nearly an hour examining the ground and could see that the Federals (Reynolds' division) had extended their line south of the Warrenton Turnpike and occupied a formidable position. Longstreet returned to headquarters and reported "adversely as to attack." The Federal position was strong, but there was also the question of that as yet unknown force reported at Manassas Junction that morning. Any attack against the Union left would expose its right to that force.

Lee, however, was anxious to see the attack made, but as the two generals discussed possible ways to surmount the difficulties a report came from Stuart indicating that a Federal force was moving against his right. Longstreet immediately rode over to take a look. Longstreet, From Manassas..., pp. 181-83; Longstreet, "Our March Around Pope," pp. 519-20; Longstreet's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 120; Longstreet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 565.

A. D. R. Jones' Division: Benning and G. T. Anderson take Position on Kemper's Left Rear While Drayton Relieves Corse on the Extreme Right

Jones moved his division into position on Longstreet's right. Benning's and Anderson's brigades were placed north of the Manassas Gap Railroad en echelon behind Kemper's main force by about 300 yards, overlapping Kemper slightly on the left. Benning was on the right (one company of the 15th Georgia picketing the railroad) and G. T. Anderson on the left. Charles W. Williams' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 256-57; Charles Williams to Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Ivy W. Dugan Letter (no date), Ivy W. Dugan Papers, University of Georgia; James Mitchell's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 401-402.

Meanwhile, it was shortly after noon that the first reports of an enemy force approaching from Manassas Junction began to circulate. Drayton's brigade was designated to relieve Corse's brigade on the extreme right along the Manassas-Gainesville Road to watch the Federal force there. Consequently, the Drayton moved south of the railroad to the Gainesville Road and threw out skirmishers. There he remained all afternoon. Charles Williams to Porter, op.cit.; Letter of E. P. E. to Willie, September 14, 1863, [Athens, Ga.] Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862; Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 626.

B. Wilcox Rests North of the Turnpike

Wilcox's three brigades rested north of the turnpike, "about 1000 yards in rear of the artillery." Wilcox to Porter, August 11, 1866, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Wilcox's report, op.cit., p. 598.

1. Anderson's and Chapman's Batteries Contribute Guns to the Line of Artillery Northeast of the Brawner House

According to the regimental historian of the Washington Artillery, Anderson and Chapman each contributed a gun to the line of artillery established northeast of the Brawner House. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 116.

C. Hood's Division Remains in Place

Both Hood's and Law's brigades remained in their positions astride the Warrenton Turnpike. The skirmishers continued their work out front. Law's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 623; Hood's report, ibid., p. 605.

1. Division Artillery (Major Frobel Commanding): Reilly and Bachman Move Into Action North of the Turnpike

Major Frobel reported, "At 1 p.m. Captain Reilly was ordered to the left of the turnpike...to take position with other batteries on a hill commanding the hills near Groveton House, where the enemy had several batteries strongly posted. Immediately afterwards I proceeded with Captain Bachman's battery to the same position, Captain Garden's being considered too short range to be effective there. The position assigned to us was on the extreme left, both of the batteries passing through a heavy fire in reaching it." The batteries remained here until 3:30. Frobel's report, ibid., p. 607; Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 116; Letter of W. K. Bachman (no date), Charleston Courier, September 17, 1862.

D. Evans Rests

Evans remained in position several hundred yards in rear of Hood's brigade, south of the turnpike. Holcombe's Legion report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 630.

E. Kemper's Division

1. Corse is Relieved by Drayton

It was about 1 PM that Colonel Corse's brigade was relieved by Drayton. Corse then crossed the railroad, aligned along the 24th Virginia, "in line in rear of the house," and threw out skirmishers. The skirmishers connected with Drayton's brigade on the right and Benning's brigade on the left. Corse remained here until the following morning. Corse's report, ibid., p. 626.

2. Jenkins Sends the 1st South Carolina to the Firing Line

Soon after arriving on Hunton's right, General Jenkins sent the 1st South Carolina "to a point on the Sudly[sic] Ford Road south of its intersection with the Warrenton Turnpike to check some cavalry which was moving in that direction. This proved to be only a demonstration." Colonel Glover positioned his regiment along the skirt "of a thinly studded woods" with a "meadow

80 yards in width" in front. Three companies deployed as skirmishers. Hagood, MS "Memoirs," p. 56.

3. Hunton Remains in Place

Once in position, Hunton's brigade did not move for several hours. Wood, Big I, p. 30.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Major Walton Supervises the Establishment of the 19-Gun Line Northeast of the Brawner House

About 1 PM Major Walton was sent for by Longstreet. Bring all the long range guns that can be had, Walton was told, and "occupy the hill just abandoned by the enemy and...open upon the enemy's left." Walton in turn sent for Capt. M. B. Miller's company of the Washington Artillery, which was soon in position. Capt. Charles Squires' battery, three rifles, was brought up next and went in on Miller's left, and the two batteries opened an effective fire on the enemy batteries around Groveton. Walton reported, "Immediately in Captain Miller's front he discovered a battery of the enemy distant about 1200 yards. Beyond this battery on a more elevated position were posted the enemy's rifle batteries."

The seven guns of the Washington Artillery were soon followed by twelve others: Reilly's battery (four guns), Bachman's battery (four guns), Anderson's battery (one rifle), Chapman's battery (one Napoleon), and Maurin's battery (two Blakely rifles commanded by Lt. R. P. Landry). These 19 guns were aligned in "the space between Jackson's right and Longstreet's left." They remained until 3:30. Walton's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 571; Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 116.

Eshleman and Richardson, meanwhile, remained with their respective brigades. Walton's report, op.cit., p. 571.

2. Miscellaneous Batteries

Maurin's battery (Donaldsonville Artillery) was the only of these batteries to be heavily engaged. Two of these guns, commanded by Lieutenant Landry, took position in the line of artillery established by Major Walton northeast of the Brawner house. Stribling's and Rogers' batteries remained in their positions taken earlier. No information can be had regarding Leake's battery. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 116; Corse's report, op.cit., p. 625; Longstreet's report, ibid., p. 564.

III. Jackson's Wing

A. Starke's Division Continues to Await Action

The early afternoon was relatively quiet along Starke's front, the action taking the form of sporadic skirmishing. The four brigades remained in their earlier taken positions. Johnson's report, ibid., p. 665.

1. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

Little of note occurred among the batteries of this battalion during the afternoon. Moore, Cannoneer, p. 120.

B. Hill's Division Continues to Skirmish With the Enemy

1. Branch's Brigade

It was probably about 1 PM that Colonel James Lane received orders from Branch to "take command of the 28th and 33d [North Carolina] Regiments and dislodge the enemy, who were in the woods beyond the field of corn." Lane reported, "On passing beyond the small cluster of woods to the right of the Crenshaw Battery we saw the enemy retreating in confusion before Captain Turner's skirmishers [a company of the 7th North Carolina, previously deployed]. We continued our advance until we saw General Gregg's brigade in the woods to our right. It was here that I learned that the enemy was in force in the woods and that General Gregg had been ordered not to press them. I deemed it advisable to inform General Branch of these facts, and was ordered by him to remain where I was. I had three companies at the time deployed as skirmishers along the fence in front of us and connecting with those first sent out under Captain Turner." The remaining regiments of the brigade remained in their former positions. Lane's report, op.cit., p. 676; Letter of Branch, in Lane, "History of Lane's Brigade (Conclusion)," p. 243.

2. Archer's Brigade

Archer remained in reserve. Archer's report, op.cit., p. 700.

3. Pender's Brigade

Pender also remained in place. Pender's report, ibid., p. 697.

4. Field's Brigade

Nothing suggests any movement on the part of this brigade. Hill's report, ibid., p. 671; Towles, Diary, August 29, 1862, p. 66.

5. Gregg's Brigade Holds its Own

Between noon and 2 PM Gregg's men continued to tangle with

Schurz's Federals. The South Carolinians remained atop their rocky knoll, the Federals along the unfinshed railroad cut below them. Edward McCrady wrote, "Our men had seldom better direction for their aim than the bushes from which the fire was poured in upon them. They were made to lie down and rise only to fire. Volley after volley was poured into them, but still they stood. The enemy dared not cross the railroad cut, though in force vastly superior to our own. At length, after vainly endeavoring to force us from our position by their fire, they were compelled themselves to retire in confusion." As the enemy retired, Thomas's brigade claimed the unfinished railroad to the right of Gregg's men, "where the grade of the railroad bed began to rise from a cut to an embankment. According to Colonel McGowan, there was a gap of 125 yards between Gregg's right and Thomas' left. 1st South Carolina report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 687; McGowan's report, ibid., p. 680; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," pp. 16, 23-24.

6. Thomas Seizes the Unfinished Railroad to the Right of Gregg

After prolonged skirmishing, about 2 PM the Federals yielded and Thomas' regiments pushed forward and took control of the unfinished railroad. As arranged (probably with a three-regiment front), the 49th Georgia held the left of Thomas' line and the 45th Georgia the center. The position of the brigade was where the railroad ran from a cut to a fill. Between Thomas' left regiment, the 49th Georgia, and Gregg's brigade there was a gap of about 125 yards in Hill's line. Thomas' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 703; Letter of Mark Newman (no date), [Sandersville, Ga.] Central Georgian, October 15, 1862; Marion H. Fitzpatrick to Amanda, September 2, 1862, Marion Fitzpatrick Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; McGowan's report, op.cit., p. 680; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," p. 16; Jackson's report, op.cit., p. 646.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

The batteries remained in their respective positions. Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 652; Walker's report, ibid., p. 674.

C. Lawton's Division: Early and Forno Move Into Position Behind Trimble and Douglass. Trimble is Wounded

General Early related that after recalling the 13th and 31st Virginia he put his brigade in motion toward the left, finally taking position behind Douglass' brigade. Forno formed on Early's right, probably in rear of Trimble's brigade. Early's report, op.cit., p. 712; Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 810.

Meanwhile, General Trimble was concerned about the activities of the enemy along his front. To better view the situation the general rode "to the top of the hill." There, as he looked on, an explosive bullet from one of the enemy's skirmishers shattered his leg. Trimble was carried from the field and command of the brigade devolved upon Captain W. F. Brown of the 12th Georgia. Trimble, "Report of Operations," p. 309.

1. Division Artillery

There is no evidence that any of the batteries changed their positions.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

After observing the force approaching from Manassas for some time, Stuart decided that it was "at least an army corps" in strength. This he reported to Lee, who directed several units to the area to confront it. Subsequently, Stuart repaired to army headquarters for further orders. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 183.

The two mounted brigades, meanwhile, continued to carry out their mission of guarding the army's flanks, Robertson the right and Lee the left. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; Robertson's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 216-217.

A. Pelham's Battery

After engaging the enemy on the left of Jackson's line, Pelham moved his guns to the right. Pelham reported, "When I arrived near the point designatated I found General Jackson, who told me that General Stuart had gone to another part of the field, and asked him to dispose of my battery. He then gave me discretionary orders to act as the occasion might require. Shortly after a courier reported that the enemy were falling back, and that General A. P. Hill wanted the artillery to push forward. I moved toward Groveton, and saw two batteries coming into position to play on the enemy's artillery near the town, I passed these batteries by 200 yards, and took position on the point of a ridge and opened upon their artillery. The position was held for nearly two hours, when the ammuntion fron all my guns except one was expended." Pelham's report, op.cit., p. 755.

MAP 6

Map #6, 2-4 PM, August 29

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

After having some time to assess the situation, Pope decided to put some pressure on the enemy line. To this end he sent orders to Hooker to attack the foe. Hooker objected, saying that he preferred not to make a frontal attack without some cooperating movement being made against the enemy's flanks. He escorted Pope to the proposed zone of attack, and asked that Kearny be sent in on the right at the same time. This plea apparently made little impression on Pope, for Hooker's men (Grover's brigade) ultimately went in alone. Hooker's Testimony, Porter Retrial, p. 892; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoirs," pp. 149-50.

Shortly, Pope sent staff officer David H. Strother forward to order Reno to push into the woods in front of the enemy's lines as well. He also received word that McDowell was on his way to the field and would arrive within two hours. Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 94; Pope's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 39.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

With much of the rest of the army now present on the field, Sigel was finally able to draw his powder-blackened men off the firing line. At the same time, cognizant of Pope's belief that Porter and McDowell would soon be swooping down on Jackson's right flank, Sigel deployed all available artillery so as to keep the enemy from "making new arrangements." He placed "four batteries of different commands on a range of hills on our center and behind the woods," and ordered his own artillery to continue firing on "the enemy's position in the woods...." Sigel's report. O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 267.

A. Schenck's Division Receives Orders to Pull Back

Schenck's two brigades remained in their positions along Lewis Lane skirmishing with the enemy until about 4 PM. Schenck's adjutant wrote, "The artillery fire now became very severe, and General Schenck was convinced that it was very essential that he should have another battery, and sent me to you to get one. I arrived to find one (Captain Roemer's) just starting. You [Sigel] also directed me to order General Schenck to fall gradually back, as he was too far forward. This he had perceived, and, anticipating, fell slowly back, placing his division behind the slope of the hill in front of the one we had occupied in the morning. Captain Roemer's battery had meantime taken position in front of the white house on the right of the pike, a little in advance of the hill on which we were." The remaining section of Benjamin's battery went into position nearby. Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 281; Stahel's report, ibid., p. 284; McLean's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 883.

1. Division Artillery

a. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Withdraws

Blume remained in place to the right of Dilger's former position until 3 PM. He then withdrew. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

b. Haskins' Battery (K, 1st, Ohio Light)

The battery remained in the rear, out of ammunition. Haskins' report, op.cit., p. 296.

B. Von Steinwehr's Division (Koltes' brigade)

As part of Sigel's corps, it seems likely that this brigade withdrew in conjunction with the rest the corps. The positions of the three regiments can only be estimated based on knowledge, limited as it is, of their earlier positions.

C. Schurz Pulls His Men Out of Action

His regiments exhausted and nearly out of ammunition, Schurz finally got the relief he desired and withdrew his two brigades from the woods in front of the unfinished railroad. (Though Schurz claimed he was relieved by Hooker, in fact his men were relieved by Kearny's men, as Krzyzanowski relates in his report.) One by one the regiments withdrew. Wrote Schurz, "I rallied my two brigades behind the hill on which the battery of the Second brigade (Roemer) had been in position." The 74th Pennsylvania of Schimmelfennig's brigade was ordered to support a battery on the extreme right. Schurz's report, ibid., p. 301; Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p., 312; 74th Pennyslvania report, ibid., p. 310.

1. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

Captain Hampton's guns remained in their positions taken earlier. Clark, Hampton's Battery, p. 30.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) is Withdrawn but Soon Goes Back Into Action

According to Captain Roemer, at 2:30 his battery was relieved and proceeded back "east of the stone house" to refit and get something to eat. The rest, however, was brief. Roemer soon got word that his battery was needed again, and away it went. The captain wrote, "There was a little farm-house [the J. Dogan house] on the southern slope of the hill, and I saw at once that the place would be a splendid position for the Battery." It offered fine protection for horses, caissons, and limbers. Roemer ordered his guns forward: "To save time in getting the battery into position, I ordered the cannoneers to the front with axes. After cutting down chicken-coops, hog-pens, corn-cribs, etc., the battery went through the door yard into a fine orchard, which gave the battery a splendid position. We had fired but three or four shots when an aide came up the hill toward us. He brought orders for the battery to take position that had been occupied by Capt. Schirmer's battery." Roemer order his guns relimbered, and along the Warrenton Turnpike the battery moved forward.

The battery moved westward "about a half a mile" and then came to a sunken portion of the road. One by one the pieces moved through, and as they emerged from the cut, they came under heavy enemy fire. Roemer tried to escape the fire by moving the guns forward, but it was no use. Instead he directed the gunnery sergeants to file their pieces to the right and reverse direction. Roemer recalled, "On we went, pell mell, over fences, stone-walls—everything had to give way before us. We were back in our former position in just twenty-five minutes after we had left it." On the way, though, one of the guns became detached, and Roemer reached Dogan Ridge with only three pieces. "I put the right piece on the western side of the garden fence just where it had stood before, but instead of placing the guns fourteen yards apart as before, I now placed them forty yards apart." With a promise from one of Sigel's staff officers for prompt reinforcements, Roemer's guns reopened fire. Roemer, Reminiscences, pp. 73-74; Cheesebrough's (Schenck's) report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 281.

c. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light)

Dilger remained out of action. Dilger's report, ibid., p. 305.

D. Corps Reserve Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding)

1. Wiedrich (I, 1st New York Light) Replenishes Ammunition and Returns to the Firing Line

Mid-afternoon, Wiedrich reported, his four guns ran out of ammunition and "we were obliged to retire to get a new supply. After getting the ammunition we started again to take our former position, but finding that

Captain Dieckmann was there with his battery I returned to where I had left my two howitzers in the forenoon." There he opened fire. Wiedrich's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 304.

2. Buell's Battery (C, West Virginia Light)

No source material is available to indicate the activities of this battery at this time.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light)

Dieckmann's guns were withdrawn by 4 PM. Their subsequent location, however, is unknown. Wheeler, Letters, p. 351.

E. Milroy Offers Grover Some Advice While His Regiments Watch the New Englanders Move Forward

In a letter to his wife, the ever-active Milroy wrote, "I maintained my ground skirmishing and occasionally firing by battalion on the rebles [sic] the greater part of the afternoon[.] Towards evening Gen. Grovers brigade of New Englanders came through the forest to where I was to take the reble stronghold. He had a full Bgd of fine looking fellows and had no idea of the strength of the position he was to attack. I saw him forming his Bgd. for the attack and being deeply interested in his success, I road up along his lines to where he was and told him how I had wrecked on that position and what he had to expect. He asked me how he had best do. I told him the only way he could drive them was to go forward with fixed bayonets and loaded guns, fire when they got close and dash over the R.R. embankment with a yell and drive them at a point of a bayonet. He adopted my suggestion and started his bgd in line of battle toward the terrible R.R. through the woods. I went back to my boys and told them they would now witness the effort of another Bgd upon [the] position...." Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, p. 84.

At this point in the letter, Milroy goes on to describe in detail his view of what he perceived to be Grover's attack. After considering all available evidence, however, it is concluded that the attack Milroy describes was Nagle's 4 PM attack, not Grover's. For a discussion of the evidence supporting this conclusion see the documentation segments for 1) Grover's brigade, 2-4 PM; 2) Carr's and Taylor's brigades, 2-4, and 4-6 PM; 3) Nagle's brigade, 4-6 PM; 4) Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light), 4-6 PM; and 5) Milroy's brigade, 4-6 PM. Taken together, the sources cited in these sections mesh together reasonably well.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

Leading McDowell's column, the first of General Hatch's men arrived on the field by 3 PM. The weary bluecoats stopped a good distance short of the Sudley Road-Warrenton Turnpike intersection and were able to secure a few hours rest. According to Adjutant J. A. Judson, Sullivan's brigade (leading the division) "deployed in line of battle on the left (or west side) of the Sudley Springs road—our right resting on or quite near the road." Patrick's brigade, the rear of Hatch's column, arrived about 3:30 and rested near the Conrad house. At 4 PM, Ricketts' division was still en route to the field. J. A. Judson to Porter, May 9, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Washington Roebling, Journal Extracts, ibid.; Patrick to Porter, February 23, 1867, ibid.; Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 229; Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," p. 363.

A. Reynolds Makes a Brief, Abortive Advance and Then Resumes Position

At 3 PM Reynolds received an order from Pope. Reynolds recalled, "My division was directed to threaten the enemy's right and rear, which it proceeded to do under a heavy fire of artillery from the ridge to the left of the pike." Seymour's and Jackson's brigades made the advance, but they were stopped shortly after they started by a battery opening from the left. Jackson's brigade was on the left of Seymour, and apparently suffered the worst. Col. Martin Hardin, commanding the 12th Pennsylvania Reserves, recalled, "The 12th Regiment was on the extreme left.... Just before halting the 12th regiment crossed a fence.... The regiment being closed in mass became somewhat disordered in crossing the fence; [we] came out beyond the fence into an open field, where it was being reorganized, when a Confederate battery was run up to the crest of a hill to the left rear of the regiment...." The battery was only 600 hundred yards distant. It opened fire, raking Hardin's column as well as the 5th Reserves and five companies of the 1st Reserves in the woods farther to the right. Jackson and Seymour quickly made plans to assault the battery, but, after considerable maneuvering, found that it was too well supported and withdrew to a position near the Lewis House, where they found Meade's brigade. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt.2, p. 394; Hardin, Twelfth Pennsylvania Reserves, p. 93-94; John Taggart, Diary, August 29, 1862, Robert Taggart Papers, Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission; E. B. Cope to G. K. Warren, August 5, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; John S. Hollingshead's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 879; Lancaster Daily Express, September 10, 1862; Letter of E. R. Brady, September 8, 1862, Clearfield [Pa.] Republican, October 1, 1862; Meade's report, op.cit., p. 398.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

As the afternoon wore on, Heintzelman's frustration at Kearny's inactivity increased. The corps commander lamented, "Several orders were sent to him to advance, but he did not move until after the troops on his left had been forced back...." Heintzelman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 413.

A. Kearny's Division

1. Robinson's Brigade

At 2 PM Robinson was ordered by Kearny to "move forward through the woods to turn the enemy and cut off his retreat through the railroad cut." Robinson reported, "On arriving on the ground with the 63d and 105th Pennsylvania, 20th Indiana, and 3d Michigan [of Poe's brigade], I found the railroad already occupied by our own troops and the corn field in front filled with the enemy. I then deployed the 63d and 105th Pennsylvania along the railroad to the right of the troops in position, directing the 3d Michigan to protect my right flank, placing the 20th Indiana in reserve, and throwing skirmishers out to the front." Of the movement, Kearny reported, "General Robinson drove forward for several hundred yards, but the center of the main battle [line] being shortly after driven back and out of the woods, my detachment, thus exposed, so considerably in front of all others, both flanks in the air, was obliged to cease its advance, and confine themselves to holding their own." The 63d Pennsylvania held the left of the front line.

Shortly, there was a commotion along the line to the left, and a body of disordered infantry went "flying past" the left of the brigade. This, wrote Robinson, left "my left flank entirely exposed." The 63d Pennsylvania was ordered to hurry by the left flank about 150 yards "to occupy the deserted ground," but before it was fairly in position, the enemy made its appearance. Robinson threw forward his right wing and formed his regiments perpendicularly to the railroad excavation to meet the threat. Once reformed, the right of the 63d rested on the unfinished railroad; to its right was the 105th Pennsylvania, then the 3d Maine. The 20th Indiana was in reserve, its left flank resting on the excavation. The woods in front of the 63d were alive with Rebels; the fight was about to begin. Robinson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 421; Kearny's report, ibid., p. 416; 63d Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 424; Gilbert Adams Hays, Under the Red Patch: Story of the Sixty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers (n.p., 1908), p. 149; John C. Brown's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 830; George Mindl's Testimony, ibid., p. 806; B. F. Butterfield's Testimony, ibid., p. 884; Kate M. Scott, History of the One Hundred and Fifth

Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 57; Gillbreath, MS History of the 20th Indiana, p. 37, Indiana State Library.

2. Birney's Regiments Remain in Their Assigned Positions

Birney's regiments remained in their respective positions until about 4 PM when General Birney sent the 4th Maine, and the 1st, 40th, and 101st New York to Robinson's support along the unfinished railroad. 1st New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 428; 38th New York report, ibid., p. 430; 101st New York report, ibid., p. 434; Theodore Dodge, Journal, August 29, 1862.

3. Poe Remains in Place; The 3d Michigan Joins Robinson

Poe's regiments remained in place, with the exception of the 3rd Michigan. In response to a request by Kearny for a Michigan regiment, Poe sent the 3rd to the front. The 3rd was assigned to Robinson's brigade, and that general placed it so as to protect the right of his line. Subsequently, when the brigade moved to the left along the railroad and changed front perpendicularly to the excavation, the 3d moved to the extreme right of the line, next to the 105th Pennsylvania. Poe's report, op.cit., p. 434; Robinson's report, ibid., p. 421; Letter of "Josephus," September 1, 1862, Detroit Free Press, September 7, 1862; Scott, One-hundred and First New York, p. 57.

4. Division Artillery: Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island Light) and Graham's (K, 1st U.S.) Batteries

It was shortly before 4 PM that Captain Randolph ordered his six pieces into column on the Sudley Road and began to move them northward, toward the sound of firing. Graham, meanwhile, apparently remained in place. George Lewis, The History of Battery E, First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery (Providence, 1892), p. 94.

B. Hooker's Division Goes Into Action

When testifying before Porter's retrial sixteen years after the war, General Hooker could remember little of his role in the Second Battle of Manassas. But one episode of the battle he did recall for the board was the prelude to his division's advance, specifically Grover's attack. From Pope, apparently, he had received orders to send his division into the woods to make a frontal attack on Jackson's line. This he found to be a revolting idea, and he expressed his dismay to Pope. Hooker recalled, "I never like to make front attacks, and I took General Pope...to show him the position that the enemy held in rear of the woods that we advanced on. It was on high ground, and there were some batteries there. I told the general that if we got possession of the woods those batteries would drive me out; I could not hold them. I asked if he would not have an attack made by the other division of Heintzelman's corps—Kearny's? Kearny was on my right. Kearny would get on the flank and perhaps agitate them a little, and then go in myself. I went in, and Kearny I did not hear from. I only know it was a blind fight." Hooker's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 892.

1. Grover Leads His Brigade in a Bayonet Attack

At 3 PM, as four of his regiments rested in the open field east of the Groveton woods and the 1st Massachusetts supported Milroy's brigade in the timber, General Grover was approached by a staff officer.

"What does the general want me to do now?" Grover queried.

"Go into the woods and charge," came the answer.

Looking around and seeing no troops immediately available to support him, Grover asked, "Where is my support?"

"It is coming."

Grover waited a quarter of an hour for the promised support to appear. It did not. He was shortly approached by the staff officer again, who informed him, "the general is much displeased" with the delay. Why hasn't the charge been made?

Grover responded by ordering his regiments to "fix bayonets," and within minutes his five regiments were moving forward. Henry N. Blake, Three Years in the Army of the Potomac (Boston, 1865), p. 127; Warren H. Cudworth, History of the First Regiment (Massachusetts Infantry) (Boston, 1866), pp. 271-72.

Entering the woods, Grover encountered General Milroy, whose brigade had been skirmishing there for much of the day. Grover sought Milroy's advice as to how best to approach the Confederate line. "They are behind a railroad bank," Milroy told him, "and the only way you can dislodge them is to charge."

Then, Martin Haynes of the 2d New Hampshire recalled, "Grover rode the length of the line, telling the men they were to fire one volley, then rely on the bayonet. Then he took position in rear of the left wing of the 2d and gave the order to advance." The underbrush crackled as Grover's 1500 men moved slowly forward. As the left of the line neared the open space beyond the woods, Grover ordered a halt and rode forward to reconnoiter. What he saw apparently displeased him, because, according to Haynes, Grover returned to the brigade and moved it "a considerable distance" through the woods to the right "before closing with the enemy." Martin Haynes, A History of the Second Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion (Lakeport, N.H., 1896), p. 130; Grover's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 439; Milroy's report, Ibid., p. 320.

Grover had arranged his five regiments in two lines. In the first line, spearheading the attack, were three regiments: the 11th Massachusetts on the left, the 2d New Hampshire in the center, and the 1st Massachusetts on the right. The second line was manned by the 26th Pennsylvania and 16th Massachusetts, the latter probably on the left. And now, after moving to the right that "considerable distance," the bluecoats prepared to storm the unfinished railroad. Haynes, Second New Hampshire, p. 129.

a. The 1st Massachusetts Advances on the Right of the Line

The regimental historian of the 1st Massachusetts recalled that when his regiment moved forward the men "were greeted by a furious discharge of musketry, which arrested their steps and broke their ranks at the commencement. They at once closed up and pressed forward toward the enemy's line, returning volley for volley. [T]aking advantage of every tree behind which a man's body could be hidden, and creeping from tree to tree under cover of the thick underbrush which constantly separated the men and mingled companies and even regiments together," the Bay Staters worked their way toward their foes "until they came so near the rebels, and poured in upon them a fire so rapid and deadly, that they took flight, falling back upon a second line." The bluecoats pursued "in the face of volleys that sent a storm of lead cutting through their ranks."

The pursuit continued for a "few thousand feet," when the men of the 1st reached a "railroad bank." Historian Cudworth continued, "From the rear of the embankment rose at least twice their number of the enemy...and at a distance of only two hundred feet, they poured a tremendous volley into our lines.... The effect was terrible. Men dropped in scores.... The fire was returned with the utmost vigor and celerity; but an hour's hard fighting and running had wearied our soldiers.... The Union line now began to waver. It had no artillery and no supports."

"The enemy saw their advantage, and hastened to improve it. They advanced with yells and shouts towards the railroad bank, and the Union forces sullenly fell back into the forest again. Through this they continued to retire until they had reached their former ground on the other side. Believing them to be in full retreat, the rebels were just emerging from the trees to follow up their advantage to the end, when they received an artillery fire of canister and shell which scattered them to the wind." Cudworth, First Massachusetts, pp. 272-73; Charles Perkins, Diary, August 29, 1862, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.

b. The Second New Hampshire Pierces the Confederate Line

The 2d New Hampshire held the center of Grover's first line, flanked on the right by the 1st Massachusetts and on the left by the 11th Massachusetts. Martin Haynes of the 2d left the most vivid account of Grover's attack: "Colonel [Gilman] Marston came forward and gave the order to 'fix bayonets!' Grover rode the length of the line, telling the men they were to fire one volley, then rely upon the bayonet.... Slowly and steadily the line went forward. No sound was heard but the crashing of the brush, with an occasional muttered order, such as 'Give way to the right,' or Give way to the left. The left of the line approached an open field, and a halt was ordered while Grover went forward to reconnoiter the front.... Many of Milroy's dead and wounded were scattered about; it was also evident that a few of his effectives were lying low, watching the enemy, near the edge of the open in front of the 2d. Some of these arose and passed to the rear as Grover's line came up.

"...At any rate, after spying out the land to the front, Grover moved the brigade a considerable distance by the right flank before closing with the enemy.... Hardly had the advance been resumed when there was a crash of rebel musketry, an answering roar of Yankee cheers, and almost instantly the 2d was pouring over the railroad embankment. The dash was evidently a surprise to the rebels, as most of them, having delivered their fire, were closely hugging the ground under cover of the bank. They were expecting a return volley, apparently, but had not anticipated looking into the muzzles of the guns that delivered it. Those that made a fight were instantly shot or bayoneted, and in less time that it has taken to write it the first rebel line was disposed of. Some threw up their hands and cried for mercy; some, doubtless, 'played possum,' lying as if dead and making no sign; while others, as soon as they could realize what had happened, made a break for the rear, closely followed by the men of the 2d, now wild with the rage of battle. There was a desperate dash for a stand of rebel colors, but they were saved by the fleetness of their bearer and the devoted bravery of the color guard....

"The fragments of the first line were driven in upon a second, a few rods beyond the railroad, and here occured the most desperate

Map 6, 2-4 p.m. August 29th, Union

fighting of the day—a hand to hand melee with bayonets and clubbed muskets. Such a fight cannot last long. New Hampshire won. The second rebel line was routed and scattered to the rear. By this time no semblance of organization was left in the 2d, but the men still on their feet dashed on again, every one for himself. A third line was encountered; but the charge had spent its force. The scatttered men of the 2d halted close up to the enemy, and loaded and fired as rapidly as possible in an effort to hold the position they had won until supports could come up."

The 2d tried to hold on against the overwhelming numbers, but to the right the 1st Massachusetts' advance had lagged, and the 2d suffered from an enfilading fire. A similar situation developed on the left, where the 11th Massachusetts was stopped by the second Confederate line. So, with both flanks exposed there was little hope for the Hampshiremen. After several minutes they began to fall back. "As they recrossed the railroad bank they were exposed to a murderous fire from each flank, to say nothing of the very bad language used by the rebels in calling upon them to stop; and a few minutes delay would have found that gap closed and almost the entire regiment securely corralled.

"The brigade came straggling back into the field where it had been formed for the charge, but here the fight ended, the men rallying on the flags of their respective regiments.... A line was gathered, facing the woods, its left resting on a detached clump of bushes an acre or so in extent. At this time a brigade [Nagle's] of the Ninth Army Corps came up and advanced into the woods just to the right. The 2d noted from the flags that one of its regiments was the 6th New Hampshire...." Haynes, Second New Hampshire, pp. 130-34; Otis F. R. Waite, New Hampshire in the Great Rebellion (Claremont, 1870), pp. 145-46; Gilman Marston's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 819.

c. The 11th Massachusetts Charges on the Left of the Line

"At about 3 p.m.," reported Colonel William Blaisdell of the 11th Massachusetts, "advancing about 1 mile to the edge of a heavy wood, there deploying and moving forward in line of battle until within range of the enemy's pickets, the line was halted, bayonets fixed. Again moving forward [aligned on the left of the 2d New Hampshire], driving the enemy's pickets before it, the regiment came upon and engaged a heavy line of the enemy's infantry, which was driven back and over a line of railroad where the road-bed was 10 feet high, behind which was posted another heavy line of infantry, which opened a terrific fire upon the regiment as it emerged from the woods. The 11th regiment, being the battalion of direction, was the first to reach the railroad, and of course received the heaviest of the enemy's fire. This staggered the men a little, but, recovering in an instant, they gave a wild hurrah and over they went, mounting the embankment, driving everything before them at the point of the bayonet.

"Here for two or three minutes the struggle was very severe, the combatants exchanging shots [with] their muskets almost muzzle to muzzle, and engaging hand-to-hand in deadly encounter. Private John Lawler, of Company D, stove in the head of one rebel with the butt of his musket and killed another with his bayonet. The enemy broke in confusion and ran, numbers throwing away their muskets.... The regiment pursu[ed] them some 80 yards into the woods, where it was met by an overwhelming force in front, at the same time receiving an artillery fire which enfiladed our left and forced it to retire, leaving the dead and many of the wounded where they fell." 11th Massachusetts report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 440-41; Unknown Letter, Lowell [Mass.] Daily Citizen and News, September 11, 1862; Gustavas B. Hutchinson, A Narrative of the Formation and Services of the Eleventh Massachusetts Volunteers (Boston, 1893), pp. 39-40; Haynes, Second New Hampshire, P. 129.

The 11th tumbled back through the woods. Recalled Henry Blake of the regiment, "The regimental flag was torn from the staff by unfriendly limbs in passing through the forest, and the eagle that surmounted it was cut off in the contest. The commander of the color company saved these precious emblems, and earnestly shouted when the lines were re-formed, '11th, rally 'round the pole!'" Blake, Three Years, pp. 129-130.

d. The 16th Massachusetts and 26th Pennsylvania Act as Support

Though there is little specific information regarding these two units' role in the attack, it is apparent that both acted as support for the front line. The 16th Massachusetts was on the left and after the front lines had crossed the unfinished railroad and had broken the enemy's front, it was sent, as Grover wrote, to "turn his flank, but the breaking of our right and center and the weight of the enemy's lines caused the necessity of falling back." "The 26th Pennsylvania," Grover recalled, "which supported the left, did not have the opportunity of showing its mettle that I could have desired, owing to the nature of the ground." Grover's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 439; Letter of Major Gardner Banks, (n.d.), Lowell [Mass.] Daily Citizen and News, September 6, 1862; Letter of Benjamin F. Robb, September 9, 1862, Benjamin F. Robb Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 347.

e. Evidence Regarding the Location of Grover's Attack

As one of the few true bayonet charges of the war, Grover's attack has been the object of intense scrutiny by historians during the last few decades. Yet an important debate has persisted regarding the exact location of Grover's attack on the field. Some have insisted that the attack struck the Confederate line at "The Dump," several hundred yards west of the Groveton-Sudley Road. Others claim that the attackers crossed the unfinished railroad a few hundred yards east of that road, and still others have placed the attack nearer the Confederate left, not far from Sudley Church. These differing opinions stem from the unfortunate fact that none of those participants who recorded their experiences of that afternoon left behind any mention of a known geographic point along the attacking front that could be used as a point of reference in determining the location of the fighting.

Despite the absence of such a reference point, however, enough evidence has been uncovered about the fighting on the afternoon of August 29 to at least say where Grover's attack did not strike the Confederate line, and in turn narrow the possiblities of where it did strike it. Augmenting this are important clues yielded by both Confederate and Union sources. All combined they have led to a conclusion that meshes almost perfectly with Confederate sources, and is certainly plausible in the context of extant Union sources. The evidence follows.

The clues offered up by Union descriptions of Grover's attack are in fact few and inconclusive, yet they are still a vital piece of the puzzle. The early stages of Grover's advance can be traced quite accurately. Starting from a point several hundred yards east of the Groveton Woods, Grover moved his men forward into those woods until the left of his line approached the open space beyond. This is clear from numerous descriptions of the ground as well as the fact that Grover encountered Milroy and his brigade after advancing just a short distance. That Milroy was earlier engaged in the Groveton Woods is well established.

It is at this point, though, that the picture clouds. In General Milroy's recital of his encounter with Grover, Milroy goes on to describe what he believed was Grover's attack, mentioning that the left of Grover's line extended out into the open field fronting the "Deep Cut." This would seem to be supported by two other accounts. Gustavas Hutchinson of the 11th Massachusetts (Grover's left flank regiment) speaks of (p. 39) moving forward "through a belt of woods...and soon enter[ing] the open space in front of the Confederate position." Warren Cudworth of the 1st Massachusetts (Grover's right regiment) relates (p. 272) that in approaching the unfinished railroad the regiment "passed beyond the confines of the forest, and reached a railroad bank skirting its edges." In 1862 there were but two places where the unfinished railroad was fronted by open ground. One was beyond the extreme Confederate left, near Sudley Church. The other extended from "The Dump" southwestward beyond "The Deep Cut." It should be emphasized, however, that the vast majority of Union descriptions of the attack contradict both Hutchinson's and Cudworth's accounts, instead saying that the advance was made through a heavy, mature, oak forest. As to this, the weight of evidence is convincing.

Given the sequence of known events between 1 and 4 PM on August 29, however, the likelihood that Grover struck the Confederate line west of the Groveton-Sudley Road is remote. As will be shown below (See Carr, 2-4 PM, Taylor, 4-6 PM, and Nagle, 4-6 PM), the area west of the road was occupied first by Carr, then by Nagle and Taylor throughout the relevant period. None of the accounts relating to these units mention any other attack along their front other than Nagle's. Too, the Confederate accounts, specifically Bradley Johnson's, tend to corroborate this (see Johnson, 4-6 PM where he mentions capturing the flag of an Excelsior Brigade regiment). Thus, the evidence strongly suggests that the attack witnessed by Milroy was in fact Nagle's, not Grover's (see Milroy, 2-4 PM).

The next important item relating to Grover's attack is the statement by Martin Haynes of the 2d New Hampshire (p. 130) that after moving through the Groveton Woods to the open space beyond, "Grover moved the brigade a considerable distance by the right flank before closing with the enemy." The obvious question is how does one define "a considerable distance.?" 200 yards? A half mile? But that such a movement took place is also suggested by Warren Cudworth who stated (p. 272) that the 1st Massachusetts moved "a few thousand feet" through the timber before approaching the enemy's main line. Unfortunately neither Grover nor any other participants who left written accounts mention any such movement. But considering the activity then buzzing in the area west of the Groveton-Sudley Road it seems certain that Grover in fact did move "a considerable distance" to the right, east of the road.

The extant descriptions of the nature of the railroad excavation where Grover's men crossed it are also unsatisfactory. There are repeated vague references to an "embankment" or "railroad cut" (though it should be noted that most do refer to an "embankment), with only one account that offers more specific information. Col. William Blaisdell of the 11th Massachusetts related that his men struck the grade "where the roadbed was 10 feet high."

There are but two places east of the Groveton-Sudley Road where the railroad excavation matches that description. One is an area about 350-500 yards east of the road, the other is still farther east, just west of a break in the embankment caused by a wet weather stream.

The area east of the Groveton-Sudley Road was for the most part manned by A. P. Hill's division (it seems that only the area immediately east of the road was held by a part of Lawton's division—Douglass' brigade). Hill maintained a three brigade front until late in the afternoon—Gregg's brigade on the left, Thomas' in the center, and Field on the right. Given that Grover in all likelihood did strike the Confederate line east of the road, which of these three brigades did he assault?

Unfortunately the dearth of source material relating to Field's brigade on August 29 makes it impossible to determine the extent of fighting along his front. Those sketchy accounts that are available make no mention of an assault such as Grover's. Too, the tabular list of casualties published in the Official Records (Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 562) would seem to indicate that Field's men were not heavily engaged on the 29th. The three regiments for which statistics are available lost a total of 83 men during the battle, and given that we know Field's men were heavily engaged during Porter's attack on the 30th, at least one-half of those losses probably occured on that date. The relatively small losses on the 29th would suggest, at least, that Field's men did not weather an attack as violent as Grover's.

Other Confederate sources do provide more tangible clues, however, and these suggest that Grover's attack fell primarily on Thomas' brigade. While there was fighting along much of Jackson's front throughout August 29, only three Federal breakthroughs are conceded by the the Confederate chroniclers of that day. One, the last and most threatening, occurred late in the afternoon on the extreme left of the Jackson's line. Gregg's, Thomas', and Branch's brigades of Hill's division were all driven back several hundred yards, and the attack was only repulsed with massive reinforcements from Early's brigade. This attack, the last Union effort of the day, was clearly made by Kearny's division, assisted by Leasure's brigade of Stevens' division.

Another semi-succesful attack struck the Confederate line at about 4 PM astride and west of the Groveton-Sudley Road, where the Federals momentarily broke through only to be driven out of the woods by Johnson's and Stafford's brigades of Starke's division. In the pursuit the Confederates captured a flag of Taylor's brigade, as well as a gun from Hampton's battery. The evidence confirms that this breakthrough was achieved by Nagle's Federal bri-

Map 6, 2-4 p.m. August 29th, Union

gade.

The remaining breakthrough, the first of the day, timed by the Confederates variably at between 2 and 4 PM, occured on the Confederate left where a Federal force bowled into Thomas' Brigade, and, by penetrating the gap between Thomas and Gregg, threatened to cut the latter off from the main body of the Confederate army. Thomas' men, however, rallied. The 49th Georgia (of Thomas) and the 14th South Carolina (of Gregg) plugged the gap between the brigades, and with Pender's assistance, the Federals were driven back over the unfinished railroad and out of the woods.

The identity of the Union unit that achieved this breakthrough between Gregg and Thomas has never been known. Many historians have suggested that it was Schurz's men that made the attack. The historical evidence suggests otherwise. It is known that throughout the morning and early afternoon hours Schurz's division was engaged in front of Gregg and Thomas, but none of Schurz's men claim to accomplish a breakthrough that even remotely resembles that described by the Confederates. (It must be stated that a distinction has to be made between Schurz's men crossing the unfinished railroad and Schurz's men piercing the Confederate line. For much of the day Hill's main line rested a fair distance north of the railroad and Schurz's men were able to push forward to and across the excavation several times at several points. In fact, it is apparent from the accounts that Schurz's men held the excavation as much, or more, than Hill's men did.) Furthermore, by 2 PM Schurz's men were in the process of leaving the firing line.

After reconsidering Schurz's role and examining all available source material relating to other Northern units, it was found that only three of those units even claim to have made a substantive break in the Confederate line. They are Kearny and Nagle, already discussed, and Grover's brigade. Thus, by process of elimination it would appear that it must have been Grover's brigade that crashed into Thomas' Georgians and nearly shattered the Confederate left.

There is other evidence to support this supposition. First are the descriptions of the fighting by both parties involved (see Gregg, Thomas, and Pender, 2-4 PM). The various historians of the fighting, North and South, are certainly describing the same type of combat, at least. It was a surprising, impetuous attack—a close-quarters fight, with musketry fire at 10 yards and clubbed muskets the rule. The Confederates were initially driven back in disorder, rallied, and, with help, drove the Federals back over the embankment and out of the woods.

Another important piece of evidence is the claim made in Martin Haynes' book (p. 127) that Michael Dillon of Company G, 2d New Hampshire, "shot the color bearer of the Forty-ninth Georgia." The 49th Georgia is well documented to have been the left flank regiment of Thomas' brigade, given large credit for finally driving the Union attack back. Certainly this could be a case of unit misidentification on Haynes' part, but if so, it would be a coincidence.

Finally, Edward McCrady of the 1st South Carolina (Gregg's Brigade) in an article for the Southern Historical Society Papers (Vol. 13, p. 27) claimed that Grover's brigade did in fact make the attack upon Thomas' brigade, and that after the fight McCrady shared his canteen with a soldier from New Hampshire, presumably the 2d New Hampshire (the only other New Hampshire infantry unit on the field that day was the 6th, with Nagle).

In closing, the evidence is still inconclusive, but after a careful examination of all available materials and evaluation of the known activities of units potentially involved, it is concluded, based on known sources, that the gap between Thomas' and Gregg's brigade could only have been breeched by Grover's brigade and that, conversely, Grover could have struck the Confederate line only at that point. Relating this to the field, Grover's three front regiments, covering a front of about 500 yards, probably struck the unfinished railroad on a front extending southwestward from the gap in the excavation caused by the wet-weather streambed about midway between the Groveton-Sudley and Sudley Roads. This is an area where filled in sections of the grade predominate, several hundred feet of which reach 10 feet high.

2. Taylor Receives Orders to Relieve Carr

Taylor's was the reserve brigade of the division. As such it remained inactive until nearly 4 PM. The general reported that at that time "we were ordered forward to support a battery; but before the brigade got in position the order was changed, and I was directed by Major-General Hooker to advance in line through a piece of woods, which seemed to be the enemy's position, to relieve the Third Brigade [Carr's]." (Taylor succeeded Nagle in advancing into the woods, since most of Carr's regiments relate being relieved by the 2d Maryland of Nagle's brigade.) Taylor's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 444-45; 70th New York report, ibid., p. 447.

3. Carr Moves his Remaining Regiments to the Firing Line

Prior to 2 PM, Colonel Carr had sent the 6th and 7th New Jersey forward into the woods to engage the Confederates. The two regiments fought there alone until shortly after 2 when Carr sent three of his four remaining regiments to their support. Lt. Col. Robert Thompson's 115th Pennsylvania went to the support of the 6th and 7th. Thompson reported that his regiment went into the woods and "after I had taken my first position, which was about 20 yards in rear of the road [Groveton-Sudley] in front of the woods, by permission of the commandant I moved my command forward to the road to support the 7th New Jersey and gain a position in which I could deliver a more effective fire upon the enemy." The 115th was on the left of the 7th. Thompson continued, "During the engagement my command charged across the road up to the ravine behind which the enemy was concealed. Owing to the strength of the position a weight of fire from an immense body of the enemy we were obliged to fall back to our original position...." The three regiments continued to work on the firing line until relieved by the 2d Maryland of Nagle's brigade. Carr's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 798; 115th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 464; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 3, p. 1209; 6th New Jersey report, op.cit., p. 459.

Meanwhile, the 5th and 8th New Jersey were sent farther to the left. Lt. Col. William Sewell of the 5th reported, "I received orders to deploy my right wing as skirmishers in front of the brigade in an open wood. As soon as the line advanced to where the line of another division had previously been[,] firing commenced on both sides. I was soon obliged to relieve my right with my left wing, the former having emptied their cartridge boxes. The men thus relieved I posted in the rear of the line of battle to prevent stragglers from leaving the fight." Private Alfred Bellard recalled, "Directly in our front was the Manassas Gap railroad that formed a good line of defence for the rebels, and between that and our line was their skirmish line, about 15 yards away from us. They soon commenced to pop at us, and the compliment being returned, popping became general. Our orders were to fire away [whether] we saw the enemy or not, so as to make as much noise as possible.... I believe we did more execution that day as a single Regt. than at any other battle.... As our ammunition was nearly run out we were ordered to fall back. Our guns had become so fouled with burnt powder that we had to jam the rammer against a tree to drive the ball home. When we fell back to the edge of the wood we met the 2d Maryland going in to take our place." 5th New Jersey report, ibid., p. 457; David H. Donald, ed., Gone For a Soldier; The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard (Boston & Toronto, 1975), pp. 136, 138.

The 8th New Jersey was to the left of the 5th and remained on the firing line until the other regiments of the brigade had already been relieved by Nagle's brigade. 8th New Jersey report, op.cit., p. 462.

There is no mention in the reports of the location of the 2d New York. They were in the area, probably acting as a reserve. Henry H. Pearson to his friend, September 5, 1862, in possession of Lewis Leigh, Fairfax, Virginia.

4. McGilvery's Battery (6th, Maine Light)

No source material is available to document the activities of this battery during this period. It can only be assumed that it remained in its previous position.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

After deciding that the force in his front was indeed Longstreet, and considering McDowell's opinion that he should remain where he was, Porter determined to assume defensive dispositions. Toward this end he directed Morell to "move the infantry and everything behind the crest, and conceal the guns." Porter, Narrative, pp. 24-26; Porter, Memoranda of Communications With General Morell, Porter Papers, Missouri Hisorical Society; Porter to Morell (endorsement), August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 734.

A. Morell's Division Takes Cover

The 13th New York of Roberts' brigade continued to work the skirmish line, feeding a consistent stream of intelligence back to division headquarters throughout the period. Meanwhile, Morell was directed by Porter to move his command, including artillery, back behind the crest of the ridge and conceal them there in the bushes. Everything was successfully put under cover except Hazlett's battery, which continued to fire at a leisurely rate, and Martin's battery, which remained in position south of the road. (On this last point there is conflict in the testimony. Morell states that it was Waterman in position south of the road, but Augustus P. Martin, in a document appearing in the Joshua Chamberlain Papers, maintains that it was his battery. The latter account is preferred.) Various dispatches, ibid.; Morell's testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 146; Marshall's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 190.

B. Sykes Remains in Place

There was no significant movement on the part of Sykes' brigades. Buchanan's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 251.

C. Piatt's Brigade Marches and Countermarches

Piatt continued to move his small brigade toward Manassas Junction until it reached a column (probably Hatch's) moving in the opposite direction.

It was here, according to General Sturgis, that Piatt received orders to again return to Porter's front. Piatt did so, apparently following the railroad to the front, stopping just across the tracks from Griffin's brigade. Sturgis to Porter, August 20, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Piatt's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, p. 982.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division Remains Scattered

1. Christ Remains Along the Unfinished Railroad

The 50th Pennsylvania of Christ's brigade remained along the unfinished railroad for "some two hours," probably to the right of Carr and, subsequently, Nagle. It did not leave the front until the troops to its left were driven out of the woods, probably just after 4 PM. Letter of W. H. M., September 9, 1862, Pottsville [Penn.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862; Unknown Letter (48th Pennsylvania), ibid., Sept. 6, 1862.

2. Leasure Falls Back From Groveton to Near Dogan Ridge

Leasure's brigade remained in position near Groveton until about 3 PM, when, from General Schenck, Stevens received orders to fall back. "By order of General Schenck," Hazard Stevens wrote, "General Stevens drew in his skirmishers and moved back down the pike, placing Benjamin's two guns on an eminence of the Chinn Hill, and his two regiments opon the right of the road in advance of the Rosefield [Dogan] House." Stevens, Stevens, p. 451.

3. Farnsworth Holds Position

Farnsworth's two regiments held their positions taken earlier "for two or three hours" after Schurz's men had withdrawn from the front, all the while engaging the enemy skirmishers in front in a scattering musketry fire. Todd, Seventy-ninth New York, p. 200.

4. Benjamin (E, 2d U.S.) Falls Back to Chinn Ridge

With only two guns still in service, Benjamin pulled back from Groveton to Chinn Ridge. Stevens, Stevens, p. 451.

B. Reno's Division

1. Nagle Moves Forward

About 3 PM Colonel Nagle's brigade received orders to move forward. A man of the 48th Pennsylvania recalled, "At three [the brigade] formed in line of battle, with the 2d Maryland on the right, the 6th New Hampshire on the left, and the 48th in the rear," 50 paces back. The three regiments "moved across a cleared field towards the dense wood occupied by the enemy." When within a short distance of the woods the line was ordered to halt, and knapsacks were unslung and piled. Skirmishers were deployed and the brigade moved into the timber, shortly coming upon Carr's brigade of New Jerseyans. Here at least part of the line was briefly halted, and preparations for a charge on the Confederate line made. Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 1193; Letters of O. C. B. [Oliver C. Bosbyshell], September 3, 1862, and Henry Pleasants, September 4, 1862, Pottsville [Penn.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862; Jackman, Sixth New Hampshire, pp. 79-80; Oliver C. Bosbyshell, The Forty-eighth in the War (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 65; Letter of Henry H. Pearson, September 5, 1862, in possession of Lewis Leigh, Fairfax, Virginia.

2. Ferrero Continues to Support Durell's Battery

Ferrero's regiments continued to lay in rear of Durell's battery, the 51st Pennsylvania still in support of the guns. Ferrero's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 3, p. 277, RG 94, National Archives; Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 143.

3. Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light) Remains in Position

Durell's gunners remained in their position taken earlier, shelling the woods in front. Cuffell, Durell's Battery, p. 64; Letter of C. C., September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Penn.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862.

VII. Cavalry Commands

By 4 PM the cavalry was all finally on the field, though it played little role in the events of the next 24 hours. Beardsley and Bayard remained in their previously taken positions, while Buford's brigade, according to a man of the 1st Vermont Cavalry, "was near the left flank of Pope's army, acting as reconnoiterers." Bayard's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 91; 1st Maryland Cavalry report, ibid., p. 273; S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888.

Map #6, 2-4 PM, August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

The mid-afternoon hours were a time of frustration for General Lee—frustration stemming from the uncertainty of the force approaching Longstreet's right along the Manassas-Gainesville Road and the resultant delay of offensive operations by the Confederates. Until more could be learned about the strength and intentions of this force, no attack could be launched. Consequently Lee rode to the right to examine the force. His initial impression was that the force approaching from Manassas was strong enough to cause trouble. The general directed that Wilcox's division, then in reserve on the left, be moved to the right to support Jones. Charles Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 210; Marshall to Porter, June 9, 1869, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Upon arriving on the right, Longstreet discovered that the Federal force in that direction appeared to be menacing, so menacing in fact that he ordered Wilcox's division to be moved into position behind D. R. Jones. (This movement, however, did not take place until after 4 PM.) Longstreet, From Manassas..., pp. 182-83; Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 519; Longstreet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 565.

A. D. R. Jones' Division Remains in Place

Jones' three brigades held their positions on the right of Longstreet's line, Drayton on the extreme right along the Manassas-Gainesville Road, Benning and Anderson farther to the left, en echelon behind Hunton's and Jenkins' brigades of Kemper's division. Corse's brigade separated Drayton from Benning. Throughout the period the division was subjected to an intermittent shelling by Porter's batteries. D. R. Jones' report, ibid., p. 579; Charles Williams to Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

B. Wilcox is Ordered to Support the Right

Wilcox's brigades remained in position behind the left of Longstreet's line until about 4 PM when the general received orders to move to the right to support D. R. Jones. Wilcox's report, op.cit., p. 598; Wilcox to Porter, April 25, 1871, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

1. Anderson's and Chapman's Batteries

Each of these batteries had one gun along the line of artillery northeast of the Brawner House until 3:30, when the line was withdrwn to replenish ammunition. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 117.

C. Hood Remains in Place

As before, Hood's division remained in place. Law's report, op.cit., p. 623; Hood's report, ibid., p. 605.

1. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding)

The two batteries of Frobel's command in action along the Brawner Ridge line, Bachman and Reilly, remained there until 3:30 when they were ordered "to return to the road for the purpose of replenishing our ammunition." Frobel's report, ibid., p. 607; Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 117.

D. Evans' Brigade

Evans remained south of the turnpike in support of Hood. Holcombe's Legion report, ibid., p. 630.

E. Kemper's Division: Jenkins Skirmishes with Reynolds

Both Corse and Hunton remained in place during the period. Corse's report, ibid., p. 626; Wood, Big I, p. 30.

Meanwhile, in front of Jenkins' brigade, some activity was brewing. The 1st South Carolina, which had earlier moved forward and taken position along the edge of a wood with a "pretty little meadow 80 yards in width in front," about "300 yards" from the enemy line, had its skirmish line driven in. The advance of the enemy skirmish line was followed by the main line (Reynolds' division). The 1st opened quickly, and a brisk little fight of about 10 minutes followed, the foe showing no inclination to push the matter. The Federals fell back, and Jenkins ordered the rest of the brigade to move up and align themselves abreast of the 1st. "The remainder of the evening passed away quietly." Hagood, MS "Memoirs," p. 66-67; Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery (Major J. B. Walton Commanding)

Major Walton continued to monitor the activities of the line of artillery established earlier northeast of the Brawner House until 3:30. This line contained two of his own batteries, Squires' and Millers'. At 3:30 the entire line was withdrawn to replenish ammunition, with the apparent exception of a section of Squires' battery, under Lt. W. M. Owen. These two guns continued to fire until the enemy was out of range.

After returning to the ammunition train, Walton received a request to send a battery to the right. Miller's was chosen, and it joined Wilcox in his move to the right. Walton's report, op.cit., p. 571; Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 117-118.

2. Miscellaneous Batteries

Maurin's two Blakely rifles continued to fire from the Washington Artillery line near the Brawner House until 3:30, when they were withdrawn to replenish ammunition. Stribling and Rogers remained in their previously taken positions, Stribling probably playing a role in the repulse of Reynolds' division in front of Jenkins' brigade. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 118; Corse's report, op.cit., p. 625; Longstreet's report, ibid., p. 564.

III. Jackson's Wing

A. Starke's Division is Still Unengaged

Most of Starke's men did not become engaged until after 4 PM, during Nagle's attack. Johnson's report, ibid., p. 665.

The 2d Virginia of Baylor's brigade, though, was in action on Jackson's left. Captain Colston reported, "At 3 o'clock we were ordered forward, going at a double quick most of the time after passing the railroad. We engaged the enemy, the loss in the 2d being slight." (The advance Colston refers to is probably that made by Pender's brigade after the attack on Thomas.) 2d Virginia report, ibid., p. 659.

1. Division Artillery (Shumaker's Battalion)

Shumaker's guns remained relatively quiet along the right of Jackson's line throughout the afternoon. Moore, Cannoneer, p. 120.

B. A. P. Hill's Division: The Struggle Begins

The fighting in front of A. P. Hill's division had taken the form of a prolonged, heavy skirmish until about 3 PM. At that time the first major attack was launched against his line, and from that point until dark nearly his entire division was engaged with the Federals. Jackson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 645-46; Hill's report, ibid., p. 671.

1. Branch Holds Position

Branch's regiments continued to hold their positions near Gregg's brigade until the first major charge against Gregg had been repulsed. The 28th and 33d North Carolina, under the direct supervision of Colonel Lane, held position on Gregg's left, while the remaining three regiments (the 7th, 18th, and 37th North Carolina) remained in support of Gregg on the ridge north of the Groveton-Sudley Road. Letter of Branch, in Lane, "History of Lane's Brigade (Conclusion)," p. 243; Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 19; Clark, North Carolina Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 370.

2. Archer Moves to a Supporting Position Farther to the Right

General Archer reported, "About 3 p.m. I moved, by order of General Hill, to the right until my right rested on a road which crosses the railroad at right angles and remained there within supporting distance of other brigades of the division which had been engaged during the day." Archer's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 700.

3. Pender Supports Thomas and Pursues the Enemy

Pender's brigade was in support of Thomas. It was about 3 PM, remembered a man of the 16th North Carolina of Pender's brigade, that the enemy "made a vigorous attack on our left, plunging with great fury into A. P. Hill's Division, piercing with the bayonet a gap in our line. It looked for a time as if the entire left wing of the Confederate army would be overwhelmed...." B. H. Cathey, "The Sixteenth [N.C.] Regiment," Charlotte Observer, August 4, 1895.

General Pender saw that if ever there was a time to move to Thomas' support, this was it. He reported, "I ordered my brigade forward, moving just to the right of Colonel Thomas. My men moved forward very gallantly, driving the enemy back across the railroad cut, through the woods on the opposite side, and beyond their batteries in the adjoining field. A battery of the enemy which was on the right of this wood as we advanced was flanked by my command and the cannoneers deserted their pieces. My line was halted on the edge of the field in front of the enemy, where I remained some little while, when, being promised support from one of the staff of some of General Jackson's brigades, I crossed the field to attack the batteries. My men advanced well, receiving grape from their batteries; but support being waited for in vain, and seeing columns on my left and right maneuvering to flank me, I withdrew, and marched back to the railroad cut, a little to the right of the position previously held by General Gregg." Pender remained here until relieved by Archer. Pender's report, op.cit., p. 698.

4. Field's Brigade Holds Position

Field's brigade firmly held its position on Hill's right until about 4 PM. John C. Towles, Diary, August 29, 1862, p. 66.

5. A Federal Force Penetrates Between Thomas and Gregg; Gregg is Nearly Cut Off

Gregg's brigade had had only a brief respite after the withdrawal of the Federals from their front when another, more violent, assault struck the interval between Gregg's and Thomas' brigades. The Federals bowled over Thomas' brigade and therby put Gregg's brigade in great peril. Colonel McGowan of the 14th South Carolina reported, "The assailants succeeded in getting nearly across the point of woods to the field on the northwest, thus for a moment cutting off and isolation our brigade, but it was only for a moment."

Edward McCrady of the 1st South Carolina remembered that the enemy came upon Thomas' brigade, "posted in a thicket on our right. A short resistence was made and Thomas' brigade gave way. As the enemy followed them they came upon the right flanks of Edwards [the 13th South Carolina] and ourselves [both on the right of the brigade]. We had no time to form a regular line to meet them, but such as proved itself equal to the task was soon filled up. I directed Companies A, C, and L to wheel to the right, which, with their reduced numbers, just filled the space between Colonel Edwards and ourselves. He, too, formed some of his men to the right. The enemy pressed on in pursuit of Thomas' men, but here they met desperate resistance. They came up on us [to with]in 10 and 20 paces, but our men stood gallantly to their posts."

At the same time others were marshalling help. The 12th South Carolina hurried up to support the 1st and 13th. The 14th South Carolina, heretofore in reserve, hustled forward as well. The 14th formed up with the 49th Georgia, the left regiment of Thomas' brigade, and wheeled into the gap between Gregg and Thomas. With the help of the 1st, 12th and 13th, the 14th and the Georgians charged and drove the enemy back. Of the regiments, only the 12th is known to have pursued beyond the railroad. McGowan's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 680-81; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., p. 687; 12th South Carolina report, ibid., p. 693; Jackson's report, ibid., pp. 645-46; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," pp. 26-30.

6. Thomas' Brigade is Nearly Overwhelmed

It was about 3 PM that Thomas' men heard the crashing of brush in their front that indicated that another Union attack was on the way. The attack struck Thomas' regiments flush in front and on the left flank. Marion Fitzpatrick of the 45th Georgia remembered, "Gen. Hill had sent a Currior previous to that for us to get out from there but we failed to get it. Our brigade fought like heroes. Our regiment was in the centre. The first we knew both wings had given away and the 45th was nearly surrounded. The last fire I made I stood on the embankment and fired right down amongst them just as they were charging up the bank about fifteen ranks deep. I turned and saw the whole Regiment getting away, and I followed the example in tripple quick time." Marion H. Fitzpatrick to Amanda, September 2, 1862, Fitzpatrick Papers.

The brunt of the attack, however, fell on Thomas' left flank regiment, the 49th Georgia, and the gap between Thomas and Gregg. The 49th was scattered badly, but as the brigade tumbled back through the woods, the remnants of the 49th rallied on the 14th South Carolina of Gregg's brigade. Shortly a solid front was reestablished, and the Federal advance was checked. Too, on the right, Pender's brigade moved forward and Thomas, Pender, and parts of Gregg lunged ahead together and drove the enemy back across the unfinished railroad. Part of the 35th Georgia joined Pender's brigade in the pursuit into the open field beyond the woods. Letter of Mark Newman (no date), [Sandersville, Ga.] Central Georgian, October 15, 1862; Thomas' report, op.cit., p. 703; McGowan's report, ibid., p. 681; Pender's report, ibid., p. 698; E. R. Dozier, Diary, August 29, 1862, in U.D.C. Bound Typescripts, Vol. 8, pp. 44-91, Georgia Department of Archives and History; James M. Folsom, Heroes and Martyrs of Georgia (Macon, 1864), p. 138.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

Jackson's chief of artillery, Col. Stapleton Crutchfield, recalled that during the afternoon attacks the enemy "brought up two rifled guns on his right, which opened on the position occupied by General Branch's brigade in a clump of woods, while his infantry attempted to charge across the field in front. The guns were speedily driven off by Captain Braxton's battery, which was moved still farther to the left for the purpose, and their infantry was easily repelled. In a short time the attack was renewed over the same ground and in the same way. By this time the batteries of Captains Crenshaw and Latham had been moved so as to get an oblique fire on their infantry, and also to bear on the battery on their right. The latter was quickly forced to retire by the fire of the batteries of Captains Braxton and Crenshaw, while the latter, with that of Captain Latham, poured a heavy fire on their infantry at about 450 yards distance." During the course of this action one of Crenshaw's guns was dismounted. Pegram's battery (Purcell Artillery) was in position in support of Field's brigade. Crutchfield's report, op.cit., p. 652; Jones, Diary, August 29, 1862; Brunson, Pee Dee Light Artillery, p. 6; John C. Towles, Diary, August 29, 1862.

C. Lawton's Division Awaits Action

Though the skirmishing along Lawton's front heated up during the afte noon, there was no full scale attack launched against the line until after 4 PM Until that time the four brigades of the division remained in place, Forno ar Early in reserve, and Brown and Douglass in front. (Though both Early and Forn state that the latter was ordered to the support of one of Hill's brigades a 3:30, the evidence suggests that it was somewhat later, probably shortly afte 4 PM, that Forno moved forward.) Early's report, op.cit., p. 712; Forno report, ibid., p. 718; McLendon, Recollections, p. 111.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Stuart's situation was static throughout the afternoon. Robertson was c the right, Lee on the left. Stuart's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p 736; Robertson's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 217-18.

Pelham's battery remained in action on Jackson's right. Before long th ammunition of three of his guns was exhausted. The "Boy Major" withdrew these but continued to fire with his remaining gun until it was disabled by a Federa hit. At that the battery was pulled out of action altogether. Pelham's report op.cit., p. 755.

MAP 7

Map #7, 4-6 PM, August 29

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

At 4 PM General Pope still anxiously awaited the crash of gunfire that would signal the opening of Porter's attack against Jackson's right. By 4:30 his patience had run out. Consequently, he drew up a "peremptory" order for Porter, directing him in no uncertain words (as the Joint Order had not) to attack immediately:

> Major General Porter: Your line of march brings you on the enemy's right flank. I desire you to push forward into action at once on the enemy's flank, and, if possible, on his rear, keeping your right in communication with General Reynolds. The enemy is massed in the woods in front of us, but can be shelled out as soon as you gain their flank. Keep heavy reserves and use your batteries--keeping well closed to your right all the time. In case you are obliged to fall back, do so to your right and rear, so as to keep you in close communication with the right wing.

Unbeknownst to Pope, this order did not reach Porter until nearly dark. Pope's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 14; Pope to Porter, 4:30 PM, August 29, ibid., p. 296; Edward Moale's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 560-61; Douglas Pope Testimony, ibid., pp. 566-75; Porter, Narrative, p. 30.

In anticipation of Porter's attack, Pope ordered Heintzelman to attack the enemy's left, which Heintzelman did with Kearny's division. Pope's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 39.

Subsequently Pope received a dispatch from Porter indicating his uncertainty of affairs and inquiring what he should do. To the staff officer that delivered this message, Stephen M. Weld, Pope manifested no dissatisfaction over this dispatch. He probably assumed that his 4:30 attack order had not yet reached Porter; when it did, Porter would know well what to do. "Tell General Porter we are having a hard fight," Pope instructed Weld. Weld's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 129; Porter to McDowell and King, August 29, 1862, Porter, Narrative, p. 27; Stephen M. Weld to Porter, September 9, 1867, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

A. Schenck's Division Rests

Schenck's two brigades, and presumably his artillery, continued to rest between the Stone House and the J. Dogan House, behind Dogan Ridge. Schenck's (Cheesebrough's) report, ibid., p. 281.

B. Schurz Remains in Reserve

Schurz remained in the position he had taken previously. Schurz's report, ibid., p. 299.

1. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsyvlania Light) Goes to Milroy's Aid and Loses a Gun

It was about 4 PM that Captain Hampton's four guns were ordered farther to the left to fire in support of Milroy's brigade. Sgt. J. G. Beatty, commanding the left gun of the left section, recounted, "...Our section was ordered to [Milroy's] support, and one section, the left (Lieut. Irish's), passed through a strip of woods and up to Gen. Milroy's line, and as we were moving by the left, my piece was in the lead, Gen. Milroy pointed out the spot where I should place my gun. I obeyed the order and commenced firing canister at three lines of rebels just beyond the Railroad Cut, and after each shot, in looking under the rising smoke, I observed that the rebels were running toward us and disappearing, and I so reported to Lieut. Irish, who, with Gen. Milroy, was close on my left. We had fired six shots, and were loading the seventh when General Milroy and Lieut. Irish, having rode far enough in advance to see into the Railroad Cut, and at this moment the rebel yell was raised and Law's [actually Johnson's and Stafford's) rebel brigade charged our...section (the only two pieces that crossed the strip of woods). Just then Gen. Milroy passed close in front of my gun and gave the order to fall back, while at the same

"I had taken the precaution to reverse my limber, and the gun in recoiling passed the trail under the limber, and the handspike striking a small stump could not, for the moment, be disengaged, and the rebels being upon us I gave the order 'Drive on,' and all started to fall back to the other section of our battery on the other side of the wood....

"At this moment Corp'l Hess, of my piece, jumped on the limber-chest with his face to the rear, and in going to my horse I passed close to him, looked in his face, and in the next instant he was shot in the forehead.... Before the limber moved the dead body of Henry Hess dropped off the chest. The rebels then came forward and took my gun, at the trail of which lay the body of Corp'l Hess." J. G. Beatty, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, April 3, 1890; Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, September 10, 1862.

While Sergeant Beatty's gun was falling into enemy hands, Lt. Joseph B. Todd was working to get the other section back to safety. Todd recorded in his diary that when the enemy was only "50 rods from us," "we opened on [them] with canister.... We slaughtered them at a great rait for a few minutes but owing to their superior numbers and us not being supported by infantry we were obliged to retreat. We lost one of our guns, No. 2. I succeeded in getting mine out of the woods, although we fired the last shot." Joseph B. Todd, Diary, in possession of George L. Armitage, Myersville, Md.

After leaving the woods, recalled battery historian William Clark, the battery pulled back "to the line of artillery on the crest of the rising ground in our rear, and while retiring and before commencing to ascend the hill, it was observed that the enemy was emerging from the woods three lines deep. We immediately halted and unlimbered and double-shotted with canister and gave the enemy a parting salute, which had the effect of stopping their advance and allowed us to proceed with the battery toward the lines on the hill. Before reaching our position the right gun of the left section in crossing a deep ditch broke its axle. We swung the gun on the limber and succeeded in saving it.

"The remaining section, the right, took position on the left of the line of...guns [adjacent to Roemer's Battery] and a heavy cannonade was begun which lasted until dark. In the meantime we dragged our disabled gun to the rear, where we met General McDowell's advance. He promised to recapture our gun but was unable to do so." William Clark, History of Hampton Battery F, Independent Pennsylvania Light Artillery (n.p., n.d.), p. 31; Roemer, Reminiscences, p. 75; Milroy to his Wife, Sept. 4, 1862, in Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 86-87.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light)

Going into position near the Dogan House with three guns, Roemer opened fire on a "ten gun" Confederate battery and continued to fire until 7 PM, doing, Roemer claimed, great "execution." Roemer, Reminiscences, pp. 74-75.

c. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light)

Dilger, out of ammunition, remained in the rear. Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 305.

2. Corps Reserve Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding)

a. Wiedrich's Battery (I, 1st New York Light)

It is unclear whether or not Wiedrich remained in action throughout the period, though it seems likely he did not. The captain reported, "After using up the remainder of our ammunition I retired with my battery to near Major-General Sigel's headquarters, where I remained during the night." Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 304.

b. Buell's Battery (C, West Virginia Light)

Nothing is known of the activities of this battery subsequent to the withdrawal of Schenck's division.

c. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light)

Out of action, the battery's location is unknown.

C. Milroy Attempts to Support Nagle With the 3d West Virginia but is Swept Back as Stafford's and Johnson's Confederates Surge Forward

From the Groveton Woods Milroy looked on as a wave of Union troops swept toward the unfinished railroad. (As before discussed, though Milroy claims that the attack he witnessed was Grover's, the evidence suggests that it was in fact Nagle's.) Milroy wrote, "We could only see the left flank of the long battle line, which passed out of the woods as they approached the R.R. and passed over the ground where my boys had struggled so desperately.... I held my breath as they neared that fatal line. Suddenly a volcano of fire opened from behind that R.R. line and the dark forest in its rear and hundreds of brave fellows in our long bristling line sank before that fatal fire to rise no more. The advancing line faltered but for a moment and an answering volcano followed the first and an instant afterwards a great shout arose and that long line surged rapidly across the R.R. embankment at charge bayonet into the forest. I saw the rebles rise from their hiding places behind the R.R. embankment.... A large number fled before the left flank of the advancing brigade across an open space some 500 yards in front of my reserve Regt. whom I ordered to open fire on them which they did and accelerated the speed and discomfiture of the rebs so much that I ordered a charge and the 3rd [West Virginia] dashed out of the woods we were in down across the meadow in our front toward the retreating rebles. I dashed ahead cheering my boys, but before I got near across the meadow I noticed heavy masses of rebles in front and as far down the R.R. as I could see coming through the forest to the support of their retreating hosts, who were soon rallied and came surging back."

The Union front held for a moment, but then began to disintegrate. Soon the 3rd West Virginia stood in the meadow alone, 200 yards from the woods and confronted by an overwhelming Confederate force. Milroy hollered for the West Virginians to fall back, but the rising din made it impossible to be heard. The 3rd continued to push forward to "near the foot of the eminence over which the reble columns...were approaching." Finally, the storm of bullets "convinced...my little regiment that it was time for them to get to the friendly cover of the nearest wood as soon as possible.... The greater part of my unlucky 3rd Va started pell mell for the grove." To cover the retreat Milroy hastened in search of the battery he had recently sent for: "I...knew that if I could get the battery into position on the hill at the edge of the forest which bordered the meadow that I could probably check and drive [the enemy] back with canister." "I met the first gun [one of Hampton's Pennsylvania battery] a 100 yards from the position where I wanted it[.] I hurried it frantically forward to near the edge of the forest." The gunners unlimbered the piece, rammed canister down the tube, and fired, but the first shot had little effect. At the second discharge, though, the aim was better and "it produced a considerable commotion and some tumbling [in] their column." A second gun soon arrived, but it was obvious the guns' positions were precarious without strong infantry support. Milroy hurried in search of some, but his own brigade was by now so scattered as to be useless. He sent word to the artillerymen to withdraw. One gun got away, but the other fell into enemy hands.

Emerging east of the woods with the Confederates in hot pursuit and shells exploding everywhere, Milroy hustled his regiments back to the cover of Union batteries "on a hill near 3/4 of a mile distant." After directing artillery fire for a few moments Milroy reported directly to Pope, informing him of the dismal situation: "If he did not send forward fresh troops and batteries soon the rebles would be on him.... He ordered up a Bgd. of infantry [probably Gibbon's] with other batteries." Subsequently Milroy found Sigel and was ordered to a position "some ½ mile further to the rear." Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, in Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 85-88; Milroy's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 320-21; J. G. Beatty, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, April 3, 1890.

1. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light)

Johnson's battery had been withdrawn earlier in the day. No attempt to show him on the map has been made.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

Arriving on the field about 3 PM, McDowell remained with his troops without reporting directly to Pope for almost two hours. During that time he ordered that his division be put in on the left of Reynolds, this in compliance with the promise he had made Porter earlier. This movement, however, never took place on a large scale. Instead, McDowell received orders to send support to "the line held by Reno." It was at this time that Gibbon was sent to Dogan Ridge.

It was probably shortly before 5 PM that McDowell rode to Buck Hill to meet with Pope. There he informed Pope of the situation in front of Porter (conspicuously failing to mention Buford's 9:30 AM dispatch indicating that a large Confederate force was moving through Gainesville). McDowell and Pope then discussed Kearny's impending attack against the Confederate left, and for a while considered sending McDowell to support it. But the sound of battle to the north indicated that the attack had already begun and was in fact gaining ground on its own. At the same time McDowell received a dispatch from Porter inquiring as to the current situation. McDowell passed the note along to Pope. T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 158-59; McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 339; Stephen Minot Weld's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 29.

A. Hatch's Division: Sullivan, Doubleday, and Patrick Remain in Place While Gibbon Moves to Support the Center

Both Doubleday and Sullivan remained in their places taken earlier, just west of Sudley Road, while Patrick moved only slightly, from near the Conrad house forward to near the "road that runs from Chinn's house [to] the Sudley Springs road," under cover of woods. Letter of J. A. Judson to Porter, May 9, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Doubleday's report, op.cit., p. 369; Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 229.

Gibbon, however, moved his brigade closer to the firing line. Not long after arriving on the field General Gibbon was met by McDowell, who directed him to "hurry forward." Gibbon recorded, "I followed his direction and crossing the pike reached the top of the hill beyond, where I stopped to look around me. Some few troops were in sight and down about a mile in front was a strip of timber from which came the sounds of conflict, musketry, cannon, and cheers." Shortly Brig. Gen. W. L. Elliot of Pope's staff approached Gibbon with orders to "go into position on the hill where I then was to support the several batteries standing there. It then appeared that I was entirely separated from the other parts of the division...." His location was "a few hundred yards" north of the turnpike and a "little west" of Sudley Road. Gibbon, Recollections, p. 61; Gibbon's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 1, p. 555, RG 94, National Archives.

1. Division Artillery: Gerrish's (1st, New Hampshire Light), Monroe's (D, 1st Rhode Island Light), Reynolds' (L, 1st New York Light), and Campbell's (B, 4th U.S.) Batteries

After remaining consolidated on Henry Hill for some time, Hatch's batteries received their assignments. Both Gerrish and Monroe remained on Henry Hill. While there, Captain Monroe put his men through drill to keep their minds off the enemy shells that occasionally fell around them. Reynolds' battery was assigned to Patrick's brigade and took position "in a large open field in the rear, on the left of the road." Campbell in all probability moved with Gibbon's brigade. Monroe, "Battery D," p. 18; Letter of George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

B. Ricketts' Division Marches Toward the Field

Leaving Manassas Junction, Ricketts' division passed northward toward the battlefield. Straggling and frequent stops prevailed, however, and the division made slow progress. Tower's brigade brought up the rear of the column. Tower to Porter, July 16, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

C. Reynolds Holds Position Around the Lewis House

There was little movement in Reynolds' division as it continued to be massed around the Lewis house. The artillery was in the front with Meade's brigade. Meade's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 398.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

From Pope, Heintzelman received orders to press the enemy's left. Pope's report, ibid., p. 39.

A. Kearny Crashes Into the Confederate Left

1. Robinson is Joined By Four Regiments of Birney and Then Attacks

Robinson's regiments, ready to attack, were deployed perpendicular to and astride the unfinished railroad. The 63d Pennsylvania was on the left, its right resting on the excavation. The 105th Pennsylvania was on the 63d's right on the opposite side of the fill, and the 3d Michigan of Poe's brigade was on Robinson's extreme right. The 20th Indiana was in reserve, near the right of the line. Soon Robinson was joined by the 1st, 40th, and 101st New York and the 4th Maine of Birney's brigade, and together the two brigades pushed forward to the attack. Robinson's report, ibid., p. 421; Kate Scott, One Hundred and Fifth Pennsylvania, p. 57.

a. The 63d Pennsylvania Fails to Drive the Confederates from the Unfinished Railroad

The 63d Pennsylvania was posted by Robinson on the left of his line. According to Capt. James Ryan, General Kearny ordered the 63d to lead the advance of the brigade, "proceed up the railroad cut...deploy to the left, our right resting on the railroad, give the enemy a fire and charge them, and endeavor to drive them from their position on the railroad. In doing this we encountered a large force of the enemy rapidly coming down the railroad. Opening fire and then advancing at a charge, a terrible conflict ensued...."

Separated from the rest of the brigade, the 63d endured frightful losses, but nonetheless advanced against the unfinished railroad three times. The regimental historian of the 63d remembered, "The enemy waited until we got close up and then poured such a withering volley into our line that it seemed to shrivel up and reel back. Rapidly rallying, we made another effort to face the iron storm, and again approached close to the rebel line, but the fire was too murderous and we were again compelled to fall back, leaving many of our dead and wounded [behind]. Colonel [Alexander] Hays was severely wounded, having one leg shattered, and compelled to retire. Major [William S.] Kirkwood assumed command of the regiment, and after a short breathing spell we again charged. This time we almost reached their line, but their fire was simply terrible." The enemy's position, wrote Captain Ryan, was "on the opposite side of the railroad, concealed by the ground thrown out from the railroad." Pelted by Confederate fire, the line staggered; Major Kirkwood also fell. Command devolved upon twice-wounded Captain Ryan. To Ryan it was obvious the Confederates could not be driven from their strong position, and after nearly an hour of heavy fighting he ordered the regiment to pull out. 63d Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 424; Hays, Under the Red Patch, pp. 150-51; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 492; Benjamin F. Butterfield's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 884-885; James Tanner, "Corporal Tanner," National Tribune, June 9, 1887.

b. The 105th Pennsylvania Moves Forward

The 105th Pennsylvania was initially on the right of the 63d Pennsylvania. The subsequent course of its advance, however, is difficult to follow due to a lack of primary sources. It is clear that the regiment did not advance in conjunction with the 63d. This is apparent from a claim made by the regimental historian that the regiment "drove the enemy from the railroad embankment and some distance beyond, when [they] rallied, and forced them back across the railroad, where they rallied and checked [them]." Scott, One Hundred and Fifth Pennsylvania, p. 58.

c. The 20th Indiana Acts as Reserve

Of Robinson's regiments, the 20th Indiana was the only one not heavily engaged. At first in support of the right of the line, as the attack got under way the regiment was ordered by Kearny to move to the left. While crossing the embankment, Col. William Brown, commander of the Hoosiers, was killed by an enemy sharpshooter. The regiment continued forward, though, and entered the woods, suffering all the while from a fire that "cut us diagonally." The regiment was helpless to reply, probably because of the large number of friendly troops in front. The 20th continued "on the railroad cut towards a small creek that is there that intersects the railway," where it remained until ordered back. John C. Brown's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 830-31; Erasmus C. Gilbreath, TS History of the 20th Indiana, Indiana State Library; Letter from the 20th Indiana, August 29, 1862, Cincinnati Daily Gazette, September 10, 1862.

2. Four of Birney's Regiments Move Forward With Robinson While Three Remain Out of Action

At Kearny's request, General Birney dispatched four of his regiments to Robinson, already engaged along the unfinished railroad. The 4th Maine and 1st New York were the first sent, followed by the 40th and 101st New York. Birney's men deployed on Robinson's left: the 1st New York immediately behind the 20th Indiana, the 40th New York farther to the left, near Randolph's battery, then the 101st New York, and, after considerable preliminary maneuvering, the 4th Maine. 1st New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 428; 101st New York report, ibid., p. 431; 4th Maine report, ibid., p. 427.

a. The 4th Maine is Initially Driven Back and Then Joins the 40th and 101st New York in a Charge Against the Confederate Line

Col. Elijah Walker of the 4th Maine reported, at 3:30 "I was ordered to report with my regiment at once to General Robinson, who was engaging the enemy in front. We...took the position assigned us by General Robinson in front of the railroad cutting, where we awaited the approach of the enemy, who advanced upon us with a brigade [probably Pender's], under cover of a battery on a hill to our right, which poured so hot an enfilading fire down my line that I caused my men to fall back a short distance. The enemy in a few minutes engaged us, and by his vastly superior numbers succeeded in flanking our left by the time we had fired a few rounds, and so compelled us to fall back." This, retreat, recalled another man, "was executed with considerable confusion."

The regiment had fallen back but a short distance when it met the 40th and 101st New York moving forward. Passing through their lines and reforming behind them, the 4th rallied on the left of the 101st New York. The three regiments pushed resolutely forward. The 4th poured "a terrific storm of bullets upon the retreating rebels for about 20 minutes, when they being reinforced by another brigade," again turned the left of the regiment's line.

Colonel Walker quickly ordered the regiment to move to the right, but finding no other regiments there, he directed his regiment to fall back, which, this time, was done "without confusion." 4th Maine report, ibid., p. 427; Letter of B., September 1, 1862, Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, September 9, 1862.

b. The 1st New York is Under Fire, but Does not Participate in the Attack

In his after-action report Maj. Edwin Burt related, "About 4 o'clock p.m. I was ordered to the front with the 4th Maine, the 1st New York taking the right. The command marched by the left flank across the railroad, and formed in line of battle in rear of the 20th Indiana.... The command was under a heavy fire at this time, but the firing was too high to be effective. After about half an hour the firing ceased in front and commenced on our right and rear, when our position was changed. Facing in that direction we were vigorously shelled by the enemy, but with little effect. A short time after sunset the firing became very heavy on my left, in the direction of the 4th Maine. I sent one of my staff officers to know why there was no reply, and he returned with the reply that they had left their position and that the enemy were advancing. I immediately sent to the front and rear to ascertain where that regiment was, but my messengers both returned with the information that the enemy were filing between me and the reserve of the brigade. Finding myself alone, with only 85 men, I moved by the right flank, crossing the railroad about 150 yards in front of a large force, who could have closed the only place of escape in less than one minute." 1st New York report, op.cit., p. 429.

c. The 40th New York Crosses the Unfinished Railroad to the Right of the 101st New York

Aligned on the right of the 101st New York and, initially, not far from Randolph's Rhode Island battery, the 40th New York moved forward with the rest of Kearny's attacking force. Soon the regiment encountered the Confederates along the unfinished railroad. "They were down in an old railroad cut," recalled Daniel Fletcher. "We expended most of our forty rounds before we got them out, but they had to go. Down in the cut we went after them, over the cut, and up the other side.... After crossing the bank to the other side, we found the enemy's dead very numerous.... At last we began to get short of ammunition, and some of the soldiers were all out, and were taking cartridges from those that had fallen. After we had gone a little distance from the cut I saw the regiment going to the rear...." 101st New York report, ibid., p. 431; Lewis, Battery E, p. 94; Daniel Cooledge Fletcher, Reminiscences of California and the Civil War (Ayer, Mass., 1894), pp. 169-170.

d. The 101st New York Loses Almost 75% of its Men

"Fall in 101st!" yelled Lt. Col. Nelson Gesner to his 101st New York. "Now boys, keep your cool and fire low," he commanded, "Forward, Guide Center, March!" The regiment pushed forward across the open field in front and entered the woods. There they came across "a little line of [wooden] breastworks," passed over them, and formed into line on the left of the 40th New York. At this point General Kearny rode up. "Now boys do your duty!" he told them simply. The New Yorkers sprang ahead through the timber.

Shortly the bullets began to whiz about; the enemy was not far off. "Steady men!" ordered Gesner. "Ready! Aim! Fire!" and the men "began their work in deadly earnest." "After a few minutes," Gesner remembered, "the order was given 'Forward,' and the regiment went on in splendid order, through a heavy fire, at a double-quick. The enemy could not stand the charge, but broke and fled (a few now and then turning to fire). After falling back a short distance they came to a deep cut. Here [the Confederates] attempted to rally, and partially succeeded." According to Theodore Dodge, the fight here was obstinate. "Our cartridges were nearly exhausted," he wrote, "and as the enemy [was] so well entrenched in their well chosen rifle pit [and] showed no sign of giving away, we resorted to cold steel to drive them out."

The New Yorkers rushed forward and rolled over the Southerners, crossing the unfinished railroad where it was "15 feet deep with precipitous sides." "We continued to drive them before us," wrote Gesner, "stopping now and then to fire a volley into them, until we had driven them clean out of the woods into the clear space beyond. Here we received a heavy cross-fire from the left at a distance of about 200 paces. I here turned, and found that my regiment in the charge had got somewhat scattered, and ordered a halt in order to reform. After remaining here half an hour, and continuing to fire upon and receive the fire of the enemy, I found that their fire was increasing and working more to our rear. Not seeing any support on our left, and finding that the combined strength of the 40th and 101st would not amount to over 250 men, I deemed it prudent to retire, and accordingly the command was given, and we fell back in good order, at quick time." Henry E. Ford, History of the One-Hundred and First Regiment (Syracuse, 1898), p. 34; Theodore Dodge, Journal, August 29, 1862, Library of Congress; 101st New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 431; E. N. Lamont, "Second Battle of Bull Run," Philadelphia Weekly Times, March 1, 1984; Letter of Henry Ford, September 4, 1862, Syracuse Daily Standard, September 9, 1862; Letter of D. B. Van Lyke, Quiner, "Correspondence" Vol. 2, p. 300.

e. The 3rd Maine Supports Randolph's Guns

After spending much of the day in support of Graham's battery, about 4 PM the 3rd Maine was ordered to follow Randolph's guns "down the road to the right." Maj. Moses Lakeman deployed six of his companies in support of the guns, and sent the remaining four companies "further to the right and on the advance at the brick church as scouts and supports for the pickets." 3rd Maine report, op.cit., p. 426; Moses Lakeman's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 881.

f. The 38th New York Acts as Support

Later in the afternoon Col. J. H. Hobart Ward was ordered to move his 38th New York to "an advanced position on an eminence in front and to hold it. While occupying this position a section of Randolph's battery was ordered to take position on my right and open fire on the enemy in the woods in front. The enemy immediately replied with a most terrific fire for a half hour.... The regiment remained in this position until relieved by a regiment of Ricketts' division the next morning." 38th New York report, op.cit., p. 430.

g. The 57th Pennsylvania

The 57th Pennsylvania remained in position. William Birney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 663.

3. With the Exception of the 3d Michigan, Poe's Brigade Holds Position

After sending the 3d Michigan to Birney, the remainder of Poe's regiments were held in their positions taken earlier, on the extreme right of the Union line. Poe's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 434.

a. The 3d Michigan Joins Birney and Drives the Confederates Back

Ordered to join Birney, the 3d Michigan had been at the front only a short time when it was ordered, with the 105th Pennsylvania and 20th Indiana, "to cross the railroad and attack the advancing [Confederate] column." They did so, but in the process lost contact with the 105th and 20th. Nonetheless the Michiganders pushed on and "drove the enemy from their positions." But without support on either flank, it was impossible to sustain the advance, and it ground to a halt and then faded backwards. Letter of Josephus, September 1, 1862, Detroit Free Press, September 7, 1862.

4. Division Artillery

a. Graham's Battery (K, 1st U.S.)

There is nothing extant that indicates that Graham played any role in Kearny's attack.

b. Randolph (E, 1st Rhode Island) Moves Forward and Supports Kearny

A member of Randolph's battery, George Lewis, remembered, "About 4 PM our battery was ordered to advance and hold itself ready for action. Accordingly we moved slowly forward upon the Manassas and Sudley Spring road, which ran through the woods towards the extreme right. After passing through the woods we came to an open field which was skirted on the south and east by woodland. The unfinished railroad...ran diagonally across our front on the north and west of this open space. A hollow ran through the field parallel with the unfinished railroad. The western part of this hollow is where we went into battery and immediately commenced firing. This at once drew upon us a rapid fire from a battery on our front.... After a short time another long range battery of the enemy opened upon us from a point farther to the left.... This engagement lasted about half an hour. Although sharp and severe, only one man was killed...."

Randolph had been moved forward to support Kearny. Lewis wrote, "The assault was made by Birney's and Robinson's brigades, the 40th New York being on our immediate left. Our battery was supported by six companies of the 3rd Maine." Lewis, Battery E, p. 95.

B. Hooker's Division Tumbles Back

1. Grover's Battered Men Take Refuge Behind the Line

After reforming in the field, with its left resting on a "detached clump of bushes, an acre or so in extent," Grover's brigade continued rearward to Dogan Ridge, thence still farther back, not far from the Stone House. Here the men received much needed rest. Haynes, Second New Hampshire, p.135; Perkins, Diary, August 29, 1862.

2. Taylor Takes Position But is Soon Driven Back by a Tide of Retreating Northerners and Pursuing Southerners

Sent to relieve Carr, Taylor moved forward into the woods "to within about 15 paces of the line" in front. There the general halted his ranks and dressed his line. "Having everything in readiness," reported Taylor, "I gave the order to advance. The line had advanced but a few steps when the left was struck with such violence by a regiment (which continued the line to the left) which had broken that the [71st New York], which was on the left of the brigade line, was almost carried away with it. I hastily rode to this part of the line...and endeavored to stay this disgraceful retreat, but it was in vain; the tide could not be stemmed. On they rushed over and through my line perfectly panic stricken, breaking and carrying away with them the left of my line. The enemy seeing this[,] charged after them. I then endeavored to throw back my line to give the enemy a flank fire. This I found...impracticable, the wood being too dense to execute the movement. By this time the enemy had availed themselves of the large interval opened on my left and poured through in large numbers, and had got 50 or 60 paces in my rear, giving my line an enfilading and reverse fire. They, however, soon ceased firing, as they were so mixed up as to endanger their own men; they then commenced taking prisoners. Finding my line completely flanked and turned, and in danger of being entirely cut off, I gave the order to fall back, which was done in as good order as could be, situated as we were." During the retreat the colors of one of the left regiments was captured by Stafford's Confederates. The retreat of the right of the brigade was shielded by some of Kearny's men, probably just heading into battle. Taylor rallied the regiments along the edge of the woodline, and, once order was restored, sent skirmishers back into the wood to reclaim the former line. They remained until relieved. Taylor's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 445; 70th, 72d New York report, ibid., pp. 447, 451; Taylor to T. C. H. Smith, no date, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Willard Bullard's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 704; William Conway's Testimony, ibid., p. 808; Letter of William Campbell Wiley, September 4, 1862, Pennsylvania State University.

3. Carr is Relieved by Nagle and Taylor

At 4 PM the first elements of Colonel Carr's relief arrived, Nagle's brigade. Nagle was soon followed by Taylor, and at last Carr was able to pull his men off the firing line. They had proceeded rearward only a short distance when Nagle and Taylor came tumbling back toward the rear posthaste. Most of the Carr's regiments escaped unscathed, but on the left of the line the 5th and 8th New Jersey were forced to face about and make a stand. Reported Lt. Col. William Sewell of the 5th, "A part of the 8th New Jersey, with their colors, formed on my left, The enemy, having turned the left flank of the entire line of battle, came out in the open field to my left, and immediately after I received their fire from the front, which I returned, driving them from our immediate vicinity, and then marched to join the brigade." Carr's Testimony, op.cit., p. 798; 5th New Jersey report, op.cit., p. 457; 8th New Jersey report, ibid., p. 462; Bellard, Gone For a Soldier, p. 140.

4. McGilvery (6th, Maine Light) Supports Kearny

McGilvery's guns fired in support of Kearny's attack, and, according to one man, "by their well directed fire caused a panic in the rebel ranks, which Kearny, taking advantage of, rushed upon the foe...." Kearny later came out of the woods, complimenting McGilvery, "Sir, you are wasting no ammunition; you are throwing your shell right into them. Keep up your firing...." Letter of E. B. Dow, September 6, 1862, Portland Daily Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

To his distant right Porter could hear the rumble of Pope's guns. Without intelligence from headquarters his only means of judging the battle brewing to the north was by the sound of those guns. By 4 PM Porter concluded that the firing was receding; he feared Pope was falling back. Thus, he wrote to McDowell:

> I found it impossible to communicate by crossing the woods to Groveton. The enemy are in strong force on this road, and, as they appear to have driven our forces back, the firing of [the] enemy having advanced and ours retired I have determined to withdraw to Manassas. I have attempted to communicate with McDowell and Siegel [sic], but my messengers have run into the enemy. They have gathered artillery and cavalry and infantry, and the advancing masses of dust show the enemy coming in force. I am now going to the head of the column to see what is passing and how affairs are going. Had you not better send your train back?

Upon going to the front, however, Porter found that the firing to the right seemed to have faded away altogether, and so he reevaluated his decision to retreat. Porter to King and McDowell, August 29, 1862; Porter, Narrative, p. 27.

Porter soon received a verbal report that the enemy was becoming more demonstative in his front. He quickly sent word to Morell to "Hold on, if you can to your present place," as well as a request for more information. Porter soon received a dispatch from Colonel Marshall of the 13th New York, on the skirmish line:

> The enemy must be in much larger force than I can see, from the commands of the officers, I should judge a brigade. They are endeavoring to come in on our left, and have been advancing. Have also heard the noise on the left as the movement of artillery. Their advance is quite close.

Morell endorsed this note by advising Porter, "I think we had better retire." Porter, Narrative, p. 28; Porter to Morell, no date, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 734; Marshall to Morell, endorsed to Porter, no date, ibid.

Throughout his trial and retrial Porter insisted that no orders for a withdrawal were ever issued to his line commanders, yet there is some evidence to indicate that Morell in fact did withdraw at least part of his command, Griffin's brigade, from the front. The circumstances surrounding this withdrawal by Griffin are obscure, though it appears that it occured about 5:30, and, if Porter is to be believed, without the corps commander's knowledge. Griffin's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p 163; Porter, Narrative, pp. 32-33.

But it was soon obvious that the enemy harbored no real intention of attacking Morell's position. So instead Porter decided to put out some feelers. He directed Morell:

> I have all within reach of you. I wish you to give the enemy a good shelling without wasting ammunition, and push at the same time a party over to see what is going on. We cannot retire while McDowell holds his own.

Wrote Porter, "This movement, however, was abandoned because our threatening attitude proved sufficient to hold the enemy to our front, which was the object to be accomplished." Porter to Morell, no date, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 735; Porter, Narrative. p. 29.

Meanwhile Porter waited impatiently for news from the battlefield, but none came. At 6 PM he sent another plea for guidance to McDowell:

> Failed in getting Morell over to you. After wandering through the woods for a time I withdrew him, and while doing so artillery opened on us. My scouts could not get through. Each one found the enemy between us, and I believe some have been captured.... Please communicate the way this messenger came. I have no cavalry or messengers now. Please let me know your designs; whether you retire or not. I cannot get water and am out of provisions. Have lost a few men from infantry firing.

Porter to McDowell, August 29, 1862, Porter, Narrative, pp. 76-77.

A. Morell and Sykes Remain in Place

There was little activity in these two divisions beyond the rather mysterious withdrawal of Griffin's brigade shortly after 5 PM. This withdrawal was apparently initiated by Morell's orders—for what purpose is unknown. As Griffin moved southeastward toward Manassas Junction he encountered Warren's brigade heading in the opposite direction. Warren joined Griffin's movement for "about 200 yards," and then both met an orderly with a dispatch for Morell. In a 5:45 PM note to Sykes, Colonel Warren summarized the situation:

> I received an order from Mr. Cutting to advance and support Morell. I faced about and did so. I soon met Griffin's brigade, withdrawing by order of Morell, who was not pushed out, but returning. I faced about and marched back 200 yards or so. I met then an orderly, from General Porter to General Morell, saying he must push on and press the enemy; that all was going well for us, and he was returning. Griffin then faced about; and I am following him to support General Morell, as ordered. None of the batteries are closed up to me.

Meanwhile Hazlett's battery continued a desultory fire in front, while the 13th New York kept up its stream of information from the skirmish line. Morell's

Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 146; Griffin's Testimony, ibid., p. 163; Warren to Sykes, 5:45 PM August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 733.

B. Piatt's Brigade

After returning to the front, Piatt remained there, across the railroad from Griffin's brigade. Piatt's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 3, p. 982

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division

1. Christ Evacuates the Unfinished Railroad

The 50th Pennsylvania of Christ's brigade remained along the unfinished railroad much of the afternoon. One man of the 50th wrote, "Our regiment laid there some two hours without seeing a rebel, but all this time the fight was raging furiously on our left, and further up the woods. At last the bullets came whistling around our own ears...from the rear. The truth was that some of the regiments on our left [Nagle's and Taylor's] had broken, and the enemy had outflanked us, and got in our rear. At the same time those in front of us had begun to show themselves.... For a moment there was confusion.... The enemy in our rear could not be seen as they were in thick woods behind us, and those in front alone could have been our match. At this moment Colonel Christ came galloping up and ordered the whole line to [go] forward over the bank. The men thought they were to charge...and started with a cheer...as they went over the bank. Colonel Christ's intention, however, was to pass around the point of woods, and thus get us out.... And when we got down the hill or bank, he gave the command 'Right Flank!' but owing to the noise of the musketry and the cheers of our own men, half of them did not hear the command...and ran a considerable distance before they perceived their mistake. Our lines were broken and we came out of the woods in anything but good military order." After pulling out of the woods, the brigade joined the rest of the division. Letter of W. H. M., September 9, 1862, Pottsville [Penn.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862; Daniel Leasure, "Address by Colonel Daniel Leasure," Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Minnesota Commandery, Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle (St. Paul, 1887), p. 164.

2. Leasure Joins Kearny and Assaults the Unfinished Railroad

It was about 5 PM that Colonel Leasure received orders to move his command from his position near the Dogan House to the right and cooperate with General Kearny in an attack being made there. As the brigade moved across the meadow toward Kearny, remembered Hazard Stevens, "I saw a large number of troops running in some disorder from the woods and scattering across the fields." (These were probably Nagle's and Taylor's men.) Soon Stevens reported to Kearny that his command, the 100th Pennsylvania (the Roundheads) and 46th New York, was present. "Will these men fight?" asked Kearny. Stevens bristled at the insinuation: "By God, General Kearny, these are my Roundheads!" "Who commands them?" said Kearny. Stevens indicated toward Colonel Leasure, and Kearny was quickly by Leasure's side, pointing toward the enemy's position. "That is your line of advance," he instructed, "and sweep everything before you. Look out for your left; I'll take care of your right."

Leasure quickly sent orders to the 100th Pennsylvania to deploy skirmishers, and Company A was designated. He also sent for a company of the 46th New York, but Stevens stopped him. "Send none but Roundheads," he said. Instead Company B of the 100th was brought forward. Leasure recalled, I instructed [the skirmishers] to move very cautiously about 50 paces in front of my line of battle, not firing as they went, but keeping a sharp lookout till they unmasked the enemy, and then deliver a fire by volley, and fall back to their places in line to assist in the charge.... The ground in front of us had at first a gradual descent through an open space hidden from view of the enemy, but after crossing the ground ascended slightly, and then came level in a rather dense piece of forest, but not encumbered with underbrush. We soon came under the enemy's fire, and then the artillery in our rear opened its thunders, and the shot and shell shrieked over our heads."

The skirmishers, meanwhile, moved into the timber and contacted the enemy. They halted, were shortly joined by the main line, and took their positions therein. "And then," Leasure recounted, "according to my teaching for such occasions, the front rank poured in a volley, and an instant after[,] the rear rank fired by volley.... The fire now became fearful through the whole extent of the enemy's line, which far overlapped me on my left; but finding that I was advancing with my left too fast, I ordered a mounted officer...to swing my right around till it rested on a large tree I pointed out." The mounted officer, though, was too frightened to accomplish anything, and sat there dumbstruck by the horror around him. General Stevens rode up and offered to Colonel Leasure that he would swing his line around for him. He did, and now Leasure's line faced the Confederates squarely.

A deceptive lull in the firing followed. Leasure found out from one of Kearny's staff officers that the "enemy were in a railroad cut not fifty paces in my front." Leasure remembered, "At that instant the fire reopened with

Map 7, 4-6 p.m. August 29th, Union

great effect, and I ordered an advance." Spreading the word amidst the din was difficult, however, and it was a few moments before the line started. Leasure continued, "The whole line moved forward...until the cut was reached, and pouring in all the fire they had, the line charged and the cut was ours. In a few minutes we could see new troops forming on the heights in front of us, for all was clear in that direction, and down they came, three lines of battle deep, just as we had seen them move on General Milroy a little while before...and General Stevens told me not to hold on much longer, and he would go back and be in readiness to halt and re-form the line as it came back. We now opened fire with all the force we could, and the enemy halted and returned our fire."

Leasure was soon wounded, and with ammunition in the 100th almost expended, he gave the order to fall back. The bleeding colonel lingered briefly on the spot, watching the Confederates move forward—"as if on parade," he said—and then with those few men around him he moved back through the woods. On the far edge he found General Stevens rallying the men. Soon the remainder of Stevens' brigades came up and the entire division formed to resist a counter-attack, but it never came. Leasure, "Address," pp. 159-64; Stevens, Stevens, p. 458; Hazard Stevens' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 343; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 3, p. 557; Andrew Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 22, 1862, Andrew Morrison Papers, Huntington Library; Letter of R. W. Gealey to the Editor of The Courant, 1885, M. Gyla McDowell Collection, Pennsylvania State University; Letter of John McKee, September 6, 1862, The Lawrence [Penn.] Journal, September 13, 1862.

3. Farnsworth Withdraws

After remaining at the front for several hours, Farnsworth withdrew his men "across the open field, to a belt of woods, where line was established for the night." Contrary to this, Daniel Leasure states that when his brigade fell back out of the woods after their attack, the other brigades of Stevens' division, including Farnsworth, came forward to support him. Todd, Seventy-ninth New York, p. 200; Leasure, "Address," p, 164.

4. Benjamin (E, 2d U.S.) Moves to Dogan Ridge

Before the Schofield board, Benjamin testified that after remaining on Chinn Ridge for some time he moved his two remaining guns to Dogan Ridge and from there reopened fire. Benjamin's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 607.

B. Reno's Division

1. Nagle Pierces the Confederate Line

After entering the woods in rear of Carr's brigade, Colonel Nagle halted his line briefly while final dispositions for the attack were made. Colonel Carr's men, meanwhile, left the firing line. Nagle resumed the advance, and as the line pushed through the timber the two front regiments, the 2d Maryland on the right, and 6th New Hampshire on the left, obliqued to the right and left respectively, and opened an interval that the 48th Pennsylvania quickly filled. Abreast of each other, the three regiments moved toward the Confederate line. 6th New Jersey report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 459; Carr's report, ibid., p. 455; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 3, p. 1193; Letter of Henry Pleasants, September 4, 1862, Pottsville [Penn.] Miner's Journal, 13, 1862.

a. The 6th New Hampshire Moves on the Left of the Brigade

The order given to the 6th New Hampshire was to "move forward and clear the woods of rebels." Company C quickly deployed as skirmishers and pushed through the timber. Soon the company came upon the Confederates, only 70 yards away, and as the rest of the regiment moved up, the skirmishers rallied on the right. Lyman Jackman, regimental historian of the 6th, recalled that as the skirmishers fell back into the ranks, "the firing became brisk. The enemy had wisely chosen their fighting ground.... But they fell back as we pressed forward, firing as fast as we could and as often as we could get sight of the 'gray-backs.' We felt that we were driving them; but perhaps we hurried too much, and therefore did less execution than we should have done had we moved more slowly. Suddenly we received a terrific volley, which seemed to come from the ground just in front of us. The colonel ordered us to charge, which we did with a will, and came out upon the brink of a railroad cut... in which the rebels had taken position, the embankment making a good breastwork for them. We poured into them such a volley that they got out of their hiding-place on the double-quick, and retreated to the clearing and woods beyond. From the course of the railroad cut and that of our march the left of our regiment had struck the cut first. We moved into it and across it, supposing that the 48th Pennsylvania was on our left all the time...."

The 48th Pennsylvania was in fact on the right of the 6th; The Hampshiremen's left was entirely exposed. "Soon," wrote Jackman, "the shots came thick from the bushes to the left, and some of the boys thought at first that the 48th was firing into us by mistake." Col. Simon Griffin sent Capt.

Henry Pearson back to investigate. In a letter home Pearson recounted, "As I approached the ditch I heard loud cheering on the other side and thought we were about to be supported. But as a number of bullets whizzed by my ears I quickened my pace to inform them that we were ahead. Mounting the opposite side of the ditch the bullets flew by me so thick that I quickly jumped back again and peeping up over the bank could hardly trust my eyes when I saw yellow legs standing as thick as wheat not more than 25 paces from the ditch. I instantly called to the Reg[iment] to retreat to the ditch[,] which was done at a run. Taking a second look to see if I could see a flag I saw one, their battle flag, with a red cross worked into it, and a swarm of rebels following it at double quick towards our left, as we were now faced, to surround us. The Col. still doubted whether it could be rebels [and] took our flag and waved it above the ditch. It was instantly riddled with bullets." This, wrote Jackman, "convinced him that the stars and stripes had no friends in that quarter."

The Confederates threatened to the regiment off; Colonel Griffin gave the order to retreat toward the right, quickly. "...Every man not killed or wounded took to the woods and the rear as fast as his legs would carry him," wrote Jackman. The enemy hurried in the New Englanders' rear, capturing the wounded, and what was left of the regiment tumbled out into the field where it rallied on the 2d New York of Carr's brigade. Later, it returned to its original jump-off point. The regiment had lost 210 out of 452 engaged. Jackman, Sixth New Hampshire, pp. 79-82; Letter of Henry H. Pearson, September 5, 1862, in possession of Lewis Leigh, Fairfax, Virginia; Otis F. R. Waite, New Hampshire in the Great Rebellion (Claremont, N.H., 1870), p. 318.

b. The 48th Pennsylvania Advances in the Center of the Brigade

Moving toward the woods, the 48th Pennsylvania followed the 6th New Hampshire and the 2d Maryland by 50 paces. Oliver Bosbyshell recalled in a post-battle letter, "The wood was skirted by a fence which we had scarcely crossed...when bang! bang! whiz! whiz! and the battle commenced." Writing after the war Bosbyshell continued, "The battalions in front obliquing to the right and left permitted the 48th to advance, which it did promptly, occupying the intervening space, when it opened a destructive fire upon the enemy. The regiment advanced firing for about a quarter of a mile, when Lieutenant-Colonel Sigfried halted it, commanded 'cease firing,' [and] ordered an advance with bayonets.... The movement was executed in good style, the enemy being driven out of two ditches, one of them being an old railroad cut [the other probably being the Groveton-Sudley Road], a position the rebels had not been dislodged from by either the troops engaged at this before the 48th reached it, or after the regiment retired. Receiving a volley of musketry from the rear, and supposing that some of the Union troops were firing by mistake, the 48th was ordered to the nearest ditch, and the firing to the front was resumed. The fire now poured into the 6th New Hampshire and 48th from front, left, and rear, was most terrific.... At last rebel regiments made their appearance, advancing on the left and rear of the 48th.

Colonel Nagle was incredulous that the enemy could be in his brigade's rear; he sent two officers to check. They reported back that in fact the enemy was in the rear. "As soon as [this was] discovered," Bosbyshell went on, "the left companies of the regiment faced about and opened a lively fire on them. The contest was too unequal to last, the raking cross fire poured into the command from the front, left, and rear, [leaving] but one course to pursue, a retreat by the right flank, an order Colonel Sigfried gave, and one the regiment promptly executed, returning fire for fire, retiring in rear of the approaching New York Excelsior Brigade" (Taylor's). The regiment, though, was scattered, and did not rally until it had left the woods. There, after a lapse, it was relieved by two regiments of Ferrero's brigade. James Wren, Diary, August 29, 1862, Antietam National Battlefield Library; Letter of O. C. B. [Oliver C. Bosbyshell], September 3, 1862, and Letter of Henry C. Pleasants, September 4, 1862, Pottsville [Penn.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862; Unknown Letter, September 3, 1862, ibid., September 6, 1862; Bosbyshell, Forty-eighth, pp. 65-66; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 1193; Joseph Gould, The Story of the Forty-eighth (n.p., 1908), pp. 66-67.

c. The 2d Maryland

Beyond the fact that the 2d Maryland was on the right of Nagle's line, little is known of the Marylanders' activities during the attack. It is apparent from the casualty reports that it fought as heavily as the rest of the brigade. Bosbyshell, Forty-eighth, p. 65; O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 261.

2. Ferrero Moves Two Regiments Forward to the Edge of the Woods, But Does Not Become Engaged

It was about 6 PM when General Ferrero received orders to, as he wrote, move "forward a half mile to support General Stevens' brigade," then fighting in the woods. Ferrero took the 21st Massachusetts and 51st New York, leaving the 51st Pennsylvania to support Durell's battery. Charles Walcott of the 21st recorded, "We were within fifty yards of the edge of the slaughter-place when General Reno ordered a halt, and dictated a hurried message for one of his staff to carry to General Pope, protesting against this reckless sacrifice of an unsupported brigade; but before the officer had gone a dozen steps [he] recalled him and went himself. The sun was just going down as he returned, and withdrew the brigade: the protest of the true little soldier had changed the hopeless plan of the reckless braggart who commanded the army, and we thanked God that General Reno stood between us and General Pope. We withdrew about 100 yards to rest on our arms for the night." Ferrero's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 3, p. 277, RG 94, National Archives; Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 144; George C. Parker to "Dear Mother Stone," October 15, 1862, George C. Parker Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Parker, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, pp. 210-211; Andrew Fowler to his Parents, September 4, 1862, Andrew L. Fowler, Memoirs of the Late Andrew L. Fowler of the 51st N.Y.V... (New York, 1863), p. 56; Jerome M. Loving, ed., Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman (Durham, 1975), p. 60.

3. Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light)

Durell remained in position. Cuffell, Durell's Battery, p. 64; Letter of C. C., September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Penn.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862.

VII. Cavalry Commands

The cavalry continued to play no role in the flow of events. Bayard's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 91; 1st Maryland Cavalry report, ibid., p. 273; S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888.

Map #7, 4-6 PM, August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Lee's concern about the force approaching his right was soon eased. It became apparent that the force there was neither large enough nor belligerent enough to cause any great difficulty. So, Lee again approached Longstreet about an attack down the turnpike against the Union left. Longstreet was sympathetic to the idea, but felt that the hour of the day was too late for an attack to achieve decisive success. Postpone the attack until daylight, Longstreet recommended, and use the remaining hours of daylight for a reconnaissance in force. Lee hedged at the idea momentarily, but then agreed. Hood's division was designated to carry out the reconnaissance. Longstreet, *From Manassas...*, pp. 183-184; Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," pp. 519-20.

II. Longstreet's Wing

It was not long after bringing Wilcox's division around to the right in support of Jones that Longstreet decided that the force approaching from Manassas warranted no such precaution on his part. Old Pete reported to Lee "that the column was hardly strong enough to mean aggressive work." Lee then expressed his desire that Longstreet launch the long awaited attack down the turnpike. "Though more than anxious to meet his wishes," Longstreet wrote, "I suggested, as the day was far spent, that a reconnoissance[sic] in force be made at nightfall to the immediate front of the enemy, and if an opening was found for an entering wedge, that we would have all things in readiness at daylight for a good day's work. After a moment's hesitation he assented, and orders were given for the advance at early twilight." Longstreet, *From Manassas...*, p. 183; Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 520.

A. D. R. Jones' Division

Jones' three brigades remained in their earlier assigned positions. D. R. Jones' report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 579; Charles Williams to Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

B. Wilcox Moves To Support Jones, then is Ordered Back to the Left

It was after 4 PM that Wilcox got his division in motion toward the right of Longstreet's line to support Jones. Forming up several hundred yards behind Jones' men, Wilcox rested the right of his line near, but not quite on, the Manassas Gap Railroad. There he remained for probably two hours, unengaged and out of sight of the enemy. Wilcox to Porter, April 25, 1871, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Wilcox's report, op.cit., p. 598; Wilcox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 265-66.

C. Hood's Division

1. Hood's Brigade Remains in Place

The Texas Brigade remained in position with its left resting on the turnpike. Hood's report, op.cit., p. 605.

2. Law Moves Forward in Conjunction with Stafford and Johnson

In his after action report Law wrote, "The fire of the artillery and skirmishers continued almost without cessation until near 4 p.m., when heavy musketry on my left announced an attack of the enemy on General Jackson's position. Soon after this attack commenced a brigade of General Jackson's command [actually two—Stafford's and Johnson's] moved out of the wood on my left, drove the enemy from his position on the ridge to the left of the hamlet of Groveton, and captured a piece of artillery posted there. I immediately moved my line forward as far as Groveton, where it was halted in line with the troops to my left." Law's report, ibid., p. 623.

3. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding)

After withdrawing Bachman and Reilly from the ridge northeast of Brawner's, Frobel kept his artillery out of action the remainder of the day. Frobel's report, ibid., p. 607; Letter of W. K. Bachman (no date), Charleston Courier, September 17, 1862.

D. Evans' Brigade

Evans' men continued to enjoy a quiet afternoon. Holcombe's Legion report, op.cit., p. 630.

E. Kemper's Division

The three brigades of Kemper's division remained in place during this period. Corse's report, ibid., p. 626; Hagood, MS "Memoirs," pp. 66-67.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

During the late afternoon hours there was very little activity among any of Longstreet's batteries. A section of Squires' battery continued to harrass the Federals from near the Brawner House, and Miller's battery of the Washington Artillery moved to the right with Wilcox's division, but did not become engaged. Walton's report, op.cit., p. 571; Owen, Washington Artillery, pp. 117-18.

III. Jackson's Wing

It was shortly after 4 PM that General Jackson received a grim report from Hill's front. Ammunition among one of Hill's brigades (probably Gregg's) was almost gone. Details were out searching the dead and wounded for extra cartridges, but if Hill were attacked again the result would be very much in question. Jackson responded to the messenger bearing the news simply, "Tell him if they attack him again he must beat them." Jackson then rode toward Hill's position and met Hill along the way. "General," Jackson said to him, "your men have done nobly; if you are attacked again you will beat the enemy back." At that moment the sound of gunfire rattled along Hill's front. "Here it comes," Hill said as he quickly rode off. Jackson yelled after him, "I'll expect you to beat them." Henry Kyd Douglas, I Rode With Stonewall (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 138.

A. Starke's Division: Johnson and Stafford Lunge Forward, Capture a Union Gun and Help Route Nagle's and Taylor's Federals

1. Baylor's Brigade Participates in the Union Repulse but does not Pursue

Capt. J. B. Evans of the 4th Virginia reported that Baylor's men spent much of the afternoon maneuvering about, "and finally took position behind a fence not far from the old railroad, where a body of enemy were seen advancing in front. They being soon driven back, the 4th, with the brigade, was marched to the rear and remained until morning." The bivouac, remembered another of the brigade, was in "the woods." 4th Virginia, 27th Virginia, 33d Viriginia reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 662, 663, 664; Robert McEldowney's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 895.

2. Johnson Assists in Driving the Federals Back

Up to this point Johnson's Virginians had passed the day rather quietly, laying upon their arms along the woodline behind the unfinished railroad. Skirmishers were posted along the excavation for observation. The silence of the afternoon was shattered shortly after 4 PM. Colonel Johnson reported, "In the afternoon the enemy carried the embankment to my left, and while I was trying to rally some men not of my command[,] [the enemy] came close on me and between my command and the railroad cut. The men were lying down at the time in ranks, concealed, and unexpected. I ordered a charge, and with a yell the Second Brigade went through them, shattering, breaking, and routing them. The struggle was brief, but not a man faltered, and with closed ranks their rush was irresistible. They drove the enemy into the railroad cut and out of it."

At that point Colonel Stafford brought up his Louisianans and together the two brigades "went after the fleeing foe." "In a skirt of woods in front" a Federal battery—Hampton's—was hurrying into position to cover the retreat. The Virginians laid their sights on it and dashed forward and captured one of the guns. Johnson's men also scooped up the National Colors of one of Taylor's regiments. In the Groveton Woods the pursuit peetered out. Johnson and Stafford remained for a short while and then returned to the cover of the unfinished railroad. Johnson's report, op.cit., pp. 665-66; Worsham, One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry, p. 129.

3. A. G. Taliaferro's Brigade

As before, there is no source material available to specifically delineate Taliaferro's role in the fighting of August 29. It can only be assumed that he continued to hold the right of Starke's line.

4. Stafford Joins Johnson in the Pursuit of the Federals

Stafford's men rested quietly to the right of Johnson's brigade until shortly after 4 PM. At that time the Federals achieved a breakthrough farther to the left. Colonel Johnson quickly mobilized his men to drive the Federals back, and Stafford followed suit. Soon the two brigades were pushing forward. Pvt. A. L. Slack of the 2d Louisiana recalled, "...The cry 'Forward' rang along our lines, and we advanced and ran almost into the Yankees, who, giving us a deadly volley, fell back rapidly across a field into the woods beyond, where a battery, supported by a swarm of troops, was posted. Nothing checked us. Under a withering fire of minies and canister we pressed on, Bradley T. Johnson riding ahead, with his sword run through his hat, waving us on, until we waved him out of our line of fire. When we arrived within about one hundred yards of the battery the line was halted, and under this raking fire the alignment was corrected.... Not a man faltered. Again 'Forward!' and we drove straight for the guns."

The Louisianans pushed ahead, scattered the battery's supports, and captured one of the guns. (The Confederate accounts are consistent and incessant regarding the fact that Johnson and Stafford captured two Federal guns. The Federal accounts suggest, however, that only one gun—of Hampton's battery—was captured. If indeed a second Union gun was captured, the battery to which it belonged is unknown.) The brigade lingered along with Johnson's men in the woods for a short while, and then returned to its former position behind the unfinished railroad. A. L. Slack, "A War Waif in the Army," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 2 (1894), p. 13; Stafford's report, op.cit., p. 668; Johnson's report, ibid., p. 665-666; Thomas Rice, MS "Historical Memoranda, Company E Montgomery Guards, First Regiment, Louisiana Volunteers, Stark's 2d La Brigade, Johnson's Division, Jackson's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia of Confederate States of America," extracts in Manassas NBP Library; Napier Bartlett, Military Record of Lousiana (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 31.

5. Division Artillery (Shumaker's Battalion)

Shumaker's guns remained quiet along the right of Jackson's line. Moore, Cannoneer, p. 120.

B. Hill Struggles to Hold the Confederate Left

1. Branch Sends Regiments to Support the Length of Hill's Line

a. 37th, 7th, and 33d North Carolina

To his wife General Branch wrote, "General Gregg's brigade was on my right. He had repulsed an attack on his line, and was again furiously assailed by a fresh column. Seeing that the enemy were concentrating their efforts at that point I extended my line so as to place one of my regiments (the 37th [North Carolina]) behind him, and informed him I would support him if he should need it. In a few minutes General Gregg's brigade came back retreating and the enemy in close pursuit. General Gregg then asked me for support. I ordered Colonel [Willam M.] Barbour to advance with the 37th and to assail the enemy on meeting them. Without halting I ran across the [Groveton-Sudley] road, under a hailstorm of shot, for another regiment. The 7th was nearest. Calling for Colonel [Edward G.] Haywood I learned that he was already wounded, and calling for the 7th to follow me I led it to the support of the 37th." Letter of Branch, in Lane, "History of Lane's Brigade (Conclusion)," p. 243.

James Harris, regimental historian for the 7th North Carolina, remembered that Branch placed himself at the head of the regiment and it "moved obliquely to the right about 300 yards, and encountered the enemy's seemingly over-confident forces, before which part of Gregg's S. C. brigade was yielding ground. Owing to the smoke which enveloped the field our regiment approached unobserved within easy range [of] the enemy's flank, and by well directed vollies of 'buck and ball' broke his line." The enemy soon came on in even greater strength, however, and Branch's men were again pushed to the limit during "a stubborn fight." Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 19.

The 33d North Carolina, meanwhile, fought "in the woods to the left of these regiments." Lane's report, O.R. Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 676.

b. The 18th and 28th North Carolina

Both the 18th and 28th North Carolina were sent into the fight farther to the right, near Field's and Archer's brigades. According to one man of the 18th, the regiment "was sent to A. P. Hill's right, to the support of Archer's and a Louisiana Brigade [Forno's], which occupied a railroad cut. The 18th fought in the open oak woods immediately in their rear, and when the attack was repulsed, we could not charge and follow them." Clark, North Carolina Regiments, Vol. 2, pp. 30-31.

The 28th, according to Colonel Lane, was the last of Branch's regiments to become engaged. "...As the other regiments [of the brigade] were out of ammunition," Lane wrote, "General Branch ordered [the 7th] to join him, intending to make it cover his front. The order was not delivered properly, and the regiment went into action to the left of General Field's Brigade. It advanced boldly into the woods, driving the enemy before it, although exposed to a left enfilade and a direct fire, but fell back when it found itself alone in the woods and unsupported. The men, however, rallied and reformed in the center of the open field and advanced a second time, when the enemy was not only driven beyond the cut, but entirely out of the woods." Lane's report, op.cit., p. 676.

2. Archer Relieves Pender and Immediately Becomes Engaged

Of his activities that evening Archer reported, "About 4 p.m., during an interval of the assaults of the enemy, General Pender sent his aide-de-camp, requesting me to relieve him, and with the consent of General Hill, who was near me at the time, I immediately marched down and filed to the right into the railroad cut. As my leading files entered the railroad cut I perceived the enemy advancing up it from the left into the wood. Unwilling to commence the fight until my troops were in position, I did not call their attention to the enemy until half my last regiment (Colonel Peter Turney's, 1st Tennessee) had entered the cut. I then pointed out the enemy on the left and ordered that regiment to fire, which it did with great effect. The first fire of this regiment was instantly answered by a furious assault upon my whole front. At this time my own brigade was the only one in sight along the whole line, but for twenty minutes or more it firmly and gallantly resisted the attack and maintained its position until other troops came on my right and left in time to save me from being flanked. Soon after the arrival of these fresh troops [probably part of Branch's brigade] we charged and drove the enemy back several hundred yards, and then quietly returned to our position. In a few minutes fresh forces of the enemy arrived and attacked us as vigorously as the first. They were as firmly resisted and as gallantly repelled by another charge." Archer's report, ibid., p. 700; H. T. Childs, "The Second Battle of Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 28 (1920), p. 100.

3. Pender is Relieved and Moves to the Rear

After falling back to the unfinished railroad to the right of Gregg, Pender was relieved by Archer's brigade. Pender reported, "I was ordered to our extreme left in reserve and remained there until the next afternoon...." Pender's report, op.cit., p. 698; Archer's report, ibid., p. 700.

4. Field's Brigade Yields Ground: Field is Wounded

About 4 PM a "freshly reinforced" enemy assailed Field's line. The Virginians stood the "galling fire" for but a moment, and then began to yield. General Field, mounted on his horse, rode into the retreating men and attempted to rally them. While doing so he was painfully wounded, a minie ball entering his left thigh, passing upward and lodging in his right hip. Command of the brigade devolved upon Col. J. M. Brockenbrough. John C. Towles, Diary, August 29, 1862.

5. Gregg's Brigade is Forced Back and then Relieved by Branch and Early

It was late afternoon, and Gregg's men awaited another Federal attack: "Though wearied, we knew the struggle was yet to be renewed." At length the Federals made their appearance, coming, as Colonel McGowan wrote, "for the first time...through the corner of the open field." Col. J. Foster Marshall's 1st South Carolina Rifles, in position along the fence bordering the field, was the first of Gregg's regiments to receive fire. According to Capt. Joseph Jeptha Norton, the heaviest pressure fell on the right of the regiment. "Colonel M[arshall] took the responsibility and ordered the whole regiment to move to the support of the right company, which they did." During the movement Colonel Marshall was mortally wounded, as was his second in command, Lt. Col. Daniel Alexander Ledbetter. McGowan's report, op.cit., p. 681; 1st South Carolina Rifles report, ibid., p. 690; Joseph J. Norton, Diary, August 29, 1862, South Carolina Historical Society; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," p. 33.

The Federal pressure began to swing around to the right until the enemy fire "formed a semicircle of flame and smoke, extending at least half round the devoted hill." On the right of the brigade the 13th and 1st South Carolina became engaged. Major McCrady of the 1st South Carolina chronicled, the enemy "soon came, now in still greater force, but our little band, though greatly exhausted, yet met them with as much determination as ever. Our men fell fast around us. The 13th, after exhibiting the greatest endurance and courage during the day, at last gave way and retired from our front, and upon the 1st was hurled the full force of the enemy. They pressed on, crossed the cut, and slowly compelled us, step by step, to yield the long-coveted position. Here again our men fought the enemy at a few yards." On the left of the brigade, the Rifles also beat a hasty retreat.

McCrady continued, "General Branch, coming up at this time with a regiment of his brigade, took part in the contest; but unused to so terrible a fire, his men gave way for a while." Officers dashed about trying to rally the North Carolinians, and soon they rushed back into the fight. Continued McCrady, "The enemy had by this time driven us back some 300 yards from the railroad cut and were possessors of most of the long-contested field, but still a portion of our regiment, with its colors, and the North Carolina regiment...contended with them inch by inch...." Soon General Early's brigade made its appearance and prepared to move to Gregg's relief. McGowan's report, op.cit., 681; 1st South Carolina report, ibid., pp. 687-88; McCrady, op.cit.; Thomas B. Lee to Thomas P. Harrison, February 18, 1910, Thomas P. Harrison Papers, SHC, U.N.C.; Berry Greenwood Benson, MS Memoirs, pp. 103-105; Berry Greenwood Benson Papers, SHC, U.N.C.; W. R. Tanner, Reminiscences of the War Between the States (n.p., 1931), p. 7.

6. Thomas' Brigade

Though there is scant mention of it in the reports, Thomas was still in position near the unfinished railroad when Kearny's attack struck. When Early arrived with much needed reinforcements, he found that though Thomas had yielded ground, he was still presenting front toward the enemy. Early's report, op.cit., p. 312.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

Hill's artillery undoubtedly played a role in the repulse of Kearny and Stevens, but based on available material it is difficult to determine the extent of it. Most of the batteries remained on the ridge north of the Groveton-Sudley Road. Crutchfield's report, op.cit., p. 653.

C. Lawton's Brigades are Engaged at Various Points Along the Line

1. Douglass Plays a Role in Repulsing Nagle

A frustrating absence of source material makes it impossible to determine the role of Douglass' brigade in the repulse of Nagle's attack. Douglass was in position in front of Early's brigade, with at least one regiment, the 13th Georgia, in reserve. Just before 6 PM the 13th Georgia moved out with Early's brigade toward the Confederate left to support Hill's division. Early's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 712; Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 810-11.

2. Early Moves to the Left to Support Hill's Faltering Line

Early's men remained in the woods behind Douglass' brigade until about 5:30, when Early received an order to move to the support of one of Hill's brigades, "whose ammunition was nearly expended." Early reported, "I immediately did so, and as I passed General Lawton's [Douglass'] brigade [in the woods], I found him preparing to send forward the 13th Georgia Regiment, of his brigade." The 13th joined Early on his right. At the same time the 8th Lousiana of Forno's brigade [which had until this time been near Sudley Ford with D'Aquin's battery] joined Early on his left. Before General Porter's rehearing Early testified, "We passed on through the woods until we got to an open field—a small one at that time, which is just beyond where the Groveton and Sudley Road crosses the railroad grade; and we discovered that the enemy were in possession of the railroad cut and a slight strip of woods on the southwest side of it." Early headed toward the point of crisis and by 6 PM was about to go into action. Early's report, op.cit., p. 712; Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, pp. 810-11; Early to Porter, July 26, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

3. Brown (Trimble) Beats Off Nagle's Attack

William McLendon of the 15th Alabama remembered, "There were but two brigades of Ewell's Division, ours and Lawton's, that were on the front line at this time, the other two, Early's Virginia and Taylor's [Forno's] Louisianans were in the rear as our reserves.... The heavy assaults made upon A. P. Hill having failed, the enemy doubled his forces and attacked our position with great determination and vigor. Our skirmishers in front that had been so hotly engaged all the P.M. finally yielded to overwhelming numbers and came running in, closely followed by a line of battle. They came hurrahing and huzzahing as if they thought that would cause a panic among us.... [But] our position was a good one for defense, and we were determined not to yield unless the officers so ordered."

Though McLendon made no such admission, a man of the 12th Georgia conceded that the Federals captured part of the unfinished railroad, driving the Confederates into the woods on the north side. The Confederates soon rallied, however, and the enemy was "finally driven out and pursued several hundred yards." McLendon, Recollections, pp. 111-12; Thomas, Doles-Cook Brigade, p. 219.

4. Forno Supports one of Hill's Brigades

It was about 4 PM that, according to Early, "Colonel Forno was ordered to advance to the front by General Jackson to the support of one of A. P. Hill's brigades, and he advanced to the railroad and drove the enemy from it and took possession of it with his brigade." (Which of Hill's brigades Forno relieved is open to question, but it was probably Field's, as that brigade is known to have been yielding ground at 4 PM. The brigade fought at the front for the remainder of the day. Colonel Forno was wounded about 6 PM. Command of the brigade fell to Col. H. B. Strong.

The 8th Louisiana (heretofore detached), meanwhile, joined Early's brigade in its advance in support of the Confederate left. Early's report, op.cit., p. 712; Forno's report, ibid., p. 718.

5. Division Artillery

There is no material available to specify the activities of any of the batteries of this command. It can only be assumed that the batteries remained in their previously taken positions. None are portrayed on the map.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

There was little activity among Stuart's men during this period. Only Robertson's men were engaged, slightly, with Porter's advance along Dawkins Branch. Stuart's report, ibid., p. 736; Robertson's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 217-219.

MAP 8

Map #8, 6 PM-Midnight, August 29

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

At 6 PM Kearny's attack had been in progress for nearly an hour, and it had gained ground against the Confederate left. This led Pope to believe, as he wrote in his report, that Jackson "was retreating toward the pike from the direction of Sudley Springs." Consequently he ordered McDowell, newly arrived, to set out in pursuit. This McDowell did with Hatch's division. Pope's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 40.

Subsequently, about 7 PM, Pope received a briefing from McDowell regarding two dispatches McDowell had been sent during the day. First, McDowell showed Pope Buford's 9:30 AM dispatch indicating that a heavy Confederate force was passing through Gainesville toward the battlefield. By now, Pope knew, Longstreet must be with Jackson, but he believed that rather than extending Jackson's line in any way, Longstreet had come to Jackson's direct support. Pope's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 33-34, 35-36.

This, of course, would mean that Jackson's right would still be vulnerable to attack from the direction of Gainesville. So when Pope was informed by McDowell of Porter's 6 PM dispatch stating that the latter was still unsure as to the correct course of action to take (Pope was unaware that Porter had not received the 4:30 attack order by 6 PM), he was livid. "I'll arrest him!" he exclaimed, and even commenced dictating an order to that effect. But McDowell intervened. Porter's actions were not the result of disloyalty, he said, but rather incompetence. Pope cooled, and instead shot off a peremptory order to Porter directing him to report to the battlefield:

> Immediately upon the receipt of this order, the precise hour of receiving which you will acknowledge, you will march your command to the field of battle of today and report to me in person for orders. You are to understand that you are expected to comply strictly with this order, and to be present on the field within three hours after its reception or after daybreak tomorrow morning.

This was the last order Pope issued that day. The rest of the evening was uneventful. It was resolved, wrote T. C. H. Smith, to wait "for the morning to decide upon what should be done." Pope's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 15, 22; Pope to Porter, 8:50 PM, August 29, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 18; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoirs," pp. 166-67, 168; Pope to Porter (cever completed or sent), 8:50 PM, August 29, 1862, John C. Ropes Papers.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

A. Schenck's Division

Schenck's men remained in bivouac behind the Dogan house throughout the night. At 10 PM the 75th Ohio was sent on picket in front of Monroe's battery. Schenck's (Cheesebrough's) report, op.cit., p. 281; 75th Ohio report, ibid., p. 294.

B. Schurz's Division

Schurz bivouacked in his previously taken position. Schurz's report, ibid., p. 299.

1. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

Captain Hampton kept his guns working until "sundown" when he retired his guns to the rear and bivouacked. Clark, Hampton Battery, p. 31.

2. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light)

At 7 PM Roemer pulled his guns out of line and proceeded to the rear for the night. Roemer, Reminiscences, p. 75.

3. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light)

Dilger remained in the rear throughout the night. Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 305.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding): Wiedrich's (I, 1st New York Light), Buell's (C, West. Virginia Light), and Dieckmann's (13th, New York Light) Batteries

These batteries were probably in the rear, though the location of only Wiedrich's is known. That battery, reported its captain, spent the night near "Sigel's headquarters." Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 304.

D. Milroy's Brigade

Milroy's men bivouacked "½ mile" in the rear. Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, p. 89.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

McDowell reported that shortly after 6 PM, while at the crossing of the Sudley Road with the Warrenton Turnpike, "I received word from [Pope] that the enemy were falling back, and to send [Hatch's] division right up the turnpike after them." As Hatch's men came streaming down the Sudley Road, McDowell hastily sent them forward in what he believed was to be a pursuit of the enemy. McDowell monitored the progress of the column for a short while—incredulous that it in fact ran into a strong force of the enemy—and then returned to Pope's headquarters. There he informed Pope of the 9:30 AM dispatch from Buford, as well as passed along the message from Porter, time-dated 6:00 PM, that he was unsure what to do in his present situation. At this Pope was incensed, but McDowell calmed him and urged a more restrained, productive approach to the problem. Subsequently, McDowell established headquarters on Henry Hill, and there bivouacked. McDowell's report, *op.cit.*, p. 339; Pope's Testimony, *Porter Court-martial*, pp. 15, 35-36; J. A. Judson to Porter, May 9, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Roebling, Journal, August 29, 1862, *ibid.*; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoirs," p. 167.

A. Hatch's Pursuit Turns into a Bloody Encounter

General Hatch was resting near Sullivan's brigade along the Sudley Road when a courier from McDowell rode up and delivered a message. The enemy is in full retreat along the Warrenton Turnpike, Hatch was told: "Pursue...overtake, and attack him!" Remembered Hatch's adjutant, J. A. Judson, "Instantly the division filed out into the road and...began a rapid march along the Sudley Springs Road. At the intersection...sat General McDowell on horseback, surrounded by his staff and cavalry escort. I was riding by General Hatch's side, and as we approached, General McDowell said in loud tones, 'General Hatch, the enemy is in full retreat'—and he added pointing down the pike toward Groveton—'pursue him rapidly!'"

Hatch's two brigades, Doubleday in front and Sullivan trailing, turned to the left and moved at the double quick down the turnpike. "Three quarters of a mile" down the road Hatch deployed the 2d U.S. Sharpshooters (of Sullivan's brigade) as skirmishers to the left of the pike. "The advance," Hatch reported, "almost immediately became warmly engaged on the left of the road." The fire increased and Hatch ordered Doubleday to deploy; it was obvious the Confederates were not retreating at all. Hatch called up Adjutant Judson and ordered him to ride back and tell McDowell of the situation. Judson remembered, "I did so, finding General McDowell at the same spot where we left him. When I delivered my message[,] General McDowell said, 'What! Does General Hatch hesitate? Tell him the enemy *is* in full retreat and to pursue him.' I delivered this reply to General Hatch." But by then, the issue was no longer in doubt. Hatch's two brigades, plus Gerrish's battery, were no match for the force facing them. The After a bloody fight the Northerners yielded and fell back to near Dogan Ridge. J. A. Judson to Porter, May 9, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Hatch's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 367.

Map 8, 6 p.m.- Midnight August 29th, Union

1. Sullivan's Brigade: The 2d U.S. Sharpshooters Skirmish at the Head of the Column, and then the Remaining Regiments Botch Their Deployment in Support of Doubleday

Following Doubleday, Sullivan's regiments hustled down the Sudley Road and turned left at the Stone House. As the 24th New York double-quicked past McDowell, along the side of the rode, McDowell yelled, "What regiment is this?" The 24th, was the reply. "Have we got 'em General?" the men asked. Yes, "follow 'em up, they are on the run!" With renewed determination the brigade hurried down the turnpike. B. Hutchinson to Porter, April 24, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," p. 364.

Three quarters of a mile down the road, General Hatch ordered the 2d U.S. Sharpshooters to deploy as skirmishers. Armed with their new Sharps Rifles, the Sharpshooters fanned out and moved forward toward Groveton. As the Federals neared the crossroads, Gerrish's battery rumbled into place on the ridge overlooking Groveton "to shell the woods at a distance." Henry Richards of the 2d remembered, "No sooner had the gunners taken their position than a heavy fire was opened upon them and us by several regiments of the enemy, just over the hill." The fire scattered the 2d—"Most of our regiment ran back down the road," said Richards. Hatch's report, op.cit., p. 367; Letter of Henry Richards, no date, Portsmouth [Maine] Journal of Literature and Politics, September 13, 1862.

Hatch immediately deployed Doubleday's brigade to meet the unexpected threat, and behind it Colonel Sullivan prepared to send his four remaining regiments into the fight. Now under a heavy musketry fire, Sullivan turned his files to the left, "into a valley which formed the hypotenuse of a triangle, the other two sides being the pike and the Groveton lane." The head of the column had nearly reached the woods bordering the south side of the open field when the order came to right face and move forward through Doubleday's ranks to the firing line. "By a mistake of a lieutenant colonel," wrote David Hamer of the 24th New York, "we were marched right behind that brigade, when we should have formed on their right.... When the word 'Forward' sounded from the lietenant colonel's lips, all were amazed at the order, yet we must obey, but in trying to pass through that firm line of Doubleday's by crowding and jamming we got into confusion and broke their line as well as ours."

Theron Haight recollected, "Men were falling on all sides, and our line formation was practically lost. We were a mere mob whose only unity was in blazing away at the line of fire at our front." "The officers," Hamer wrote, "tried to reform the men and all seemed to be giving orders at the same time." Then disaster struck. Haight recalled, "Suddenly a body of troops was seen moving towards us from among the trees along the lane at our left, and we were in doubt whether they were enemy or friends. They shouted 'Don't fire at us, boys, we're coming to help you;' and some of us felt reassured, while others incredulously cried, 'Don't believe 'em, they're rebels,' and ran towards the rear." Then a shattering volley lit the gathering darkness, revealing the gray uniforms of a strong Confederate line. The bullets slapped into Sullivan's men, said Hamer, "like hailstones against a window." In the dim light the officers tried to rally the men—some did rally, but many scattered. Those that did reform tried to return the fire, now coming from the left and front, but it was hopeless. Doubleday's line soon began to give way, and Sullivan's quickly followed. As Sullivan's line fell back, the 18th Georgia of Hood's brigade dashed forward and captured the colors of the 24th New York. Hamer, MS "One Man's War," pp. 16-19; Haight, op.cit., pp. 364-65; "The 22d New York," National Tribune, September 24, 1885; John Bryson, MS "History of the 30th New York Volunteers," pp. 57-58, New York State Library; C. Tevis, The History of the Fighting Fourteenth (New York, 1911), p. 41.

2. Doubleday Leads the Column into the Fight, But is Driven Back

Leading the advance, Doubleday's three regiments moved down the Sudley Road and turned to the left on the Warrenton Turnpike. There, recalled Adjutant Edward Barnes of the 95th New York, they met McDowell. "Move your men along lively," McDowell said to Barnes, "the rebels are retreating, and you will have little more to do than to take prisoners." The column, with Gerrish's battery in front, hurried westward down the turnpike. After proceeding a short distance the 2d U.S. Sharpshooters deployed to the front as skirmishers. Doubleday recalled, "As we advanced everything seemed quiet and peaceable. Not a rebel was in sight.... When we had reached a point about three quarters of a mile in advance of our general line of battle, a small body of rebel infantry were seen on the north side of the road moving towards the south. Our skirmishers fell back and Gerrish's battery of light 12 pounders opened fire. The first discharge was answered by the whole of Longstreet's advanced division under Genl Hood."

Upon making contact with the enemy, Doubleday immediately began to deploy his column. He first called upon his leading regiment, the 95th New York. But as the untried New Yorkers attempted to deploy, they ran into serious trouble. General Hatch detached the two pivot companies to support Gerrish's guns. "This," remembered Doubleday, "spoiled the formation and brought [the 95th] together in a confused mass." The confusion was compounded by the heavy Confederate fire the column endured. So, Doubleday decided to hold back the 95th and deploy his two remaining regiments instead. The 56th Pennsylvania was the first to receive the call. Deploying into line, the Pennsylvanians moved up the slope in front, their right resting on the road. To their left deployed the 76th New York, leaving interval enough between the regiments for the 95th New York. Doubleday, Journal, August 29, 1862, pp. 31-33; Doubleday's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 369-370; Letter of George E. Hall, September 9, 1862, Binghamton [N.Y.] Standard, September 17, 1862; 56th Pennsylvania reports, op.cit., pp. 373-374; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 217.

The Federal front was sorely pressed, especially from the right (north of the turnpike) and front. To shore up the line General Hatch ordered the heretofore witheld 95th New York to move into the fight, but the green New Yorkers again ran into difficulty. The movement involved a change of front to the right on the first company, but only the right half of the regiment heard the order. "The result was," recalled Adjutant Barnes, "that the right companies came into line in fairly good order while the left became confused." But soon the confusion spread to the entire regiment; it was obvious to Barnes that regiment needed out of the line of fire to deploy properly. He applied to Doubleday for relief, but none came, and instead of simply leaving the front, Barnes decided to deploy his regiment one more time. This time, using a more basic evolution, the 95th formed into line, and the New Yorkers chimed in with 300 muskets. Edward L. Barnes, "The 95th New York. A Sketch of its Services in the Campaign of 1862," National Tribune, January 7, 14, 1862; 95th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 371.

There was, however, soon trouble on the left. The left of the 76th New York rested near "a dense wood"—a wood that would provide cover for a Confederate flank movement. The regimental historian of the 76th New York recorded, "Orders were at length given to fire into this wood, to ascertain whether the enemy was there, when the cry came, 'Don't shoot here! You are firing on your friends!' Supposing our skirmishers had probably entered there, and were being fired upon, the firing was ordered to cease. Silence reigned for a moment, when suddenly a terrific volley was poured from the wood, making sad havoc in our ranks." Smith, Seventy-sixth New York, p. 131; Noyes, Bivouac and Battlefield, pp. 129-30;

Now cut by musketry from left, right, and front, Doubleday's line wavered. The Confederates pressed yet closer, and finally, the three regiments gave way and began to fall back. At the ravine at the bottom of the slope they formed a makeshift line, and a few well directed volleys discouraged a too-vigorous pursuit by the Confederates. Though scattered, Doubleday's men withdrew down the turnpike unmolested. Barnes, op.cit.; Leander M. Kellogg to his Parents, September 4, 1862, Mrs. Rex Oriel Collection, Western Michigan University Archives and Regional History Collections; Uberto Burnham, MS "2nd Day at Bull Run," Burnham Papers, New York State Library.

3. Patrick Moves Forward to Support the Pennsylvania Reserves and Proceeds to Dogan Ridge Via Sudley Road and the Warrenton Turnpike

Leaving his position west of Sudley Road, Patrick proceeded westward with orders to support Reynolds' division of Pennsylvania Reserves, then in position west of the Chinn House. He had reached an area just east of the house when one of Pope's staff officers stopped him and directed him to go cross country "directly across the pike in the neighborhood of that crest where Sigel is at work." Patrick changed the direction of his march, and while in the process of moving received another order—this one from McDowell—directing him to return to his former position near Reynolds. This time Patrick went beyond the Chinn House, where he met Reynolds. But he was not even in position when yet another order came. "March with all haste to the Sudley Road," pick up Reynolds' battery along the way, and proceed to near the Dogan House.

Quickly Patrick's men moved as directed, passing the Stone House and ascending Dogan Ridge. There they left behind Reynolds' battery and proceeded in two lines toward the scene of Hatch's fight along the Warrenton Turnpike. Crossing a dry stream bed, the brigade moved into a cornfield where Patrick received word that the brigades in front were falling back. He also learned that a prisoner from a South Carolina regiment had been captured. The enemy was close by! Carefully the general moved his troops rearward, hoping to reach the dry run he had crossed earlier. But soon he heard "the tramp of a large body of troops in the road." He was hailed by the column. Believing it to be Hatch's command, he replied, "Patrick's brigade, King's division." "Surrender; we fire!" came the response. Patrick refused, and was answered by a volley that toppled many of his staff. Two of Patrick's nearest regiments returned the fire, and the Federals continued back toward the ridge. Patrick hurried to the orchard atop the elevation and posted the batteries there to secure the position. He then rode back to Colonel McLean, and with him arranged the picketing in front of the line for the night. Patrick spent the rest of the night with his brigade near the Dogan House. Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 230-31; Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862.

4. Gibbon Remains on Dogan Ridge

Gibbon's men remained in support of batteries on Dogan Ridge. Gibbon's Report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 1, p. 555, RG 94, National Archives.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (A, New Hampshire Light) Moves Forward With Hatch and is Forced to Abandon a Gun

Leading Doubleday's and Sullivan's brigades, Captain Gerrish moved his battery down the Sudley Road and then westward along the Warrenton Turnpike. Nearing Groveton, the skirmish line in front ran into enemy fire, and Captain Gerrish was ordered to deploy his battery and open fire. (The battery went into position on the ridge overlooking Groveton, but whether or not all four of the howizters were south of the road is uncertain.) While the gunners worked their pieces, the infantry went into action around them. Soon, the top of the ridge was swept by a tempest of lead. As the Confederates closed in on the Union line, Gerrish was able to pull three of his guns off the field, but the fourth had to be cut down and abandoned. It, along with Captain Gerrish, fell into the hands of the enemy. The three remaining guns then returned to Dogan Ridge and there went into position for the night. Doubleday, Journal, August 29, 1862, pp. 31-3; Barnes, "95th New York," National Tribune, January 7, 14, 1886; Law's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 623; Patrick to Porter, February 23, 1867, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Letter of Henry L. Richards, no date, Portsmouth [Maine] Journal of Literature and Politics, September 13, 1862; Burnham, MS "2nd Day at Bull Run," Burnham Papers.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light)

Wrote Captain Monroe, "Toward night we were ordered to a position on the ground between the 'Stone House' and the Dogan place, north of the Warrenton turnpike. We went into position on the low ground below Bald Hill, on the summit of which, and in our rear, were several batteries. We opened fire on the enemy, the batteries in our rear firing over us." But those in the rear cut their fuses so short that Monroe found it too dangerous to remain where he was, "and we were forced to move to the rear to escape destruction from our friends." There, near Patrick's brigade, the battery spent the night. Monroe, "Battery D," p. 19; Patrick to Porter, op.cit.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light) on Dogan Ridge

In company with Patrick's brigade, Reynolds' battery moved down the Sudley Road and up Dogan Ridge. There, as the night wore on, General Patrick ordered a section deployed atop the ridge while the remaining guns presumably rested nearby. Letter of Lt. George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862; Patrick's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 230-31.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.)

It can only be assumed that Campbell's guns were under the watchful eyes of their former commander, John Gibbon, on Dogan Ridge.

B. Ricketts Arrives on the Field

Ricketts' division straggled onto the field continuously between 6 PM and midnight. The brigades bivouacked on a line extending from the Stone House back to near the New Market crossroads. Tower to Porter, July 16, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

C. Reynolds Withdraws to Sudley Road

Reynolds' division held its position near the Lewis house until the conclusion of Hatch's fight at Groveton. At that time the division fell back and bivouacked in the woods along Sudley Road. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 397; Meade's report, ibid., p. 398; E. B. Cope's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 868.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny Withdraws His Brigades and Bivouacs on the Firing Line

The withdrawal of Kearny's attacking force was stubborn and orderly. Though there is little information available to track the course of the retreat, it is apparent that the various regiments withdrew at their own pace, some halting briefly along the way. Once out of the woods, the brigades consolidated, Birney on the left and Robinson on the right. Robinson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 421; 4th Maine report, ibid., p. 427; 1st New York report, ibid.,p. 429; 101st New York report, ibid., p. 431; 38th New York report, ibid., p. 430; Hays, Sixty-third Pennsylvania, p. 151; Scott, One-hundred and Fifth Pennsylvania, p. 58; Dodge, Journal, August 29, 1862; Letter of B., September 1, 1862, Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, September 9, 1862.

Poe's brigade, meanwhile, was rejoined by the battered 3d Michigan, involved in Kearny's attack, and the 99th Pennsylvania, which had been guarding a bridge throughout the day. Beyond that Poe's positions remained unchanged. Letter of Josephus, September 1, 1862, *Detroit Free Press*, September 7, 1862; Edwin R. Byles' Testimony, *Porter Retrial*, Pt. 2, p. 696; Poe's report, *op.cit.*, p. 434.

1. Division Artillery: Graham's (K, 1st U.S.) and Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island Light) Batteries

Of Graham's location nothing is known. Randolph probably remained in the vicinity of his earlier action in support of Kearny's attack. Lewis, *Battery E*, p. 96.

B. Hooker's Men Rest

Grover's brigade, already ensconced in the fields north of the Stone House, remained there throughout the night. Carr and Taylor also moved to a rear echelon position, "½ mile" from the front line. Carr's brigade was in front, Taylor behind. Grover's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 439; Taylor's report, *ibid.*, p. 445; Carr's report, *ibid.*, p. 455.

1. McGilvery's Battery (6th, Maine Light)

There is no specific information relating to this unit during this period, but it can be assumed that McGilvery kept his guns in the neighborhood of Kearny's men, as they had been throughout much of the after noon.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

Shortly after 6 PM Porter received word from staff officer Stephen Weld that the battle was going well along the turnpike and the Confederates were being driven back. This was good news, and Porter decided to make a localized advance of his own. To Morell he wrote:

> I wish you to push up two regiments, supported by two others, preceded by skirmishers, the regiments at intervals of two hundred yards, and attack the party with the section of artillery opposed to you. The battle looks well on our right, and the enemy are said to be retiring up the pike. Give the enemy a good shelling when your troops advance.

Porter, *Narrative*, p. 29; Porter to Morell [received about sunset, August 29, 1862], *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 735.

Not long after this (probably about 6:30) Porter received Pope's 4:30 attack order. He immediately called his assistant adjutant general to his side and directed him to bring a verbal order to General Morell to "move forward and attack the enemy immediately." He also, according to his own testimony, dictated a note acknowledging the receipt of the attack order and expressing his doubt that the attack was practicable at that late hour. (The existence of this note was insisted upon by Porter, but it was never produced at the court-martial or rehearing. Nor is there any evidence to suggest it was ever received at Pope's headquarters.) Federick T. Locke's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 136; Porter, Narrative, pp. 31-32.

After this Porter received a message from Morell protesting against the first order to attack. The enemy was not in retreat, Morell said; the order "must have been given under some misapprehension." To attack would invite disaster. Porter agreed: "I became satisfied that Morell was right, and that by holding the enemy before us, we were producing all the good effects of a battle, and would get none of its evils." Porter wrote Morell:

> Put your men in position to remain during the night, and have out your pickets. Put them so that they will be in line, and on rising will be in position to resist any attack. I am about a mile from you. McDowell says all goes well, and we are getting the best of the fight....

Morell's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, pp. 146-47; Porter, Narrative, p. 29; Porter to Morell [Received about dusk], August 29, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 735.

After sending this order Porter rode to the front to meet with Morell. After an hour there he returned to his headquarters at Bethlehem Church. Morell's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 147; Weld's Testimony, ibid., p. 130.

A. Morell Foregoes Attack and Bivouacs

The activity of Morell's division during this period was confined for the most part to its high command. As previously outlined, Morell carried on an extended dialogue with Porter over the wisdom of attack versus withdrawal versus maintenance. Morell's opinion won out, primarily due to the lateness of the hour.

Among his troops there was little important movement. Roberts' brigade apparently moved left of the road to support Waterman, but beyond that the troops bivouacked essentially where they spent the day. (Though Morell states that the 1st U.S. Sharpshooters also moved south of the road, there is evidence that contradicts this contention.) Morell's Testimony, Porter Court-martial, p. 147; Henry Clay Christiancy, Diary, August 29, 1862, University of Virginia; Letter of George Albee, Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 7, p. 82.

B. Sykes' Division

There was little movement of importance in Sykes' division. After Porter decided not to attack that evening, at least part of the division—probably Chapman's brigade—moved back toward Bethlehem Church and there spent the night. Buchanan's brigade deployed into line of battle on the left of the road and bivouacked. Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 447; Buchanan to Porter, July 10, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

C. Piatt's Brigade

Piatt remained across the railroad from Griffin throughout the night. Piatt's Testimony, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 982.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division Consolidates and Goes Into Camp

According to Hazard Stevens, after Leasure's participation in Kearny's assault the division consolidated and "was posted in the woods a quarter of a mile farther to the right and a little to the rear of the place where Leasure's brigade formed for the attack." Stevens, Stevens, p. 459.

1. Benjamin's Battery (E, 2d U.S.)

Benjamin remained in action on Dogan Ridge until 7 PM, when he withdrew. His subsequent position is unknown. Benjamin's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 607.

B. Reno's Division

1. Nagle's Brigade

After reforming, Nagle's three regiments withdrew to "a position very near that occupied at noon." Jackman, Sixth New Hampshire, p. 82.

2. Ferrero's Brigade

After bringing the 21st Massachusetts and 51st New York forward to support Stevens' men fighting in the woods, Ferrero bivouacked in the field just south of the timber. The 51st Pennsylvania, meanwhile, continued to support Durell's battery. Ferrero's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 3, p. 277; Parker, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, pp. 210-11.

VII. Cavalry Commands

Both Buford and Beardsley remained inactive. Bayard's brigade, however, was brought into action about dusk. Bayard reported, "Later in the day Captain Leski came with an order for me to move forward on the Gainesville road and charge the enemy, but when I reached the point the enemy had retired. After dark I moved forward a portion of my command, under Lieutenant Colonel [Judson] Kilpatrick [of the 2d New York Cavalry], to the support of King's division, at that time engaged with the enemy." Kilpatrick's men drew sabres and deployed in rear of the infantry to stop stragglers. Subsequently, one squadron of the regiment was ordered to charge. Rumbling down the road the horsemen ran into a blinding Confederate fire. The squadron was, reported Bayard, "cut to pieces." Bayard's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 91; H. C. Whitaker, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, January 2, 1890; Henry C. Meyer, Civil War Experiences Under Bayard, Gregg, Kilpatrick, Custer, Raulston, and Newberry, 1862, 1863, 1864 (New York, 1911), pp. 13-14; Law's and Evans' documentation, Map #8.

Map #8, 6 PM-Midnight, August 29

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Lee's plan now was to make a dawn attack along the turnpike against the Union left. That, however, was to be preceeded by a reconnaissance in force by Hood and Evans. Shortly after 6 PM Longstreet made that reconnaissance; it ran into sharp resistance around Groveton. The Southerners drove forward nonetheless and pushed the Federals back. After spending several hours quietly examining the Federal positions, Hood, Evans, and Wilcox reported back unfavorably as to the dawn attack. Consequently, Lee cancelled the assault, hoping instead that Pope would attack him. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 185; Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 520; Charles Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 212.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Just before midnight Longstreet received Hood's and Wilcox's reports on their reconnaissance in force made earlier that evening. Both of the generals recommended against any attack, stating that the Federal positions were just too strong. Longstreet passed their recommendations along to Lee and the dawn attack was cancelled. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 185; Wilcox to Porter, April 25, 1871, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Hood, Advance and Retreat, p. 35.

A. D. R. Jones' Division

Jones' three brigades remained in place on the Confederate right. Jones's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 579.

B. Wilcox Moves Forward to Support Hood, but Arrives too Late to Become Engaged

Moving over from the direction of the Manassas Gap Railroad, Wilcox reached the Warrenton Turnpike and proceeded along it "to the support of General Hood, who had become engaged with the enemy." Wilcox's three brigades moved forward until they encountered Hood's men. They stopped behind Law's brigade and threw out pickets to the front. Wilcox's report, ibid., p. 598.

Upon arriving, Wilcox sought out Colonel Law. Law related the encounter: Wilcox "told me that General Longstreet had ordered him to attack up the turnpike that night, under the impression that our success so far had seriously shaken the Federal positions in that direction. I stated to him the true condition of affairs, viz, that the force we had repulsed consisted of only three brigades of King's division that had been thrown forward from the main line, which was yet untouched, and that in advancing so far in front of our general line he must necessarily expose both flanks to attack." Law recommended wholeheartedly against attack. Wilcox "left with the remark that he would go back to General Longstreet and get him to recall the order." He did so, and at midnight, along with the rest of the advanced command, was ordered to bring his division back up the pike, away from the Federal lines. Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, November 2, 1887; Wilcox to Porter, April 25, 1871, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Wilcox's report, op. cit., p. 598.

C. Hood's Division Moves Forward and Clashes With Hatch Near Groveton

Hood reported, "At sunset an order came to me from the commanding general to move forward and attack the enemy. Before, however, this division could come to attention it was attacked, and I instantly ordered the two brigades to move forward and charge the enemy, which they did most gallantly, driving them in confusion in front of them.... It soon became so very dark that it was impossible to pursue the enemy any farther." Hood's report, ibid., p. 605.

In his memoirs Hood recalled, "I now discovered that my line was in the midst of the enemy; the obscurity of the night, which was deepened by a thick wood, made it almost impossible to distinguish friend from foe, and for the same reason I was unable to select a position and form upon it for action the next morning. The Confederates and Federals were so intermingled that commanders of both armies gave orders for alignment, in some instances, to the troops of their opponents....

"In view of this condition of affairs I determined to ride to the rear, inform General Lee and Longstreet of the facts, and to recommend that I retire and resume the line from which I had advanced just before sunset. I found them about two miles off, in an open field, and, after a brief interview, we received orders to act in accordance with my suggestion. The troops were therefore withdrawn from the immediate presence of the enemy, back to their original position across the Groveton pike, about 2 a.m. on the 30th of August." Hood, Advance and Retreat, pp. 34-35.

1. The Texas Brigade Bears the Brunt of the Fight Around Groveton

Hood's brigade moved forward with the 1st Texas on the left, its left resting on the Warrenton Turnpike, the 4th Texas to the right of the 1st, the 18th Georgia in the center, and the 5th Texas and Hampton's Legion on the right. 18th Georgia, 4th Texas reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 608, 614.

a. The 18th Georgia

The 18th Georgia, according to its colonel, William T. Wofford, was ordered to "move...toward the enemy and let my left wing rest near and on a line with the right of the 4th Texas. At the command ["]march["] my regiment moved out with spirit through the narrow slip of woods to the open field in our front, where I halted to wait for the 4th Texas, by whose line I was to dress; but not seeing that regiment, and being informed that it was advancing farther from our left, I moved forward by a left oblique through the field and through the second skirt of woods into the second field toward a fire which had just then opened. By this time darkness prevented me from seeing objects farther than a few feet. My regiment opened a well directed fire and charged into a ravine, silencing the fire of the enemy and completely routing him." Sgt. J. J. O'Neill captured the colors of the 24th New York.

The regiment, though, soon halted. "By this time," continued Wofford, "my regiment having formed in perfect line in front of all the other regiments, and seeing two regiments, one in our rear and another in the rear of my left, I called upon them to come up and form on me, fearing that they would fire into us as I advanced down the hill to the branch; but as neither of them would move up, my regiment, with a shout, charged down the hill to the branch, where I halted, the enemy having left the field so rapidly that we could not overtake them. I remained at the branch a short time, when I was directed by one of your aides to a position on the hill, where we formed a line of battle with the other regiments of [the] brigade, and remained sleeping by our guns until ordered to fall back to the ground we occupied when we advanced to the attack." 18th Georgia report, ibid., p. 608; J. J. O'Neill, MS "A Brief Military History," The Hill Junior College History Complex.

b. The 1st Texas

It was about sunset that the 1st Texas received orders to move "forward to the attack." The regiment was on the left of the brigade line, its left resting on the Warrenton Turnpike. Lt. Col. P. A. Work reported, "Having advanced some 250 yards to an open field, the enemy opened upon us with grape and canister. Advancing steadily, the regiment approached a wood, in or near which the enemy's battery was stationed, and when within 100 or 150 yards the artillery firing ceased. After having advanced a short distance into the above-mentioned timber, and when two companies of the left wing, having passed through the point of timber, emerged into the open field beyond, the regiment became engaged with the 79th New York Regiment (as stated by prisoners) [actually it was probably the 76th New York. The 79th New York was with Farnsworth's brigade on a different part of the field.], and after one volley fired by this regiment and some little desultory firing the cry of friends was raised." In the ensuing confusion the New Yorkers managed to make their escape "in a disorganized state."

By now it was almost dark. Work continued, "From this point this regiment continued to advance to the front, and soon met with the 18th Georgia and 4th Texas Regiments, of this brigade. The brigade, having been collected, moved still to the front, crossing a small stream by the flank, upon a ridge beyond which this regiment rested for the night." At a later hour the 1st moved to support the 2d Mississippi of Law's brigade, and finally rested with its left on the turnpike, "within some 150 or 200 yards of the enemy." From there the regiment withdrew with the rest of the brigade. 1st Texas report, op.cit., p. 612.

c. The 4th Texas

The commanding officer of the 4th Texas recounted in his report of operations for August 29, "With the 1st Texas, as directing battalion, on my left, and the 18th Georgia on my right, I advanced through the timber we were lying in, then through an open field in front, thence into a second wood, where a sharp musketry fire was going on in our front between our skirmishers and the enemy. Cautioning the men not to fire without orders, I advanced to within 50 yards, when we were fired on by the enemy. Replying with a volley, the enemy were silenced. It was now entirely dark, and it was almost impossible to ascertain the position of our forces or that of the enemy. Advancing cautiously across the second field, I crossed the small creek at the bottom of the hill, and advancing up the second hill, with your [Hood's] assistance we formed in our original brigade order of battle, the 2d Mississippi being on our left. Here, throwing out pickets to the front and on the flanks, we lay quietly until about 2 a.m. on the 30th, when we withdrew to our original position." 4th

Texas report, *ibid*., pp. 614-15; Miles Smith, "Reminiscences of the Civil War," p. 15, Hill Junior College History Complex; Val C. Giles, *Rags and Hope; Recollections of Val C. Giles* (New York, 19—), pp. 124-25.

d. The 5th Texas and Hampton's Legion

The exact role these two regiments played in Hood's reconnaissance is difficult to determine. The regiments apparently advanced on the right of Hood's line. Pvt. William Fletcher of the 5th remembered, "When we went in, we soon ran over their first battle line.... The first line we encountered was on our side of a small stream [Young's or Dogan's Branch].... We crossed the stream and were mixed up with the enemy considerably while they were making their way to the rear. There was but little, if any, shooting after we crossed the stream, for we were so scattered and it was so dark that it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe." After crossing the stream and ascending the ridge on the far side, the line halted and dressed its ranks, only a few yards from the enemy line. After remaining here a short time the regiment pulled back to the cover of the stream, where it remained until withdrawn. William A. Fletcher, *Rebel Private Front and Rear* (Austin, 1954), pp. 37-38; Nicholas Pomeroy, "War Memoirs," p. 30, Hill Junior College History Complex.

2. Law Moves Forward on Hood's Left

Colonel Law reported, "At about 6 o'clock a Federal battery, supported by a large body of infantry and some cavalry, was advanced along the turnpike to within 400 yards of our position. The guns had scarcely unlimbered when I was ordered by General Hood to charge. Moving rapidly forward, the brigade came first under fire of the battery, then in range of the enemy's infantry. Delivering volley after volley, my men continued a rapid and uninterrupted advance upon the battery and its supports." Law's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 623.

A man of the 4th Alabama recounted, "When the 4th Alabama reached the cover of the hill on which the enemy was strongly posted, his artillery could only be depressed to effect us but little. As the regiment half bent ran up under the belching guns, several members of the 4th Alabama were powder burned in hands and faces. Brave little Captain McInnis as he ran up the hill in a stooping position beneath the blazing cannon, the back of his coat became ignited, burning a hole as large as ones hand before it could be extinguished. All the enemy's guns limbered up except one howitzer and escaped with the retreating infantry. The piece that remained fought valiantly and continued to fire until some of the 4th Alabama ran up and wrested the sponge staff from a brave gunner as he was driving the last charge home." Robert T. Coles, MS "History of the 4th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry," Chapt. 6, pp. 11-12, 4th Alabama Infantry Files, Alabama State Department of Archives and History; "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, November 2, 1862.

Law wrote in his report, "At this point a flanking fire was opened upon my right by a body of the enemy which was advancing on the opposite side of the road and passing to my right and rear. I at once formed a portion of the 2d Mississippi along the road and at right angles to the line of advance, and returned the fire with effect, the enemy breaking and retiring. The 2d Mississippi now pressed forward beyond the road, and, together with the Texas Brigade, on the right, cleared the field of the enemy. Meantime, on the left, my other regiments—4th Alabama, 11th Mississippi, and 6th North Carolina—reenforced by the 23d South Carolina, were advancing and driving the enemy before them. The advance was continued until darkness prevented further operations. I ordered a halt, and established my line across the turnpike, half a mile from the position whence the advance began." During the course of the advance the 6th North Carolina captured the colors of the 56th Pennsylvania of Doubleday's brigade. Law's report, op.cit., p. 623; Unidentified newspaper clipping, August 31, 1862, Mangum Family Papers, SHC, U.N.C.

a. Law's Men Repel a Cavalry Charge

In a post-war reminiscence Law recorded that while the line was being adjusted along its farthest point of advance, "when it was too dark to see clearly, a cavalry charge was made upon us, one squadron passing through an interval in the line, where it crossed the turnpike and riding down it to our rear. I knew that they would be taken care of back there if they went on, and therefore made provision to receive them when they returned, which I was sure they would soon do.... The road was therefore left open, and two companies of the regiment on the South or open side of it (there was a rock fence on the other) were wheeled so as fire obliquely across the road in our front. The clattering of hoofs upon the turnpike soon announced that the cavlary were about to 'run the gauntlet' back to their own lines. As they passed our line, at full speed, they received a single volley...which almost annihilated them." This charge was made by Seymour's squadron of the 2d New York Cavalry, Bayard's brigade. Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," op.cit.

3. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding)

None of the division batteries took any part in Hood's reconnaissance. Frobel's report, *op.cit.*, p. 607; Letter of W. K. Bachman, no date, *Charleston Courier*, September 17, 1862.

D. Evans Supports Hood's Advance

The advance of Evans' brigade was best described by Col. W. H. Wallace of the 18th South Carolina: The brigade "was marched to the right of the road in the fields and advanced into a body of woods that was occupied at that time by Hood's brigade, the battle all the while raging in front. Pausing a moment in these woods we went by the flank across the road we had left and upon the edge of the open ground that was the theatre of conflict. Having cleared the road, which was being shelled by the enemy, we marched to the front in line of battle and entered the open battle ground, and advanced at double-quick time toward the position of the enemy. Having advanced half way across the open ground and finding no enemy, we crossed the road to the right again in the direction of heavy firing. Immediately after crossing, and our front being unmasked of some houses...we received a sharp volley of musketry from a heavy body of the enemy immediately in our front. We paused but a moment while returning this fire, and then charged with shouts in double-quick time, and the enemy fled in disorder.

"As we were thus rapidly advancing[,] Texas and Georgia regiments debouched from the woods upon our right and joined us in the pursuit of the enemy. Darkness had now come on, but the pursuit and desultory firing continued. We passed rapidly...down a steep declivity, upon the crest of which their line of battle had been formed, and at the bottom of which we captured several prisoners.... We continued to press forward until we had crossed the creek and ascended the hill on the other side. The 18th South Carolina Volunteers having become separated from the rest of the brigade...and being far in advance, the regiment was halted on the crest of the hill and upon the side of the creek next to the enemy." Here it remained until ordered to withdraw. The position was in rear of Hood's brigade. 18th South Carolina and Holcombe's Legion reports, *op.cit.*, pp. 635, 630.

Shortly after halting, the regiment that was on the left, the 23d South Carolina, could hear the sound of horses hooves pounding along the turnpike. It was Yankee cavalry. Quickly the regiment readied, the front rank kneeling and the rear rank peering over their heads. As the horsemen neared, the South Carolinians unleashed a ragged volley. None of the blue clad troopers reached the southern line. The Federals wheeled about and retreated posthaste. W. J. Andrews, *Sketch of Company K, Twenty-third South Carolina Volunteers* (Richmond, n.d.), p. 11; 23d South Carolina report, *op.cit.*, p. 638.

1. Boyce's Battery (MacBeth Artillery)

There is nothing in the source material to indicate that this battery was involved in Evans' advance.

E. Kemper's Division: Hunton Moves Toward the Sound of Firing and Jenkins Pulls Back to the Warrenton Turnpike

It was probably about 6:30 when Hunton's Brigade was ordered to form ranks. William Wood of the 19th Virginia recorded, "There was nothing in sight to alarm, though the firing away to the left had increased and come nearer. 'Attention! Forward, March!' and with steady step the 19th went forward.... We marched some distance and no foe appeared. It was getting monotonous as we passed through the pasturefield, and the scene reminded me of an old hare hunt at Christmas." The line continued forward into a cornfield, "where we halted and expected every minute to meet the foe. We remained here several hours." The brigade returned to its bivouac "before midnight." (According to Randolph Shotwell of the 8th Virginia, the brigade was in position to help repel the charge of the 2d New York Cavalry. Based on available evidence, this seems highly unlikely. Shotwell is uniformly inaccurate as to the details of the battle.) Wood, Big I, pp. 30-31; Shotwell, Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 286-87; [Norborne Berkeley], "The Eighth Virginia's Part in Second Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 37, p. 313.

Jenkins' brigade, meanwhile, left its position in front of Reynolds' division and "moved across the fields to the Warrenton Turnpike," where the men passed the night. Hagood, MS "Memoirs," p. 57.

F. Artillery of the Right Wing

Subsequent to 6 PM, none of Longstreet's artillery was involved in any phase of the wing's operations. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 118; Walton's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 571.

III. Jackson's Wing

It was probably shortly after six when Jackson received a message: "General Hill presents his compliments and says the attack of the enemy was repulsed." Smiling, Jackson replied, "Tell him I knew he would do it." Douglas, I Rode With Stonewall, p. 138.

According to Lee's staff officer Charles Venable, Jackson then proceeded to Lee's headquarters where he spent the night in Venable's tent. This, however is not corroborated by any other source. Venable, MS "Personal Reminiscences," p. 56.

A. Starke's Division Resumes Position

Subsequent to driving back Nagle and Taylor, Johnson's and Stafford's brigades returned to their former positions on the crest of the ridge behind the unfinished railroad. There, with the rest of the division, they spent the night. Johnson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 666; Stafford's report, ibid., p. 669; 4th Virginia report, ibid., p. 662.

1. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

Shumaker remained on the right of Starke's line. Moore, Cannoneer, p. 120.

B. Darkness Brings Rest to A. P. Hill's Men

1. Branch's Brigade

Those regiments of Branch's brigade engaged on the right of Hill's line, the 18th and 28th North Carolina, continued to fight until the firing ceased along the front. On the left of the line, near Gregg's brigade, where the 7th, 33d, and 37th North Carolina were engaged, Branch's men exhausted all their ammunition and were fortuitously relieved by Early's brigade, along with elements of Douglass and Forno. These troops pushed forward to the unfinished railroad in front of Branch's men. Subsequently Branch moved forward to the excavation and bivouacked his command along it. Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 20.

2. Archer Drives the Federals Back

Archer's men continued to contend with the Federals in front, but were soon running low on ammunition. "I did not average over two cartridges per man," Archer reported. But nonetheless, and undoubtedly with help from nearby forces, the Confederates drove the Federals back, and Archer's men pursued them with their empty rifles. "It was after sunset when we resumed our position," Archer wrote, "and we lay upon our arms that night with a strong picket in front to prevent surprise...." Archer's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 700.

3. Pender's Brigade

Pender remained in the rear, behind the left of Hill's line. Pender's report, ibid., p. 698.

4. Brockenbrough's (Field's) Brigade

Specific information regarding this brigade during this time period is not available. After spending almost the entire day on the firing line, Brockenbrough was probably in the rear, not far from where he was located the succeeding day. John Towles, Diary, August 29, 1862.

5. Gregg is Relieved by Early

Exhausted and out of ammunition, Gregg's men were finally relieved as Early's brigade hurried to the front. Gregg formed his brigade nearby, in case he should be needed again, but fortunately Early's men were sufficient to drive the Federals back. As the Federals withdrew, at least the 1st South Carolina Rifles joined Early's men in the pursuit. The Rifles soon returned, however, and were sent as support for the 14th South Carolina to the left along the fence bordering the open field. The two regiments remained here until after dark, when they rejoined the brigade in "the woods, a few hundred yards to the rear." There the brigade bivouacked for the night. McRady's report, op.cit., p. 688; 1st S. C. Rifles report, ibid., p. 691; McCrady, "Gregg's Brigade," p. 35.

6. Thomas' Brigade

Pulling back out of the fight, Thomas' brigade bivouacked "on the field." Thomas' report, op.cit., p. 703; E. R. Dozier, Diary, August 29, 1862.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

Little is known of the bivouac locations of Walker's batteries. It can be safely assumed that they spent the night where they spent the day, most of them on the ridge north of the Groveton-Sudley Road.

C. Lawton's Division

1. Douglass' Brigade

While most of Douglass' brigade was inactive during this period, the 13th Georgia played a prominent role in the repulse of Kearny's attack. Advancing on the right of Early's line, the 13th helped drive the Federals back and pursued them a short distance beyong the unfinished railroad. That night the 13th bivouacked along the railroad with Early's brigade. Early's report, op.cit., p. 712.

2. Early Throws His Brigade in and Repulses Kearny

Forming his men, plus the 8th Louisiana of Strong's brigade and the 13th Georgia of Douglass' brigade in the woods behind the unfinished railroad, Early pushed forward across a field and into the woods where the fight was raging. The Federal attack was already faltering, and Early drove it back with little difficulty. Early reported, "On reaching the railroad I found the enemy had possession of it and a piece of woods in front, there being at this point a deep cut, which furnished a strong defense. General Gregg's and Colonel Thomas' brigades...having nearly exhausted all their ammunition, had fallen back a short distance, but were still presenting front to the enemy. My brigade and the 8th Louisiana Regiment advanced upon the enemy through a field and drove him from the woods and out of the railroad cut, crossing the latter and following in pursuit several hundred yards beyond.... the 13th Georgia also advanced to the railroad and crossed it to my right. The messenger from General Hill had stated that it was not desirable that I should go beyond the railroad, and as soon as I could arrest the advance of my brigade I moved it back to the railroad and occupied it." This last position was in the same area that Gregg's brigade had been during the day. There the brigade spent the night. Early's report, ibid., p. 712; Early's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 811; Early to Porter, July 26, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Buck, With the Old Confeds, pp. 55-57.

3. Brown's Brigade

Brown's men rested in place along the unfinished railroad. McLendon, Recollections, p. 116; Oates, Union and the Confederacy, p. 144.

4. Strong's (Forno's) Brigade

Strong probably remained along the unfinished railroad until ordered to the rear to replenish ammunition. Once in the rear, the Louisianans did not return in time to participate in the fighting of August 30. Early's report, op.cit., p. 712; James B. Sheeran, Confederate Chaplain: A War Journal, Joseph T. Durkin, ed., (Milwaukee, 1960), pp. 16-17.

The 8th Louisiana, meanwhile, advanced farther to the left in conjunction with Early's brigade, crossing the unfinished railroad in pursuit of the Federals, and then returning to it to bivouac. Early's report, op.cit., p. 712.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Stuart's men remained essentially in place during the night, guarding the army's flanks. Robertson's men bivouacked "a little west" of his daytime position. Stuart's report, ibid., p. 736; Robertson's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 219.

MAP 9

Map #9, Midnight to Noon, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

4-8 AM: After an uneventful night, daylight brought activity to Pope's headquarters on Buck Hill. At daylight a courier appeared with Maj. Gen. William B. Franklin's reply to Pope's request for rations and forage (made the previous day). The trains would be sent, the note said, as soon as Pope would send "a cavalry escort to Alexandria to guard the trains." The dispatch infuriated and frustrated the commander. "It was not," Pope later wrote, "until I received this letter that I began to feel discouraged." Franklin to Pope, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 17; Pope's report, ibid., p. 41; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," pp. 170-71.

If Pope was discouraged, though, he did not manifest it in a dispatch he sat down and penned to Halleck shortly after, at 5 AM. In it he claimed, among other things, that "the enemy was driven from the field" in the previous day's fighting. "We have made great captures," he exclaimed, and added, "our troops behaved splendidly." As he reached the end of the dispatch, Pope was apparently interrupted by a report from the front. He told Halleck, "The news just reaches me that the enemy is retreating toward the mountains. I go forward at once to see." Whether he did or not is unknown. Pope to Halleck, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 741.

The intelligence of a Confederate withdrawal was apparently based on reports of paroled prisoners and wounded soldiers who claimed to have overheard Confederate officers talking to that effect. Pope's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 41; Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 145.

Armed with this information, Pope called his senior officers together to review the situation. The idea that the Confederates were withdrawing was surely an appealing one, but the evidence was not yet convincing enough to compel Pope to act based upon that assumption. Instead, hoping to follow up Kearny's partially successful attack of the previous evening, the conferring officers decided to attempt another thrust against the Confederate left. The plan, according to McDowell, was that "we should hold the center and mass our troops on the right." McDowell would "make the attack with the Third Corps [Army of Virginia], added to the corps of Porter and Heintzelman." McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 339-40; Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413; Sigel's report, ibid., pp. 267-68; Roebling, Journal, August 30, 1862, Porter Papers.

Though the decision to attack had ostensibly been made, there was little or no enthusiasm for the operation. There is no record of any orders being issued to initiate it.

8-11 AM: For the next three hours Pope's headquarters were paralyzed by a barrage of conflicting reports regarding Confederate positions and intentions. Paroled prisoners, Union wounded, and a report from Marsena Patrick all seemed to indicate the Confederates were in flight. McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 340; Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862.

But shortly after 8 AM reports began coming in indicating a Confederate presence in front, as well as opposite the left. First came warnings from Fitz John Porter, who arrived on Buck Hill during the latter stages of the council. Porter recalled, "I tried to convince [Pope] that there was a very large force on his left, South of the Warrenton Turnpike," but in vain, despite the fact that he was seconded by Reynolds. "He put no confidence in what I said," Porter wrote later. Porter, unpublished MS in Porter Papers, Box #7; Richard Robins, "The Battles of Groveton and Second Bull Run," in Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Illinois Commandery, Military Essays and Recollections, Vol. 3, p. 94 (Robins claims that Porter arrived on Buck Hill at 8:17 AM.); Heintzelman, Journal, August 30, 1862.

Secondly came a report from Kearny on the right flank. Kearny informed Pope, "Ricketts and my positions are completely enfiladed by the enemy's three or four long range batteries." Kearny to Pope, August 30, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 755.

Perhaps it was this report that prompted Pope to send a staff officer to Ricketts with orders to "advance...and feel the enemy cautiously." The order was delivered, but it was found that Ricketts had already performed this duty. The staff officer returned and reported this to Pope, but Pope was not impressed. "His preconceived opinions...had [already] decided him." Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, pp. 94-95.

Finally, Pope's growing belief that the Confederates were withdrawing was challenged by Brig. Gen. Isaac Stevens. Stevens insisted the Rebels were still strongly posted in his front. So, Pope ordered Stevens "to push a strong skirmish line into the woods and try the enemy." Stevens made the attempt and later reported that the enemy was in fact still in front, but Pope ignored the intelligence. Stevens, Stevens, p. 462.

11-12 AM: It was likely shortly after 11 AM that McDowell and Heintzelman appeared at headquarters and requested permission to carry out a reconnaissance of the zone of attack decided upon at the early morning conference. Pope assented. McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 340; Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413; Heintzelman, MS Notebook, Heintzelman Papers. (In this Heintzelman puts the time of the reconnaissance at noon, but considering the known timing of subsequent events, the reconnaissance must have been carried out considerably earlier.)

While these two officers were out, at headquarters Pope questioned a paroled prisoner sent by Porter. The ex-prisoner claimed he overheard conversations indicating that the Confederates were indeed retreating. Despite warnings from Porter that he considered the man a liar or an enemy plant, this piece of evidence at last convinced Pope that his theory of a Rebel withdrawal was indeed correct. He hastily sent verbal orders to Porter to strike at what was assumed to be Jackson's rearguard: "Attack; King will support." Porter, Narrative, p. 51; S. M. Weld to Porter, Nov. 11, 1862, Porter Papers; S.M. Weld Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 295; George Montieth to Porter,January 11, 1878, Porter Papers.

When McDowell and Heintzelman returned from their reconnaissance, which seemed to them to confirm that the enemy was withdrawing, they found that Pope had already acted in their absence by ordering Porter to attack. McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 340; Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413,, Heintzelman, MS Notebook, Heintzelman Papers; Chauncey McKeever's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 199.

II. Sigel's First Corps [Army of Virginia]

After attending the post-dawn conference on Buck Hill, Sigel returned to his corps. As the morning wore on, based on information unknown today, Sigel also came to the increasingly popular belief (among the high command) that the Confederates were retreating. Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 268; Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413.

A. Schenck's Division Continues to Rest Quietly Behind Dogan's

1. Stahel Holds Position

Stahel's three regiments, plus Blume's battery (2nd, N.Y. Light), held their positions taken the previous night, behind McLean's brigade, "about 400 paces behind Dogan's farm." Stahel's report, ibid., p. 284.

2. McLean Rests Quietly

Like Stahel, most of McLean's men maintained the positions taken the previous evening, i.e., not far from Dogan's, under the crest of the ridge, with the left of the brigade (the 73rd Ohio) resting on the Warrenton Turnpike and the 55th Ohio resting behind "a battery of steel guns." (The only steel guns—Wiard rifles—known to be on the field were those of Johnson's battery, 12th Ohio Light.) McLean's report, ibid., p. 292; Hurst, Seventy-third Ohio, p. 38; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War, Vol. 2, p. 332.

The 75th Ohio was relieved of its night-long duty of picketing in front of Monroe's battery (D, 1st R.I. Light) at 6 AM and returned to the brigade. 75th Ohio report, op.cit., p. 294.

3. Division Artillery

a. Haskins' Battery (K, 1st Ohio Light)

After running out of ammunition the previous day, Haskins' guns remained in the rear, unable to procure a resupply. Haskins' report, ibid., p. 296.

b. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light)

The battery received a fresh supply of ammunition and was placed in reserve with Stahel's brigade behind Porter's Corps with Stahel's brigade. S. F. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Stahel's report, op.cit., p. 284.

B. Schurz Moves to a Reserve Position Behind Dogan's Farm

According to Schurz, until 8 AM the division remained near the woods "I had occupied the night before." At that time Schurz received orders "to march 600 or 700 yards to the rear and left and to place myself behind General Schenck's Division." Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 300.

Krzyzanowski's brigade moved and "took position in a line with General Stahel." Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 312.

1. Koltes is Attached to Schurz's Division

This brigade, the lone brigade of von Steinwehr's division, was assigned to Schurz and at 6 AM moved to a position behind Schenck, "on an open space near Dogan's farm." Colonel Koltes formed his three regiments: the 68th New York on the right, the 29th New York in the center, and the 73rd Pennsylvania on the left. 73rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 307; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 300; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 917.

2. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light) Replenishes Ammunition and Returns to the Field

According to its historian, the battery "fell back to the rear and rearranged the right section [damaged the day before] for the field. We then took position in line with the artillery of McDowell's corps." Clark, Hampton's Battery, p. 33; Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 300.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) in Reserve

Captain Roemer recalled, "At 5 AM the battery reported as a reserve at the crossroads under the hill in rear of where it had been in position the previous day. The battery was mounted at 8 AM and was held in readiness for instant action." Roemer, Reminiscences, p. 76.

c. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light) Assigned to Krzyzanowski

Dilger's guns were assigned to Krzyzanowski's brigade and presumably rested with it behind Dogan's. Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 305.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery

1. Wiedrich is Assigned to McLean

Captain Wiedrich reported, "After receiving a new supply of ammunition, I was ordered, with mine and Captain Buell's battery, to report to General Schenck, who ordered me to report with four Parrott guns to Colonel McLean, and keep my howitzers and Captain Buell's 6-pounder brass guns in reserve. We remained in position in front of his brigade on a low hill with the 10-pounder Parrotts...." Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 304.

2. Buell's Battery (C, West Virginia Light) in Reserve

In conjunction with Wiedrich's battery, Buell's battery was ordered to report to Brig. Gen. Schenck, and there remained in reserve. Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 304.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light) in Reserve

The battery was presumably with the corps near Dogan's as it is known to have been involved in cooperation with Stahel's brigade later in the day. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 269.

D. Milroy is Placed in Reserve

At 8 AM Milroy took position in reserve behind the rest of the First

Corps, "on a hill from where I had a fine view...." Milroy to his Wife, September 5, 1862, in Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. I, p. 89.

1. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light) in Reserve

The battery, attached to Milroy's brigade, may have been in position near McLean's brigade. See McLean's documentation.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

Like all corps commanders, McDowell attended the early morning council on Buck Hill. Following that, about 11 AM, he embarked on a personal reconnaissance with General Heintzelman opposite the Union right. They found, according to McDowell, "all points held by the enemy the day before beyond Bull Run abandoned, and in going over to the Sudley Springs Road and west of it we saw no evidence of the enemy in force, some skirmishers and advanced posts or rear guards, whatever the case may be, being all that we found." These discoveries coincided with Pope's opinion that the enemy was now retreating. McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 340; Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413; Roebling, Journal, August 30, 1862, Porter Papers; Willard, Diary, August 30, 1862.

A. Hatch's Division Rests and Regroups Near the Stone House

1. Sullivan's Brigade Lays Near the Stone House

According to Sergeant David Hamer of the 24th New York, the brigade spent the night "on the side of the hill, close to the creek," but by noon was "in line back of the Stone House." Hamer, "One Man's War...," pp. 21, 24.

2. Doubleday's Brigade in Reserve

Doubleday and his men spent a peaceful early morning "close behind our main line of battle, where our batteries were posted." Shortly they moved "only a short distance" to the front, "among the reserves of the army." The position was "close by" Pope's headquarters. Noyes, Bivouac and Battlefield, pp. 135-136.

3. Patrick's Brigade Moves off Dogan Ridge into Reserve

At daylight these New Yorkers held a position near the J. Dogan House. On arising, Patrick was treated to the spectacle of a Rebel column (probably R.H. Anderson's Division) hurrying westward on the Warrenton Turnpike, not far from his position. Patrick quickly ordered his batteries to fire a few shots at the column to hasten it along. He then reported it to McDowell. Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862; Patrick's Testimony, Porter

Retrial, Pt. 2, pp. 232, 238; Patrick to Porter, February 23, 1867, Porter Papers; Heintzelman, Journal, August 30, 1862 (Heintzelman speaks of the shots being fired by Patrick's artillery at dawn.); McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 340; Letter of Lieut. Breck (Reynolds' Battery), Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

Shortly after, Patrick was relieved from duty at the Dogan House by General Porter's corps and ordered by General McDowell to take post on the right of Sigel. "I did so, placing my brigade in two lines." Here Patrick remained throughout the morning. Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862; S.M. Weld to Porter, November 18, 1862, Porter Papers; 80th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 376.

4. Gibbon's Brigade Holds it's Position

Gibbon's black hatted men held their positions taken the previous night, "a few hundred yards" north of the Warrenton Turnpike and "a little west of the Sudley Road" in support of artillery. Gibbon's MS report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. I, p. 555, RG 94, National Archives; Lyman Holford, Diary, September 4, 1862; Rufus Dawes testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 797; George Fairfield, Diary, August 29, 1862.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

At daylight the battery was in position on Dogan Ridge with Patrick's brigade. Subsequently, it is likely the guns followed Patrick to his new position and remained with him there. Patrick to Porter, February 23, 1867, Porter Papers.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light)

Captain Monroe recalled, "Early in the morning we went into battery in rear of the Dogan House, a fine position, that commanded an extensive plain of bottomland, heavy timber skirting the further limit to the west of us. We had little to do but to keep in readiness for immediate work." Monroe, "Battery D... at the Second Battle of Bull Run," PNRIS&SHS, Series 4, Number 10, p. 20.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light)

According to Lieutenant Breck of the battery, "Our position was in the centre, almost in the same place we occupied the night before, on a slight rise of ground in a small orchard. A battery was placed on our left, another on our right." Letter of Lt. George Breck, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, September 11, 1862; Patrick to Porter, February 23, 1867, Porter Papers.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.)

The battery was in a position from where it could "open the action" that morning—probably on Dogan Ridge. 80th New York report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 376.

B. Ricketts' Division is Split Up: Two Brigades are Sent to Relieve Kearny and Two are Held in Reserve

Ricketts reported, "At sunrise on the 30th I was ordered...to send two brigades to General Kearny." Duryee and Thoburn were designated for the job and moved from their bivouac toward the army's right. Meanwhile, "the Second and Third Brigades, under General Tower...occupied our right." Ricketts' report, *ibid*., p. 384.

As Duryee's four regiments advanced to Kearny's relief they came under a sharp artillery fire, deployed, and engaged the enemy. Ricketts urgently informed McDowell, "this seems to be the point of attack. We must have assistance.... My advance brigade is engaged and I have no support." This urgent request illicited no recorded response. Ricketts to McDowell, 9:30 AM August 30, *O.R.* Ser. 1, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 754.

Shortly, after successfully extricating Duryee's command from the firing line, Ricketts received an order from Pope. (Pope was ignorant of the fact that Duryee's men had just come out of a fight.) Through a staff officer, Pope directed Ricketts to push into the woods and contact the enemy. Ricketts replied that the effort had already been made, but that if Pope insisted, he would try it once again. To the bewildered staff officer, an angry Pope retorted, "No, damn it, let him go." Eby, ed., *Strother Diaries*, p. 94.

1. Duryee Moves Forward, Engages the Enemy, then Falls Back to Support Batteries

Just after sun-up Duryee moved his four regiments from their bivouac near the Stone House toward the right of the Federal line, a march of "about a mile." As they neared "the main woods" in front of the unfinished railroad, the brigade deployed into line, from right to left the 107th Pennsylvania, 97th New York, 105th New York, and the 104th New York. Hall, *Ninety-seventh New York*, pp. 72-73; Hough, *Duryee's Brigade*, pp. 96-97; 104th New York, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

Coming under artillery fire, the brigade pushed forward into the timber. Isaac Hall of the 97th New York recounted that the line "advanced, halting at intervals, until it reached the railroad cut, and finally proceeded a little further, our right resting in a vale at the edge of an open field. To the front of this position—not more than 300 yards distant—was a dwelling house, situated on Sudley Lane." Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 72.

While the advance of the right of the line was relatively unencumbered, the left of the line came under a stinging Confederate fire. The 104th New York encountered the enemy "both in front and on the left flank, and a sharp action continued for some time." 104th New York, MS Account, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

Soon, wrote Private Hall, "a battery unlimbered upon a hill near the dwelling house." The fire from this battery, combined with the fire from Confederate skirmishers in front and to the left, compelled Duryee to pull his line back to the cover of the unfinished railroad. Hall, op.cit., p. 72; 104th New York, MS Account, T. C. H. Smith Papers; 107th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 387.

Seeing that his men were in an untenable position, Duryee ordered his ranks to back out of the woods. But, by some confusion, the 97th New York and 107th Pennsylvania, on the right of the line, "did not get this order, and remained some time in advance." After a short lapse the two regiments were able to extricate themselves, but not without loss. Hough, Duryee's Brigade, p. 97; Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 72.

After extracting the brigade, Duryee "formed his line in rear of a rail fence at the east edge of the main woods. The 107th Pennsylvania and the right seven companies of the 97th fronted west [sic] as before, but a right angle occured in the latter regiment by which [Companies] K, G, and B fronted south, towards a large open field.... The 105th and the 104th New York were on the left of these companies...and fronted the same way." Thus disposed, the brigade covered "the front of the batteries on the hill which had been passed...on our advance." Thompson's battery was soon brought forward and placed on the left of the brigade. Hall, op.cit., p. 72.

2. Tower Takes Command of His Own and Stiles' Brigades and Keeps Them in Reserve

That morning Col. John W. Stiles, commanding Hartsuff's brigade, received a directive to "immediately report for orders to Brig. Gen. Tower." Special Order 88, August 30, 1862, RG 393, #3589, National Archives.

The two brigades then "passed down the front of the Stone House and formed on a hill half mile closer to Sudley Church." Here they rested in "close column of division; facing mainly west." Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; George W. Hussey, History of the Ninth Regiment New York State Militia (New York, 1889), p. 175; John D. Vautier, History of the Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War for the Union (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 53; W.H. Christian to Porter, July 15, 1878, Porter Papers.

3. Thoburn supports Duryee

Ricketts reported that Thoburn was "a little retired on [Duryee's] right." William Davis of the 7th Indiana provided furthur detail: "[We] advanced with General Duryea's [sic] in front... Now came a volley, being behind piles of rails we were somewhat shielded, but soon came shells, grape, and cannister. We moved out in order and formed line in a field until late afternoon." Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384; William Davis, "Record of Movements, Camps, Campaigns, Skirmishes and Battles of the 7th Indiana Infantry, 1861-63," TS in Indiana State Library (original in Fort Wayne Public Library), Vol. I, p. 77; James Hamilton, "History of the 110th Pennsylvania Regiment of Infantry," MOLLUS War Library, Philadelphia, Pa., p. 58.

4. Division Artillery

a. Thompson's (C, Pennsylvania Light) and Matthews' (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light) Batteries Operate on Duryee's Front

Early in the morning these two batteries moved with Duryee and Thoburn to the right of the line. At 10 AM Thompson "opened a sharp fire from the Parrott guns upon a rebel battery posted in rear of woods opposite the centre." The battery did not fire long "before the enemy brought a six gun battery to bear upon [its] right flank." This compelled Thompson to withdraw to a new position on the left of Duryee's brigade, in front of the 104th New York. Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 5, p. 866; William A. Williams, "Gen. McDowell Again," National Tribune, November 3, 1892; Hall, Ninety Seventh New York, p. 73; 104th New York, MS Account in Manassas NBP Library.

Matthews took position on Duryee's and Thompson's left—opposite the right of Stevens' division. Ricketts' report, O.R., op.cit., p. 385.

b. Hall (2nd, Maine Light) and Leppien (5th, Maine Light) in Position with Tower

Though there is little specific information available, these batteries are known to have been assigned to Tower's command, and are presumed to have been in position with him near Matthews Hill. Ricketts' report, ibid., p. 384; Zealous B. Tower to T. C. H. Smith, no date, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

C. Reynolds Moves Forward and Encounters the Enemy Near Groveton

General Reynolds reported, "On the morning of the 30th I was directed to take post with my division on the left of the pike near the Henry House, and was ordered by Major-General Pope to form my division in column by company at full distance, with the whole of my artillery on the left." The brigades advanced in parallel lines. Reynolds pushed his division forward to near Groveton and skirmished with the enemy for the remainder of the morning. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394; Letter of "B", September 8, 1862, Lancaster [Pa.] Daily Express, September 10, 1862.

1. The Bucktails Lead the Advance of Meade's Brigade

Meade's brigade formed in column of divisions and, with the 13th Pennsylvania Reserves (6 companies) deployed as skirmishers, advanced toward Groveton. The 7th and 8th Reserves moved on the left of Cooper's battery, the 4th and 3d on the right. As it neared the hamlet the column came under both artillery and infantry fire. Progress slowed. With the assistance of the 2d Pennsylvania Reserves (Seymour's brigade), the Bucktails were finally able to drive the Confederates from the buildings around Groveton, and the division took position just east of the crossroads. 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 129; Meade's report, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 398. E. M. Woodward, Our Campaigns (Philadelphia, 1865), p. 182.

Behind the skirmishing Bucktails, according to the colonel of the 8th Reserves, the brigade readjusted its alignments: "The 8th regiment deployed in line of battle in rear and right of battery and left of road, right resting on road, 7th regiment three rods in rear of 8th in same order; the 4th and third in rear of 7th in column of divisions." After a very short time, the 8th Reserves were shifted to the right of the road, the 7th moving up directly behind the Bucktails. The 3d now deployed and moved up behind the 7th, while the 4th moved to the right of the road immediately in rear of the 8th. Here the brigade remained for upwards of an hour, the Bucktails skirmishing and the unoccupied men doing their best to succor the wounded of the previous night's fight. It was likely shortly before noon that the brigade was ordered to fall back 300 yards, where it took position behind a battery in columns of companies, the 4th Reserves in front, followed by the 3d, 7th, and 8th. 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 129; Meade's report, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 398; Reynolds' report, ibid., p. 394; Woodward, Third Pennylvania Reserves, p. 156.

2. Seymour Moves on Meade's Left and Also Skirmishes With the Enemy

After being recalled from picket duty, Seymour's brigade formed on the left of Meade's brigade and advanced. As the brigade neared Groveton, resistance increased. Evan Woodward of the 2d Reserves recalled, "After feeling the enemy for some time they were found occupying a store and some outbuildings about three hundred yards in advance of us. Leaving a portion of the skirmishers to occupy their attention, [Col. William] McCandless [commanding the 2d] moved with the balance to the left, and under cover of woods crept up upon them, but the scamps were too wide awake to be caught, they skedaddling before we could flank them. Taking up a position in the buildings and the extreme edge of the woods, a sharp fire was opened by both sides across a broad field, beyond which the enemy were posted in a woods." Woodward, Our Campaigns, p. 182.

Once along Lewis Lane, the 5th Reserves took position on the left of the Bucktails, while the 6th was "thrown through the woods on our left flank." The 2d and 1st apparently acted as support, holding position in an open field. ibid., p. 182; 13th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 132; Reynolds report, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394; E. B. Cope to G. K. Warren, August 5, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Letter of "B", September 8, 1862, Lancaster [Pa.] Daily Express, September 10, 1862.

3. Hardin's Brigade Acts as a Reserve

According to Col. Martin Hardin, "[The Brigade] was early moved north on the Sudley Springs Road to the Warrenton Turnpike, west on this pike a short distance, then moved up the face of Bald Hill [Chinn Ridge], then back on this hill to the woods." At 9 AM part of the division moved forward and skirmished with the foe around Groveton, but it was apparently not until just after noon that Hardin's brigade moved forward toward Groveton. Hardin, Twelfth Pennsylvania Reserves, p. 97.

4. Division Artillery (Dunbar Ransom Commanding): Simpson's (A, 1st Pa. Light), Cooper's (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Kerns' (G, 1st Pennsylvania Light), and Ransom's (C, 5th U.S.) Batteries

On first forming, all four batteries were placed on the left of Reynolds' column. Soon they (except Ransom's battery of Napoleons) were ordered to unlimber and open fire on the "first ridge." The Confederates soon withdrew. Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 394.

Subsequently, Cooper's battery advanced with Meade's brigade, and after that brigade succeeded in driving the Confederates from Groveton, the battery opened fire from the ridge overlooking the intersection. The remaining three batteries of the division remained somewhere in the rear, out of action. 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 129; Meade's report, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 398.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

Like most of the high command, Heintzelman attended the early morning conference at Pope's headquarters. Following that, probably about 11 AM, he, with McDowell, embarked on a personal reconnaissance of the area opposite the right flank. There, Heintzelman reported, they found little indication that the Confederates still held the field. Heintzelman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 413.

A. Kearny is Relieved and Takes Position on the Extreme Union Right

Shortly after dawn Ricketts' division moved up and relieved Kearny of the position he had held since the evening before. Kearny moved his men to the right of the Union line, a position he surely hoped would give his battered division respite from the Confederate fire. But that was a vain hope. Promptly upon moving into position, the Red Patch Division came under fire from "three or four long range [Confederate] batteries." In a dispatch to Pope that morning Kearny outlined his division's new position: It had "about a mile of position and a bottom of two-thirds of a mile to control, the advanced skirmishers on a rocky creek immediately under a commanding height opposite on a bare hill—and I am forced to hold this line in advance, my left in the air, about one-quarter mile in advance of Ricketts' right." Kearny to Pope, 9:30 AM August 30, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p.755; Kearny's report, ibid., pt. 2, p. 416.

1. Robinson Holds Kearny's Right

The First Brigade, under General Robinson, was put in position on the extreme right of the army's line, "in front of one of the fords of Bull Run." Robinson wrote that he placed "two regiments in line and one in reserve." A man of the 63d Pennsylvania recalled there was "a house on the hill above us, and to our right as we faced front, surrounded by peach trees.... There was a sort of shallow ravine or dip about the center of the field in which we lay, which ran at right angles to the front. The bed of a small dry rivulet ran through this." Shortly, chronicled another of the brigade, the Confederates "began using their artillery, and their shot and shell went flying over our heads, falling far in our rear. Soon they shortened their fuses and the shot commenced to explode over our heads or not very far behind us. Anticipating that the artillery fire was but preliminary to a charge over the hill or slope, General Robinson ordered us to fix bayonets and lie down. The whole brigade did so." Later in the morning, the brigade was joined by six companies of the 30th Ohio, which were placed on the left of the line. Robinson's report, ibid., p. 422; B. F. Butterfield to James Tanner, May 17, 1887, in James Tanner, "Corporal Tanner," National Tribune, June 9, 1887; James Tanner, "Experience of a Wounded Soldier at the Second Battle of Bull Run," The Military Surgeon, Vol. 60 (1927), p. 123; E. C. Gilbreath, TS History of the 20th Indiana, Indiana State Library; MS map by Orlando Poe, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

2. Birney's Brigade Rests Quietly

General Birney's Second Brigade lay "in an open space in the woods somewhat to the right and rear of the scene of the day before." The 38th New York, under Colonel Hobart Ward, was dispatched to the skirmish line, "connecting Birney's with Poe's Brigade." The 3rd Maine acted as a support to Randolph's battery. 101st New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 432; 38th New York report, ibid., p. 430; William E. S. Whitman and Charles H. True, Maine in the War for the Union, Lewiston, 1865, p. 69; Daniel Fletcher Coolidge, Reminiscences of California and the Civil War (Ayer, Mass., 1894), p. 172; Theodore Dodge, Journal, August 30, 1862; Poe, MS Map, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

3. Poe Holds His Position

While the other two brigades of the division shifted, Poe's brigade held tight to its position taken the day before. During the morning the 99th Pennsylvania arrived and was held in reserve. Poe's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 435; Poe, MS map, T. C. H. Smith Papers; John V. Reuhle, Diary, August 30, 1862.

4. Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island Light) and Graham's (K, 1st U.S.) Batteries are not in Action

These two batteries, though not engaged, were in position with the rest of Kearny's division, Randolph's guns supported by the 3d Maine of Birney's brigade. Whitman and True, Maine in the War for the Union, p. 69; Thomas T. Cooney, "Sykes' Regulars," National Tribune, February 9, 1893.

B. Hooker's Three Brigades Refit and Support Batteries

The brigades of this division lay somewhat scattered in the fields north of the Warrenton Turnpike. According to a regimental historian in Grover's brigade, that command maintained the position taken by it the evening before, "upon the ground where Burnside's brigade had opened the battle of 1861." Taylor's Excelsior Brigade continued to support "a battery in front," while Carr's New Jerseyans also supported guns, constituting the "second line." This position was "to the right and rear of the position we had held the day before." Haynes, Second New Hampshire, p. 138; Grover's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 440; 71st New York report, ibid., p. 446; Carr's report, ibid., p. 455; 6th New Jersey report, ibid., p. 459; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 3, p. 2209; Bellard, Gone For a Soldier, p. 142.

1. McGilvery's Battery (6th, Maine Light)

McGilvery's six guns held position "on the right near an oak forest." McGilvery's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 419.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

At 3:30 AM Porter received peremptory marching orders from Pope: "Immediately upon the receipt of this order...you will march your command to the field of battle...and report to me in person for orders." Pope to Porter, 8:50 PM August 29, 1862, ibid., p. 18; Porter, Narrative, p. 49.

Porter complied and had his corps on the road in short order. He arrived on the field some time between 7 and 8 AM. Porter recalled, "I reported to General Pope and gave him my positive belief of Longstreet's arrival [opposite] his left. Gen. Reynolds, there present, gave his convictions to the same effect and added that the enemy was then turning our left. Gen. Buford had previously expressed his belief and referred to his dispatch to Gen. Ricketts of the 29th stating a number of Longstreet's regiments had passed through Gainesville." Porter to John C. Ropes, September 7, 1897, Ropes Papers; S. M. Weld to Porter, November 11, 1862, Porter Papers.

Captain Weld of Porter's staff narrated Porter's movements for the rest of the morning in a letter to the general: After speaking with Pope, Porter "then went up to the white house on the hill [Dogan's] and relieved Gen. Patrick. Our skirmishers were thrown out toward the belt of woods in our front and [we] then waited some time....

"While we were waiting on the hill a wounded man of ours was brought to you who said he had been taken prisoner the night before and had escaped and that the enemy was retreating." Weld to Porter, November 11, 1862, Porter Papers.

Porter sent the man to Pope, but with a stout disclaimer: "I regard him either a fool or designedly released to give the wrong impression and no faith should be put in what he says." But Pope believed the man and responded to Porter with verbal orders to "attack; King will support." Porter immediately began preparations for the attack. Porter, Narrative, p. 51; George Montieth to Porter, November 11, 1878, Porter Papers; Weld's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 295.

A. Part of Morell's Division Loses its Way; the Rest Arrives, Takes Position Near Dogan's, and Sends Skirmishers Out.

After painstakingly extricating his foremost brigade (Griffin's) from Longstreet's front, Morell marched with that brigade, with orders to "follow Sykes." But by the time Griffin's column, soon to be followed by Piatt, got going, Sykes and Butterfield were far out of sight. Without knowledge of the ultimate destination, Morell assumed that the balance of the corps had headed toward Centreville. So, the two brigades, plus the 22nd Massachusetts of Roberts' brigade, took the road to Centreville. There they passed much of the rest of the day substantially out of touch with the corps. In Morell's absence command of his division devolved upon Brig. Gen. Daniel Butterfield. Morell's Testimony, Porter Court Martial, p. 148; Griffin's Testimony, ibid., pp. 158-59; Sturgis to Porter, 1878, Porter Papers; Roberts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, pt. 2, p. 472.

1. Roberts' Brigade Takes Position and Sends Out Skirmishers

Roberts' men broke bivouac along the Manassas-Gainesville Road between 3 and 4 AM. They arrived near the Stone House shortly after 6 AM. There the men settled down to cook breakfast, but before they finished orders came to move to the "top of the ridge where the artillery was stationed." Fisher Baker's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 246; Roberts' report, op.cit., p. 471.

Colonel Roberts promptly moved to his assigned position, on Butterfield's (hereafter referred to as Weeks' brigade) right. Roberts reported, "The 25th New York, Colonel [Charles A.] Johnson, deployed as skirmishers, covering our front and connecting with the skirmishers of the Third Brigade [Weeks']; the 18th Massachusetts...in line of battle directly in rear of Colonel Johnson's reserve; the 13th New York...in line of battle directly in rear of the 18th Massachusetts; the 1st Michigan...and the 2nd Maine...in double column in rear by echelon of the other regiments respectively." In this formation the brigade lay "for nearly two hours." Finally, between 11 AM and noon, Roberts received orders to "advance my skirmishers briskly through the skirt of woods in my front, and following with my command to attack the enemy.... I at once commenced executing the order...." Roberts' report, ibid., p. 470.

a. The 25th New York Fights on the Skirmish Line

After taking position near Dogan's, Colonel Johnson deployed six companies as skirmishers, "connecting on the right with the 104th and 105th New York [Duryee] and on the left with the 17th New York [Weeks]. The deployment was made just under the brow of the hill in the open field.... Berdan's sharpshooters were deployed on my left and front." After an hour orders came to push forward. "We immediately advanced into the woods, the skirmishers on our left advancing, but those on our right retaining their position." 25th New York report, ibid., p. 809.

2. Weeks Moves to Dogan Ridge, Supports Batteries, and Deploys Skirmishers

The Third Brigade, now commanded by Colonel Henry Weeks of the 12th New York, marched to the field and was securely in position near Dogan's by 9 AM. The 17th New York deployed into line of battle and the four remaining regiments formed in "columns of division" behind it. Here the brigade remained until orders were received to attack the Confederate position behind the unfinished railroad. 44th New York report, ibid., p. 479; 12th New York report, ibid., p. 476; 83rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 480; Amos Judson, History of the Eighty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers (Erie, c1867), p. 51; Eugene Arus Nash, History of the Forty-fourth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry (Chicago, 1911), p. 100.

a. The First United States Sharpshooters Practice Their Trade on the Skirmish Line

One of the Sharpshooters recalled, "At about 9:30 o'clock skirmish line in which our regiment formed the center was deployed.... We advanced slowly and cautiously, first across a field, then into a dense wood without meeting strong resistence.... Toward Noon our advance was becoming more difficult as the enemy was showing opposition, yet he was slowly retreating...." Rudolph Auschman, Memoirs of a Swiss Officer in the American Civil War (Bern and Frankfurt, 1972), p. 184; C.A. Stevens, Berdan's United States Sharpshooters in the Army of the Potomac, 1861-65 (Dayton, Morningside Bookshop rpt., 1972), p 184; Berdan's report, New York Times, September 13, 1862, p. 2, c. 4; 25th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt 2, p. 809.

3. Division Artillery

1. Martin's Battery (C, Massachusetts Light) Goes to Centreville

This battery, which saw service near Griffin's brigade the previous day, followed Griffin and Piatt to Centreville and there sat out the rest of the battle. Martin's report, ibid., p. 466.

2. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island Light) Unlimbers Near Dogan's

Captain Waterman's guns took position "on [the] heights commanding [the] enemy's batteries and woods through which the First and Third Brigades were to go forward." Waterman's report, ibid., p. 467.

3. Hazlett's Battery (D, 5th U.S.) Designated as Part of the Corps Reserve

Hazlett's guns were apparently with the reserve of the corps and placed in the hollow just west of Dogan's under Warren's protection. Warren to Porter, August 3, 1878, Porter Papers.

B. Sykes' Three Brigades Mass Near Dogan's

After a five-mile march from its bivouac near Bethlehem Church, Sykes' Division arrived on the field about 9 AM. Sykes guided his men to their assigned places near the "Dogan house on the slope. Two of my brigades were thrown in line of battle, one in support of the other. Warren's Brigade was in reserve." Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 448.

1. Buchanan Deploys on Butterfield's Right

Under a desultory artillery fire, Buchanan's units took position "about 400 yards in front of the Dogan House." The two battalions of the 14th U.S. deployed in front: the 1st on the right, the 2nd on the left, with it's left "resting on and perpendicular to" the Warrenton Turnpike. Behind the 14th U.S. deployed the 4th U.S., which covered the front of the 12th U.S.. Weeks' brigade was on Buchanan's right. 4th U.S. report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 491; 2nd Battalion, 14th U.S. report, ibid., p. 495; 1st Battalion, 14th U.S. report, ibid., p. 494; Buchanan's report, ibid., p. 488.

a. The 3rd U.S. Deploys as Skirmishers and Pushes Forward

Shortly after arriving, Capt. John D. Wilkins of the 3rd U.S. received orders to advance to the woods in front and deploy as skirmishers. The Regulars promptly fanned out to cover the front of Buchanan's brigade from the Turnpike on the left to the woods on the right. While pushing forward two Confederate guns "near a stone house some 500 yards in front" opened fire. In response the regiment moved more to the right and "took a somewhat sheltered position under the crest of a slight elevation." Soon Porter and Sykes arrived and ordered the 3rd to continue its advance. The three left companies, under command of Lt. Andrew Sheriden, were ordered to flank up a "ravine" and move toward the stone house. Sheriden's men pushed forward and drove the Confederates out of the building. Here the regiment held its position, connected with the Pennsylvania Reserves on their left and Butterfield's skirmishers on their right. 3rd U.S. report, ibid., p. 490; 3rd U.S. report (more detailed than that published in the O.R.'s), New York Herald, September 8, 1862; Buchanan's report, O.R., op.cit., p. 488; Andrew Sheriden to Porter, June 30, 1878, Porter Papers.

2. Chapman Rests Behind Buchanan

Chapman's five regiments, after arriving on the field, massed in "columns of division" behind Buchanan. Chapman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 496; William E. Dougherty, "An Eyewitness Account of Second Bull Run," American History Illustrated, December, 1966, p. 37.

3. Warren Acts as Reserve

According to Sykes, Warren's two regiments acted as a reserve for the division, behind Buchanan and Chapman, guarding the reserve artillery of the corps. Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 448; Warren's Testimony, ibid., pp. 85-86; Warren's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 503.

4. Division Artillery

a. One Section of Weed's Battery (I, 5th U.S.) Swings into Action

Arriving on the field with the division, Weed left four of his pieces with Warren and the reserve and took two rifles to "a cornfield to the front, about 1200 yards from some batteries of the enemy." Here the section opened a sporadic fire that it maintained much of the morning. Weed's report, ibid., p. 485; Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 448; Alfred Davenport, Camp and Field Life of the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry (New York, 1879), p. 271.

b. Randol (E&G, 1st U.S.) and Smead (K, 5th U.S.) Wait with Warren

On first arriving on the field the two batteries stopped at the "foot of the hill near...the Dogan House." After watering their horses in Young's Branch they "moved up and formed on the right of the pike at the foot of the hill on which the Dogan House was situated." There, until the general movement of the division commenced, they rested. Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147.

C. Piatt Follows Griffin to Centreville

Temporarily attached to the Fifth Corps, Piatt's brigade fell into column behind Griffin and followed him toward Centreville. During the course of the march Piatt passed Griffin and preceded him to their destination, which was reached about noon. Sturgis to Porter, August 20, 1878, Porter Papers; Isaac R. Rathbun, "...The Diary of Issac R. Rathbun, Company D, 86th New York Volunteers, August 23, 1862-January 20, 1863," New York History, 1955 (Vol. 36), p. 338.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens Holds Fast on the Right and Attempts a Reconnaissance

According to General Stevens' son (who was acting as aide-de-camp on the general's staff), the First Division spent the morning "in the same general area where we were bivouacked on the night of the 29th. Our artillery had formed in front of the woods." The division was formed "in three lines, each a brigade," and lay "in support of our batteries, which had taken position a little west of Sudley Road." Reno's division was to the left, Ricketts' to the right. Stevens' testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 344; Stevens, Stevens, p. 466; Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, pp. 202-203; Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 385.

About mid-morning word reached Stevens of the growing belief at army headquarters that the enemy was retreating. He was incredulous that such a rumor could be given any credence by the high command, so he rode to headquarters to confronted Pope in person. Stevens insisted that the enemy was still firmly placed in their positions of the day before. Pope therefore ordered Stevens to initiate a reconnaissance of the woods in his front. He did so, encountered strong resistance, and reported back to Pope's headquarters. But, wrote Stevens' son, "it had no effect on [Pope's] opinionated mind." Stevens, Stevens, p. 462.

1. Two Companies of the 79th New York Deploy and Meet the Enemy

It was likely between 10 and 11 AM that Stevens directed Capt. John More of the 79th New York to take two companies (D and E) of that regiment and drive in the Rebel skirmishers in front. The regimental historian described the advance: "Our skirmish line had not got far into the woods in our front before they were met by a heavy fire.... Pushing on, our men drove the enemy's skirmishers back, and when their main line was encountered at the railroad cut, the volleys of musketry that met them caused them to halt." Word was quickly sent back that, as expected, the enemy had been found. Stevens then ordered the bloodied detachment out of the woods. Captain More was among the wounded. Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, pp. 201-202; John More, Letter, November 11, 1865, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

2. Benjamin's Battery (E, 2nd U.S.) Returns to the Division

According to Alanson Randol of the Fifth Corps, Benjamin's two remaining guns were in position "in front and to the left of the Dogan House" until relieved by a section of Weed's battery about 9 AM. Then, presumably, the battery rejoined its division. Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147.

B. Reno's Two Brigades Support Batteries

Reno's division was arranged in two lines on Stevens' left. The first line, Ferrero's brigade, lay "on the hill a few yards" behind Durell's battery (D, Pennsylvania Light), on the same ground it had first taken position the previous day. Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 146; George C. Parker to "Mother Stone," October 15, 1862, Parker Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Fowler, Memoirs, p. 56; Parker, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, pp. 212-13; Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, p. 203; George Shorkley, Diary, August 30, 1862, Bucknell University; H. Belcher, Diary, August 30, 1862, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Nagle's brigade "acted as a support to" Ferrero's men. Jackman, Sixth New Hampshire, p. 85.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

On August 30 most of Beardsley's brigade was held in reserve until afternoon. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272; 1st Maryland Cavalry report, ibid., p. 273.

B. Buford's Brigade

Buford's brigade remained in the area of Pope's headquarters until after 2 PM. Ruggles to Porter, June 10, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard's exact location is uncertain; the brigade was not assigned a specific duty until the noon pursuit orders were issued.

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Much to General Lee's surprise, the morning sun of August 30 rose over a quiet battlefield. His planned dawn offensive had been cancelled the previous evening in expectation of the renewal of the reckless Federal assaults. Testified Chief of Staff Charles Marshall, "We hoped we would be attacked. I think the hope that we might be attacked caused General Lee to defer any action that he might have taken [that morning]." But the Federal attacks did not come, and as a result, Lee was forced to reevaluate his planning. Charles Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 212.

As the morning wore on with no stirring from the Federals, Lee realized that his planning must take into account the possibility of day-long Union inaction. Therefore, to discuss the matter, he called his wing commanders together for a conference at army headquarters. This meeting, recorded only by Longstreet, produced a viable plan. Apparently, Lee was prepared to allow the day to pass without a fight, if Pope so chose. In that event, Lee would, according to Longstreet, move "by our left across Bull Run, so as to get over on the Little River pike and move down parallel to [Pope's] lines and try to interpose between him and Washington." The movement was planned for the coming night. In the meantime, though, if Pope attacked, the Army of Northern Virginia would stand ready for that too. George S. Bernard, "The Maryland Campaign of 1862," in War Talks of Confederate Veterans, George S. Bernard, ed., (Dayton, 1981), p. 15, 300; Marshall Testimony, Op.cit., p 212; Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 520; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 184.

II. Longstreet's Wing

With Jackson, Longstreet attended the morning conference at Lee's headquarters. There he received no orders to attack, but rather he was directed to prepare to make a diversion against the Union left in favor of Jackson's end run around the Union right. The time for this movement was set for 5 PM. Longsteet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 565; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 184.

A. R. H. Anderson's Division Marches Beyond the Confederate Line, Then Hastily Falls Back

After a hard march from Thoroughfare Gap, R. H. Anderson's three brigades (Armistead's, Mahone's and Wright's) finally arrived on the battlefield between 3 and 4 AM. Longstreet, however, neglected to post a staff officer to guide the three brigades to their positions, so in the soupy darkness the weary column simply passed eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike until the death and debris around them told them they had arrived on the field. Oblivious of his position in relation to the enemy, General Anderson allowed his men to stack arms and go to sleep. Bernard, "The Maryland Campaign of 1862," p. 15; Westwood A. Todd, MS "Reminiscences of the War Between the States, April, 1861-July, 1865," Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, p. 37.

Just behind Anderson's newly-bivouacked troops, though, General Hood realized all too well the precariousness of Anderson's position. Hood recalled, "As I was prepared to lie down and rest for the few remaining hours before dawn, one of my officers informed me that...Anderson's Division was bivouacked in mass just in my front. Knowing that some thirty or forty pieces of artillery bore directly on his troops, I mounted my horse, rode off in search of his quarters, and urged him to hasten withdrawal, as the Federal artillery would assuredly, at daylight, open upon his men.... Upon my warning, he promptly aroused his men and, just after daybreak, marched to the rear of my line of battle." Wright's and Mahone's brigades finally took position, according to one of Mahone's men, "on a high hill commanding a view of the battlefield." The division line "stretch[ed] perpendicularly across the turnpike," with Mahone's brigade on the right. Lee's headquarters were established "in a cluster of trees less than fifty yards behind" the 12th Virginia. Armistead's brigade, meanwhile, was sent out on the skirmish line, within 450 yards of the Federal skirmishers. Hood, Advance and Retreat, p. 35; Todd, "Reminiscences," p. 37; Bernard, op.cit., pp. 15, 300; Philip Francis Brown, Reminiscences of the War of 1861-1865 (Roanoake, c1912), p. 21; John Bowie Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, John B. Magruder Papers, Duke University; Benjamin L. Farinholt, Diary, August 30, 1862, Virginia Historical Society.

1. Division Artillery

The only two batteries known to have been assigned to Anderson's division were Huger's and Moorman's. Both are known to have been with the division earlier in the campaign and it can only be assumed that they remained with the division throughout. No attempt will be made to portray or discuss the batteries in future maps because of a lack of source material.

B. D. R. Jones' Division Continues to Hold the Army's Right

After redeploying his troops the evening of the 29th, Jones made only minor, indeterminable shifts of his command during the early hours of August

30. Drayton's brigade continued to hold the extreme right covering the Manassas-Gainesville Road, connecting on its left with the skirmishers of Corse's brigade (Kemper's Division). Farther to the left were Benning's and G. T. Anderson's brigades. Benning's brigade (north of the Manassas Gap Railroad) was on Corse's left, with skirmishers "near a house about 600 yards from the enemy's line." Two companies of the 15th Georgia, along with all of the 17th Georgia, were detached to the right as watchdogs "near the Manassas Gap Railroad." Anderson's Brigade was somewhere near Benning's; it is known that they later came into place on Benning's right. Charles W. Williams to Fitz John Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 626; 15th Georgia report, ibid., p. 589; 17th Georgia report, ibid., p. 590; W. R. and M. B. Houghton, Two Boys in the Civil War and After (Montgomery, 1912), p. 123; Letter of A. S. E. to Willie, September 14, 1862, [Athens, Ga.] Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862; Charles W. Williams Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 258.

C. Wilcox Deploys

After allowing his troops to rest, Wilcox deployed his division. He reported, "Before 7 a.m. Pryor's brigade was placed in position in line at right angles to the turnpike in rear of a fence in woods [deployed in two lines—the 3d Virginia, 14th Alabama, and 8th Florida in the first and the 2d and 5th Florida in the second], an open field extending to the front more than a mile, the surface of which was varied with a succession of valleys and hills; Featherston's brigade in line on his left, and extending so far to the left as to be" within a few yards of "the extreme right of General Jackson's command; my brigade in the woods to the rear of the center of the line occupied by the other two brigades. In front of General Pryor in the open field was Colonel Law's brigade...." The left of the Confederate line south of the pike "was 70 or 80 yards in front of" the right of Wilcox's command north of the road. Here the three brigades remained, an intermittent artillery fire filling the air above and the skirmishers rifles crackling to the front. Wilcox's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 598; Pryor's report, ibid., p. 601; Featherston's report, ibid., pp. 602-603; Wilcox to Fitz John Porter, April 25, 1871, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Hilary A. Herbert, "History of the Eighth Alabama Volunteer Regiment, C.S.A.," Maurice S. Fortin, ed., Alabama Historical Quarterly, Vol. 39 (1977), p. 71; Francis P. Fleming, Memoir of Captain C. Seton Fleming (Jacksonville, Fla., 1884), p. 65.

1. Division Artillery

a. Chapman's Battery (Dixie Artillery—Attached to Featherston)

The four guns of this battery remained limbered a short distance in rear of the division near the Warrenton Turnpike. William H. Chapman, "Dixie Battery at the Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 39 (1914), p. 193.

b. Anderson's Battery (Thomas Artillery—Attached to Wilcox)

As before, there is no source material available to document this battery's movements throughout the battle. Any attempt to portray it on the map would be speculation.

D. Evans Takes Command of Hood's Division and Hunton's Brigade; The Four Brigades Rest South of the Turnpike

The command relationship of General Evans to the two brigades of Hood's division on the 30th is murky at best. In his report Evans asserted that he was assigned to the "command of the troops formed immediately on the right of the road" (Hood's, Law's, Hunton's, and his own brigade). It is curious, though, that neither Lee, Longstreet, nor Hood mention such an arrangement. If in fact Evans did have formal command of those units, he made no attempt to exercise that authority during the fighting that day. The only manifestation of his command authority that can be found in the source material came the following day when he caused Hood to be placed under arrest after a dispute over ownership of some captured wagons. Evans' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 628; Hood, Advance and Retreat, p. 38.

1. Hood and Law Rest

It was a quiet morning for the men of Hood's and Law's brigades. The brigades maintained the positions taken by them after falling back from Groveton during the night: Hood south of the turnpike, his left (the 1st Texas) resting on the road, and Law just north of the pike in the field immediately in front of Featherston's brigade. Both brigades dispatched skirmishers to the front and shortly after 9 AM these became hotly engaged with Reynolds' and Porter's riflemen. 1st Texas report, op.cit., p. 612; Law's report, ibid., p. 623; Giles, Rags and Hope, p. 127; E. M. Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, 1887; R. T. Coles "History of the 4th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry," in the 4th Infantry Regiment Files, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Vol. 6, p. 16.

a. Hood's Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding): Bachman's (German Artillery), Garden's (Palmetto Artillery), and Reilly's (Rowan Artillery) Batteries

After being rejoined by Bachman's battery (on picket during the night) these three batteries remained limbered just south of the turnpike in rear of Hood's command throughout the morning. Frobel's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 688; J. H. A. Wagener Diary, August 30, 1862, South Carolina Historical Society.

2. Evans' Brigade Remains Behind Hood

After falling back and getting some sleep, Evans' regiments rested about 200 yards behind Hood's brigade, south of the Warrenton Turnpike. 17th S.C. report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 631.

a. Boyce's (Macbeth Artillery) Battery

It can be assumed that the battery rested with the brigade to which it was attached.

E. Kemper's Division Remains Somewhat Scattered

1. Corse's Brigade

Corse's Virginians remained on the right of Longstreet's line, in the midst of D. R. Jones' division. The brigade rested east of the railroad, "with the Twenty-fourth [Virginia] in line in rear of the house" (Carraco's?). To the right the brigade skirmishers connected with those of Drayton's brigade, to the left with those of Benning's. Corse's report, ibid., p. 626; David E. Johnston, Four Years a Soldier (Princeton, W. Va., 1887), p. 177.

2. Jenkins' Brigade

James Hagood of the 1st South Carolina recalled that in the morning his brigade moved "some distance along the Turnpike to a position at the base of a hill and upon the banks of a small stream which intersects the road at this point." Here the brigade secured breakfast and rested. James R. Hagood, MS "Memoirs of the First South Carolina Regiment of Volunteer Infantry...," South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, p. 68.

3. Hunton's Brigade (Temporarily Attached to Evans)

Early on August 30 Hunton moved his regiments from near the turnpike farther to the right, "passing [the] Federal field hospitals" (undoubtedly those of Hatch's division set up on the night of August 28). The brigade took position on Hood's right, "in the valley of a small stream." Virginia F.

Jordan, ed., The Captain Remembers; The Papers of Captain Richard Irby (Nottoway County Historical Association, 1975), p. 78; Eppa Hunton, The Autobiography of Eppa Hunton (Richmond, 1933), p. 77; William Nathaniel Wood, The Reminiscences of Big I, Bell I. Wiley, ed., (Jackson, Tenn., 1956), p. 31; [Norborne Berkeley], "The Eighth Virginia's Part in Second Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 37, p. 314.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery (Maj. J. B. Walton Commanding): Richardson's and Eshleman's Companies are Assigned to Commands on the Right; Squires' and Miller's are Held in Reserve

According to Major Walton, Richardson's and Eshleman's commands were assigned respectively to Benning's and Hunton's brigades. Throughout the morning, Richardson maintained his position taken the previous evening on the Manassas Gap Railroad. Eshleman presumably remained with his assigned brigade. The two remaining batteries—Squires' and Miller's—remained in reserve, probably along the Warrenton Turnpike. Walton's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 572; Richardson's report, ibid., p. 575; Owen, Washington Artillery, map, p. 115-116.

2. Stephen D. Lee's Battalion

Lee's battalion was composed of: Eubank's battery (fou howitzers), Parker's battery (two howitzers and two rifles), Rhett's battery (two howitzers and two rifles), Jordan's Battery (Bedford Artillery—one howitzer and three rifles), and a section of Grimes' battery (two 10-pounde Parrotts) commanded by Lt. Thomas J. Oakum, in all eighteen guns. It shoulc be noted that Maj. Delaware Kemper and Capt. Joseph S. Taylor, names commonly associated with Lee's battalion at Second Manassas, both apparently held staff positions within the battalion and commanded no guns of their own.

Preceding R. H. Anderson's division, Lee's battalion arrived o the field about 2 AM on August 30, "halting in some woods by the roadside. Shortly after daylight, Colonel Lee reported, "I found that our bivouac was o the battlefield of the previous evening and near our advanced division on picke [probably Anderson's]." The enemy in front looked menacing, so "upon consultation with Brig. Ben. J. B. Hood, and at his suggestion, I placed my batteries (four) on a commanding ridge immediately to his left and rear. On th general line of battle this ridge was about the center, Jackson's corps bein immediately on my left and Longstreet's on my right. It was an admirabl ridge...generally overlooking the ground in front of it for some 2,000 yards." The Groveton Woods were 1300 yards in front. Captain [J. L.] Eubanks' four howitzers were placed on the extreme left of Colonel Lee's line; the nine rifles of the command were spaced across the ridge to his right. Featherston's brigade deployed on the slope in front of these guns. Lee kept the five remaining howitzers were under cover of the woods near Pryor's brigade. After completing arrangements Colonel Lee sent a description of his position to army headquarters. General Lee responded, "You are just where I wanted you; stay there." S. D. Lee's report, op.cit., p. 577; S. D. Lee, "The Second Battle of Manassas—A Reply to General Longstreet," SHSP, Vol. 6, p. 64; Royal W. Figg, Where Men Only Dare Go! (Richmond, 1885), pp. 26-27; Coles, "Fourth Alabama," Vol. 6, p. 16; L. VanLoan Naisawald, "The Exact Location of the Artillery Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Stephen D. Lee and the Corps Batteries of General Longstreet at Second Manassas—August 30, 1862," Unpublished TS, Manassas NBP Library.

Upon the appearance of Porter's columns near the J. Dogan House, Lee brought his nine rifles into action. Throughout the morning these nine guns kept up a fire that drove Porter's men to distraction—preventing them from securing either breakfast or rest. Shortly before noon the Federal columns started to move forward to the Groveton Wood, less than a mile in front of Lee's position. At this the gunners redoubled their fire. Union attempts to silence the effective fire were in vain. Letter of "P" (W. W. Parker), August 31, 1862, Richmond Dispatch, September 8, 1862; Edward Samuel Duffey, Diary, August 30, 1862, Virginia Historical Society; Joseph A. Graves, The History of the Bedford Light Artillery (Bedford City, Va., 1903), p. 22; Nash, Forty-fourth New York, p. 99.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries: Leake's, Maurin's (Donaldsonville Artillery), Stribling's (Fauquier Artillery) and Rogers' (Loudoun Artillery) Batteries

Of these, the activities of only Rogers' and Stribling's batteries can be traced during the the fighting of August 30. Rogers and Stribling batteries (assigned to Jenkins) were in position near a house, from where they could fire upon Reynolds' advancing skirmishers. Rosser's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 750; Fauquier Artillery Affidavit, E. P. Alexander Papers, SHC, U.N.C.

No source material regarding Leake's or Maurin's battery has been found. Therefore, they do not appear on the maps; nor will they hereafter be included in the documentation.

III. Jackson's Wing

Jackson spent a restful night in bivouac at General Lee's headquarters. After rising and consuming a leisurely breakfast, Jackson consulted for a short time with Lee and then returned to his own command. His stay there, however, was apparently short, for Lee soon sent for Jackson and again the two met at headquarters. There, in the meeting of minds that followed, Stonewall received an outline of the role his wing was to play in the events of the next 24 hours. In the circumstance that Pope did not renew his disjointed attacks of the previous day, Jackson was to take his three divisions across Catharpin Run at Sudley Springs Ford and make another dash around the right flank of the Federal army. His goal? The Little River Turnpike and, hopefully, a new opportunity for a decisive attack on Pope's army. The march was to take place that night. Venable, MS "Personal Reminiscences," pp. 56-57; Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 520; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 184; Charles Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 212.

During the late morning Jackson returned to his command, and with his staff "engaged in watching the Federals in their movements" as they began their concentration in the woods in front of Starke's division. After watching the Northern troops for some time, Jackson turned to Col. William Baylor, commander of his old brigade, and told him, "Well Baylor, it looks as if there will be no fight today; but keep your men in line and ready for action." Jackson then wheeled and returned to his headquarters, established among some haystacks near Shumaker's battalion of artillery north of the unfinished railroad. There he set out to catch up on some lost sleep. E. E. Stickley, "The Stonewall Brigade at Second Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 22 (1914), p. 231; Poague, Gunner With Stonewall, p. 37.

A. Starke Continues to Hold Jackson's Right

1. Baylor's Brigade

After resting and replenishing in the rear overnight, the Stonewall Brigade moved back to the front line. The five battered regiments "took position in the edge of the woods," about 200 yards behind the unfinished railroad. The "Deep Cut" was in their immediate front. The 2d Virginia held the right of the brigade, flanked on their left by the 27th Virginia. Here the Virginians spent a quiet morning, oblivious to the clattering rifle fire of the skirmishers in the distant woods. James Garnett, "The Second Battle of Manassas, Including Ox Hill," SHSP, Vol. 40, p. 226; 2d Virginia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 659; 27th Virginia report, ibid., p. 663; 33d Virginia report, ibid., p. 664.

2. Johnson's Brigade

Johnson's men slept in the positions they had taken at the end of the previous day's fighting, on the ridge overlooking the railroad cut. Colonel Johnson reported, "I could see that some movements were being made in [the] skirt of woods [Groveton Woods] as early as 8 a.m., and during the day had frequent reports made to me to that effect." Therefore, probably shortly before noon, Johnson redisposed his command. He reported, I "placed the Forty-second [Virginia]...in the railroad cut" and the 48th Virginia, commanded by staff officer Capt. W. W. Goldsborough, "in a copse that ran at right angles from the railroad and the right of the Forty-second, and fronted the woods in which the enemy were obviously making some movement." The 21st Virginia and the 1st Virginia Battalion were held in reserve, along the edge of the woods behind the embankment. Johnson's report, ibid., p. 666; Bradley Johnson to John Warwick Daniel, October 4, 1892, John Warwick Daniel Papers, Duke University.

3. A. G. Taliaferro's Brigade

This brigade continued to hold the right of the division line, well back from the line of the unfinished railroad. Johnson's report, op.cit.

4. Stafford's Brigade

Throughout most of the morning Stafford's brigade rested on Johnson's left, well removed from the unfinished railroad in its front. At 8 AM enemy activity in the Groveton Wood in front was apparent. Consequently, Stafford dispatched half of a regiment to "occupy the railroad cut as a point of observation, to be held at all hazards." At some unspecified point he apparently followed with at least part of his brigade—probably three regiments. These regiments filed into place along the embankment, the 15th Louisiana holding the extreme right of the brigade, the 1st Louisiana next to them. Stafford's report, op.cit., pp. 668-69; Johnson's report, ibid., p. 666; Thomas Rice, "Historical Memoranda of Company E, Montgomery Light Guards, First Regiment Louisiana Volunteers," Unpublished excerpt, Manassas NBP Library.

5. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

Most of Major Shumaker's artillery was placed on the high ground on the extreme right of Jackson's corps, adjoining S. D. Lee's batteries on their right. Here the gunners occasionally engaged whatever Federal batteries dared to expose themselves. Crutchfield's report, Op. cit., p. 653; Poague, Gunner With Stonewall, p. 38; Philip G. Slaughter, A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax (Richmond, 1884), p. 31.

B. A. P. Hill Resupplies and Continues to Hold the Confederate Le

1. Branch's Brigade

The regimental historian of the 7th North Carolina re skirmishing resumed at dawn, but soon subsided. Our brigade went and obtained a day's rations of crackers and meat, and each man with 100 rounds of ammunition. We then moved towards our left and position all day, unengaged, though all the time within range of guns." Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 20; Lane's report, O.R. XII Pt. 2, p. 676.

2. Archer's Brigade

During the night Archer withdrew his men from the f replenish ammunition and secure rations. The brigade apparently di to the front until after 9 AM. At that time they closed up on opening fire on the left of the Federal skirmishers [Duryee's brigac crossed the unfinished railroad in that area. Archer finally secur tion along the railroad (the 1st Tennessee adjoining Early's brigade out skirmishers. Brisk skirmishing was kept up all morning. Ea ibid., p. 713; Archer's report, ibid., pp. 700-701.

3. Pender's Brigade

After resting his men in the rear, Pender's brigade mo extreme left in reserve and remained there until" afternoon. Pen ibid., p. 698.

4. Brockenbrough's (Field's) Brigade

Brockenbrough's regiments spent a quiet morning "in re edge of the woods." As this brigade was the first to reach S pressed men later in the day, it would seem apparent that they were of the division. Robert Healy letter in Allen C. Redwood, "Jac Cavalry at the Second Bull Run," Battles and Leaders, Vol. 2, p. 5 map on p. 509).

5. Gregg's Brigade

Shortly after dawn the five regiments of Gregg's bri out of bivouac and moved to the rear to procure breakfast and ammun AM they were back on the firing line. The brigade went into place fields several hundred yards "to the left of the position occupied Friday." The 13th South Carolina held the left of the brigade, "im front of the unfinished railroad." Throughout the morning the brigade endured a scattering fire from enemy skirmishers, but no serious attempt was made to press the position. 1st S.C. report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 690; 13th S.C. report, *ibid*., p. 695; 1st S.C. Rifles Report, *ibid*., p. 691.

6. Thomas' Brigade

Like the rest of the division, Thomas' brigade was pulled out of line early in the morning for rest and refitting. They returned, apparently, after the advance across the unfinished railroad by Duryee's Federal brigade. They probably held the same position as on the previous day. E. R. Dozier, Diary, August 30, 1862, U.D.C. Bound Typescripts, Vol. 8, p. 53; Thomas' report, *op.cit*., p. 703.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

Colonel Walker reported simply, "The batteries of Captains Braxton, Pegram, Latham, Davidson, McIntosh, and Crenshaw were all engaged at intervals on the left of the infantry." Additional information can be secured on only two of these batteries. Crenshaw's held the same position it held the previous day, behind some woods near Gregg's brigade, but did not open fire. McIntosh's was also with Gregg's brigade, in position immediately behind the 1st S.C. Rifles, and kept up a fire that effectively kept the Federal skirmishers away from Gregg's front. Walker's report, *ibid*., p. 674; William Ellis Jones, Diary, August 30, 1862, Clements Library, University of Michigan; 1st S.C. Rifles report, *op.cit*., p. 691; McGowan's report, *ibid*., p. 681.

C. Lawton's Division Holds Jackson's Center

1. Douglass' Brigade

During the forenoon, Douglass' Georgians took position along the unfinished railroad in the center of the division, Brown's (Trimble's) brigade on their right and Early's on their left. Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, p. 126.

2. Early's Brigade

Early's men spent the night along the railroad bed. That morning, Early remembered, "I had understood that some of Hill's brigades were to my left, but it turned out that they had...gone to the rear to get ammunition and did not return; and very early on the morning of the 30th, the enemy's sharpshooters got on the railroad embankment on my left and opened fire on that flank.... I thus discovered for the first time that my flank was exposed, and the enemy's sharpshooters [Duryee's brigade] began to cross the railroad on left and advance through a cornfield. I immediately sent word to General of the state of things, and, after some delay, some brigades [Archer's] sent to occupy positions on my left, and drove the sharpshooters back. Du the morning there was heavy skirmishing in my front, and the skirmishers of brigade, under Captain Lilley of the 25th Virginia, drove back a heavy f [probably the 79th New York of Stevens' division]....

"Subsequently our troops were arranged so as to place Ew division in the center...but when Lawton's brigade was moved up, there was space for only three of my regiments." Early left the 44th, 49th, and Virginia along the unfinished railroad under the command of "Extra Billy" Sm Early himself "retired about 150 yards to the rear with the rest of the brig [the 13th, 25th, 31st, and 58th Virginia]. Early, Autobiographical Sketch, 126-27; Early's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 712-13.

3. Brown's (Trimble's) Brigade

Brown's brigade held the right of the division line. It apparently, arranged in two lines. The 15th Alabama held the right of the line. Wrote one man of the regiment, "The 15th Alabama had an embankment front except on the extreme right where there was an open space of some yards not filled in." Based on accounts of the subsequent fighting, it w seem that the 12th Georgia held the embankment to the left of the 15th while 21st Georgia was in the second line immediately behind the Alabamans. W. R. M. B. Houghton, Two Boys in the Civil War and After (Montgomery, 1912), p. McLendon, Recollections of War Times, p. 116; Thomas, Doles-Cook Brigade, 356; Oates, The War Between the Union and the Confederacy, p. 144. (It sh be noted that there can be little doubt that in this post-war reminiscen Colonel Oates confuses the events of August 30 for those of August Therefore, his account of "August 29" is used here as a description of fighting on August 30.); Letter of Shepard Green Pryor, September 2, 18 Shepard Pryor Papers, University of Georgia.

4. Strong's (Forno's) Brigade

After moving to the rear the previous evening, the Louisianans Strong's brigade remained there, missing entirely the action of August Early, Autobiographical Sketch, p. 127.

5. Division Artillery

Little is known of the activities of the six batteries of Ewe division on August 30. They were detached from their assigned brigades because "of the difficulty in following them into the woods." At least three—J. R. Johnson's, D'Aquin's, and Latimer's—were in position on the extreme right of the line near Shumaker's battalion. Early's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 714; Crutchfield's report, *ibid*., p. 653.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Stuart continued to guard the flanks of the army. Not long after dawn it became apparent that the force that had been threatening Longstreet's right the previous day was gone. Stuart then readied his men for the day. Robertson's brigade was spread out along Longstreet's front and right, the 6th Virginia Cavalry gaining a position near a house, in the yard of which Stuart was able to climb a tree and observe the enemy's movements. The 5th Virginia was assigned to the extreme right to picket the road approaching from Bristoe. The rest of Lee's brigade apparently remained on the left. John Blue, Memoirs, *Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection; Stuart's report, *op.cit*., p. 736; 5th Virginia report, *ibid*., p. 750; Robertson's Testimony, *Porter Retrial*, Pt. 2, p. 219; Blackford, *War Years*, p. 130.

Pelham's battery was held in reserve all day. It is impossible to determine its location. Pelham's report, *op.cit*., p. 753.

MAP 10

Map #10, Noon to 3 PM, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

After General Pope had verbally ordered Porter to move forward and attack Jackson, McDowell and Heintzelman returned from their reconnaissance with news that seemed only to corroborate Pope's belief that his enemy was retreating. What was said at this brief meeting of those three officers is unknown, but perhaps it was McDowell's counsel that convinced Pope that a larger, more organized "pursuit" was in order. Accordingly, at noon he promulgated the following order.

> The following forces will be immediately thrown forward and in pursuit of the enemy, and press him vigorously during the whole day. Major-General McDowell is assigned to the command of the pursuit.
>
> Major General Porter's corps will push forward on the Warrenton Turnpike, followed by the divisions of Brigadier-Generals King and Reynolds. The division of Brigadier General Ricketts will pursue the Hay Market Road, followed by the corps of Major-General Heintzelman. The necessary cavalry will be assigned to these columns by Major-General McDowell, to whom regular and frequent reports will be made. The general headquarters will be somewhere on the Warrenton Turnpike.

O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 741.

Of course, this pursuit, insofar as it was carried out, was brief. It was probably not long before reports of a strong enemy presence in front began to reach Buck Hill. Throughout the early afternoon Pope received repeated reports that the enemy was threatening the left. The first of these came from Reynolds, who reported tha the had personally seen the Confederate columns south of the turnpike. At first Pope rejected the intelligence. Reynolds, however, insisted. He had run a gauntlet of fire to escape being captured, he told Pope. Reynolds' earnestness at least shook Pope out of his complacency. To Buford he turned and ordered him to take his brigade of cavalry out beyond the left to reconnoiter. George Ruggles to Porter, June 10, 1877, Porter Papers (this is the most detailed account of this meeting. Others, with minor variations in detail, can be found in Ruggles' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 311, and Stevens, Stevens, p. 465.) Reynolds to Porter, April 12, 1863, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, pp. 963-64.

Shortly after, word came that seemed to confirm Reynolds' assertion. Sigel reported that his scouts had found that the enemy "was moving against our left." It was this report that prompted Pope to give some thought to strengthening his left south of the Turnpike. He turned to Chief of Staff Ruggles and directed him to have General Schenck send a brigade to "that bald hill," gesturing vaguely toward the ridges south of the road. Ruggles transmitted the order exactly as given, indicating obscurely to Schenck that he must occupy "that bald hill." Left to his own discretion, Schenck sent a brigade to Chinn Ridge, rather than the west shoulder of Henry Hill, as Pope had apparently intended. T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoirs," p. 180, T. C. H. Smith Papers; E. Allen, probably to T. C. H. Smith, illegible date, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

While all this was going on, Pope waited impatiently for the start of Porter's attack, which was allowed to proceed dispite the newly perceived tactical situation. Shortly before 3 PM, his patience gone, Pope summoned his aide, T. C. H. Smith, and instructed him to "go forward and see [Porter] and bring me word why he doesn't attack." But before Smith reached Porter, the roar of the guns of the Fifth Corps apparently made the inquiry unnecessary. T. C. H. Smith Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 384.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

Sigel was designated as the army reserve for the pursuit and was therefore the only corps not subject to McDowell's orders. Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 268; McDowell to Porter, ibid., pt. 3, p. 756.

Sigel described his activities of the afternoon in his report: "I received repeated reports that the enemy was shifting his troops from the Gainesville Turnpike to his right. I therefore ordered the 4th New York Cavalry...to advance in that direction between New Market and Groveton, passing behind our left, and to scout the country as far as they could go. I also sent a regiment [the 55th Ohio] of General Schenck's division to the left of our position, as an outpost.... After the lapse of about an hour I received notice that the cavalry pickets had found the enemy, and that the latter was moving against our left. I sent the messenger that brought this intelligence to General Pope's headquarters. Shortly afterward I received an order by Colonel Ruggles [Chief of Staff to Pope] to occupy the 'Bald Headed Hill' on my left with one brigade, which I did immediately." Sigel's report, ibid., pt. 2, p. 268; Alfred E. Lee, "From Cedar Mountain to Chantilly," Magazine of American History, 1886 (Vol. 16), p. 575; Augustus Porter Green, Autobiography, p. 177-179, New York Historical Society.

It was probably shortly before 3 PM (not 5 PM as stated in his report) that Sigel "received a dispatch through McDowell, and written by General Porter, expressing his doubt as to the final result of his attack, and requesting McDowell to 'push Sigel forward.' Although I had not received positive orders from General Pope, I immediately made the necessary preparations...." Sigel ordered Stahel to "deploy his brigade in front and General Schurz to form his regiments in line of reserve." Sigel's report, op.cit., p. 268; Sigel's Testimony, McDowell Court of Inquiry, ibid., Pt. 1, p. 124; George Montieth to Porter, November 11, 1862, Porter Papers.

A. By Order of Sigel, Schenck Begins to Deploy on Dogan Ridge

1. Stahel Moves Forward Toward Dogan's

Stahel's three regiments rested in their positions taken that morning until mid-afternoon. Just after McLean was ordered to Chinn Ridge and just before Porter's attack, Stahel received orders to move forward and deploy on the crest of Dogan Ridge. This movement was likely still in progress as the crash of musketry to the west signaled the opening of Porter's assault. Stahel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 284; Sigel's report, ibid., p. 268.

2. McLean Moves South of the Warrenton Turnpike

Three of the four regiments of McLean's brigade rested quietly until just after 2 PM. According to McLean, at that time he received vague orders to take his three remaining regiments, plus Wiedrich's battery, to "a bald hill on my left" [Chinn Ridge]. McLean promptly moved his force and took position on Reynolds' right. He formed his brigade "in column of division with the battery in front and reported to General Reynolds that I was in position.... He replied that he would call upon me when necessary." McLean to John C. Ropes, October 6, 1897, John C. Ropes Papers, Boston University; McLean's report, op.cit., p. 286; Hurst, Seventy-third Ohio, p. 38; E. Allen to T.C.H. Smith(?), illegible date, T.C.H. Smith Papers.

a. The 55th Ohio is Detached and Operates Independently South of the Warrenton Turnpike

About noon, Colonel McLean received orders from Sigel to send a regiment "to occupy a position on the left of the Warrenton Road...the object of which was to keep up a connection with General Reynolds on my left." McLean detailed the 55th Ohio, under Col. John Lee, for the task. McLean's report, op.cit., p. 286; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War, Vol. 2, p. 332.

Colonel Lee reported that the 55th quickly moved out and took position "to the left of the Centreville Pike about 100 rods.... I found a battery on the first ridge on the left and in front of me, and a regiment of infantry to the left and rear of the battery...on the eastern slope of the ridge." Here the regiment remained. 55th Ohio report, ibid., p. 291.

3. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Moves Forward with Stahel

After resting near Stahel's brigade until about 3 PM Blume was ordered to move his guns forward and deploy on Dogan Ridge with that brigade. S.F. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

B. Schurz Moves Forward Toward Dogan Ridge

Until just before 3 PM, Schurz held his men in their morning positions. At that time, in conjunction with the general movement of the corps, he moved his own two brigades, plus Koltes' (temporarily attached), toward the Dogan House, in rear of Stahel's brigade. Schimmelfennig moved on the right, Koltes on the left, and Krzyzanowski "behind the interval." Schurz's report, *op.cit.*, p. 300.

1. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light) Holds Position

Based on the sketchy information available, it appears that Captain Hampton held his guns in the position taken by them that morning. Clark, *Hampton's Battery*, p. 33.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) Stays in Reserve

Roemer passed the early afternoon in the same position taken that morning, i.e., "at the crossroads under the hill in rear of where of [I] had been the day before." Roemer, *Reminiscences*, p. 76.

c. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light) Prepares to Deploy

Dilger remained with Krzyzanowski's brigade until the general movement of the First Corps began. As the rest of the division moved up, Dilger pressed forward and prepared to unlimber near the Dogan House. Dilger's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 305.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery

1. Wiedrich's Battery (I, 1st New York Light) Moves with McLean

Shortly after 2 PM Wiedrich received an order from Colonel McLean "to follow his brigade and deploy on a hill to the left of the road." Wiedrich, leaving his howitzer section with Buell's battery, moved to the assigned position with four 10-pounder Parrotts. Once there he was forbidden to fire by McDowell for fear of injuring friendly troops in front. Wiedrich's report, *ibid.*, p. 304; McLean's report, *ibid.*, p. 286; E. Allen to T.C.H. Smith, date illegible, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

2. Buell (C, West Virginia Light) Remains in Reserve

Buell's battery, with Wiedrich's two howitzers, maintained its position taken earlier in the day. Wiedrich's report, op.cit., p. 304.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light) Holds Position

In action later in the day, Dieckmann is presumed to have been in reserve at this time.

D. Milroy Holds Position

Milroy, presumably with Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio light), held his position taken that morning. Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, in Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. I, pp. 90-91.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

By virtue of the noon pursuit orders, McDowell assumed command of the pursuing force, i.e., the entire army except Sigel's corps. For much of the afternoon McDowell's headquarters busily handled a steady stream of incoming and outgoing correspondence, mostly with Porter, as McDowell tried to modify the Fifth Corps' movements to conform with the noontime pursuit order. See various dispatches, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. 12, Pt. 3, pp. 755, 756, 757, 759, 760, and 960.

McDowell was also present on Buck Hill when Reynolds reported on the presence of the enemy opposite the army's left. McDowell embarked on a personal reconnaissance of the area with Reynolds and subsequently ordered him to redispose his brigades on Chinn Ridge. But despite this apparent concern, one of McDowell's staff officers recorded that McDowell was still not cognizant of the seriousness of the threat opposite the left. Reynolds to Porter, April 12, 1863, ibid., Pt. 3, pp. 963-964; McDowell's report, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 340; McDowell to Porter, August 30, 1862 (postscript), ibid., Pt. 3, p. 756; Roebling, Journal, August 30, 1862, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. Hatch Moves into Position on Porter's Right

Pursuant to the noon pursuit orders, Hatch was assigned to the column that was to move along the Warrenton Turnpike. Consequently, McDowell ordered Hatch to "proceed immediately...to the Warrenton Turnpike following up the march of the corps of General Porter." McDowell to Hatch, August 30, 1862, O.R. Ser. I., Vol. XII, pt. 3, P. 757.

Shortly, however, since Porter had been unable to literally carry out the written pursuit orders, Porter modified Hatch's role to conform with the movement Porter had already undertaken. It was probably shortly after 2 PM that, according to Hatch, Porter "directed me to post the division on the right of his own troops, and to make the attack simultaneously with himself." Hatch's report, ibid., pt. 2, p. 368.

Now concentrated on the Warrenton Turnpike, the division moved forward on that road and turned off to the right, passing Warren's men as they rested at the western base of Dogan Ridge. Hatch continued forward to the woods in which Porter's men lay, and then clumsily moved into position on Porter's right, his left touching Roberts' brigade of Butterfield's division. J. Harrison Mills, Chronicles of the Twenty-first Regiment New York State Volunteers (Buffalo, 1887), p. 263; Roberts' report, op.cit., p. 472.

Once in position, Hatch's four brigades were arranged in six lines. The 2nd U.S. Sharpshooters deployed as skirmishers in front, connecting with the 25th New York of Roberts' brigade on their left. Behind the skirmishers, on the west fringe of the timber, lay Sullivan's brigade. Sullivan's New Yorkers were arranged in two lines, the foremost consisting of the 24th and 30th New York, behind them the 22d and 84th New York. 25th New York report, ibid., p. 809; Hamer, "One Man's War...," pp. 24, 27; 30th New York report, Unpublished MS, copy in Manassas NBP Library.

Behind Sullivan was Patrick's brigade, likewise in two lines, the 21st and 35th New York in front and the 23d and 80th New York behind. In Patrick's rear Gibbon's brigade took position, consolidated into one line. According to Rufus Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin, the "6th Wisconsin [was] on the right, then the 19th Indiana, and the 2d and 7th Wisconsin consolidated on the left." Bringing up the rear, well closed up in a single line, came Doubleday and his three regiments. Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862; 80th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 376; Gates, The Ulster Guard, p. 276; Gibbon's report, op.cit., p. 379; Dawes, Sixth Wisconsin, p. 79; Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, p. 48.

1. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

There is no source material available to pinpoint the location of Gerrish's guns. It is assumed that since that battery had suffered so the evening before, it was probably held in reserve, out of action.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Moves Forward on the Warrenton Turnpike

At "nearly 3 o'clock" Monroe moved his battery down the Warrenton Pike toward Groveton, "for perhaps a half mile," where, when Hatch turned off to the right, it stopped and "moved into a field on the left of the turnpike and halted...." Sumner, *Battery D*, p. 20.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light) Stays Near Dogan's

Captain Reynolds held his guns in the position they had taken that morning. Letter of Lt. George Breck, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, September 11, 1862.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.) in Position on Dogan Ridge

Captain Campbell had his Napoleons in position on a "commanding ridge," supported by a New York regiment. Gibbon's passed by as it moved to the firing line. William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, Indiana Historical Society; 80th New York report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, pt. 2, p. 376.

B. Ricketts' Division Continues to Operate on Separate Parts of the Field

Shortly after noon, Ricketts received orders outlining his role in the pursuit of Lee's army. He was directed by McDowell to "move forward your division from the right until it gets on the road leading from Sudley Springs to New Market [this is surely an error in dictation; Haymarket was Ricketts' destination.] and follow on that road in pursuit of the enemy.... Endeavor to throw out skirmishers so as to join on those of General Porter, who is advancing on the Warrenton Road on your left. Let the head of your column be preceded by a strong advance guard." Furthur, Ricketts was directed to henceforth report to General Heintzelman for orders. Edmund Schriver (McDowell) to Ricketts, August 30, 1862, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, pt. 3, p. 755.

Ricketts acknowledged the order by informing McDowell, "I shall prepare at once to advance my division," but warned, "the enemy have batteries still in our front." Ricketts to Schriver, August 30, 1862, *ibid*., p. 755.

Ricketts needed only to push his skirmish line forward to discover what he probably already knew: the enemy had gone nowhere. So, Ricketts wrote, "confident that [the Confederates] had no intention of retiring, [I] so reported personally to you [McDowell], and was then directed to abandon pursuit and resume my first position...." Ricketts' report, *ibid*., pt. 2, p. 384.

1. Duryee and Thoburn, Along with Thompson's (C, Pennsylvania Light) and Matthews' (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light) Batteries, Maintain Their Positions on the Right Flank

Though Ricketts maintained in his report that he pushed his entire force forward in compliance with the noon pursuit orders, scant mention of such a movement is made in any of the regimental accounts of Duryee's and Thoburn's brigades. The movement, therefore, must not have been a general one, but rather confined to an advance of the skirmish line. For the most part, Duryee and Thoburn, as well as Thompson's and Matthews' batteries, held the positions taken by them that morning. Hough, Duryee's Brigade, p. 98; Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 73; 104th New York, MS Account, T. C. H. Smith Papers; William Davis, TS "7th Indiana...," Indiana State Library, Vol. I, p. 77.

2. Tower and Hartsuff, With Hall's (2nd, Maine Light) and Leppien's (5th, Maine Light) Batteries, March and Countermarch

As per the noon pursuit orders, Tower marched his command toward the right to rejoin the division shortly after noon. They marched "into a piece of woods to the rear of the right flank of the army," unslung and piled knapsacks. They remained there but a short time, however, then returned to their former position, never to see their knapsacks again. George W. Hussey, History of the Ninth Regiment New York State Militia (New York, 1889), p. 175; Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; Tower to T. C. H. Smith, June 6, 1865, T.C.H. Smith Papers; Benjamin Cook, History of the Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers (Boston, 1882), p. 63; Austin C. Stearns, Three Years With Company K (F.D.U. Press, 1972); Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 251.

C. Reynolds Discovers the Enemy and Falls Back to Chinn Ridge

The pursuit orders dictated that Reynolds pursue along the Warrenton Turnpike in conjunction with Porter's corps. Posted on Porter's left, Reynolds quickly realized the folly of pursuit. He recalled, "Becoming convinced that the enemy were not in retreat, but were posted in force on our left flank, I pushed through the skirmishers to the edge of the woods on the left, gaining sight of the open ground beyond, and advancing myself into the open ground, I found a line of skirmishers of the enemy nearly parallel to the line of skirmishers covering my left flank, with cavalry formed behind them, perfectly stationary, evidently masking a column of the enemy for attack on my left flank when our line should be sufficiently advanced. The skirmishers opened fire upon me, and I was obliged to run the gauntlet of a heavy fire to gain the rear of my division. I immediately communicated this to the commanding general of the corps, who came upon the ground, and directed me to form my division to resist this attack." These redispositions "were rapidly completed." Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394; McDowell's report, ibid., p. 340.

1. Meade Sends the 3rd Reserves into Action, Then Withdraws to Chinn Ridge

Shortly after noon, the 3rd Reserves, according to General Meade, were "sent to Groveton and Skirmishers deployed to support the Rifles." There the skirmish line discovered a strong force of Confederates threatening the left of the army. Reynolds quickly ordered a redisposition of his brigades. Wrote Meade, the brigade "was withdrawn to the ridge occupied in the morning." The batteries, he continued, were placed "on the plateau looking to the left." The brigade took position "in the woods on an oblique line from the batteries in the rear of the Warrenton Turnpike. Meade's report, ibid., p. 398.

The 3rd Reserves, meanwhile, fell back and rejoined the brigade. The regiment's historian recalled, "Our line fell back over the same ground we had advanced on in the morning, and joined the division, which was drawn up on the Bald Hill [Chinn Ridge], in rear of a heavy wood. Our rifles, to the right of us, were soon engaged with a battery...." Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserves, p. 159; 4th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 126.

2. Seymour Breaks off the Fight Near Groveton and Falls Back

Upon the discovery of a dangerous Confederate force opposite the skirmish line's left, Seymour received orders to pull back. This was done, the new position being "behind a skirt of woods" with the rest of the division. Letter of "B", September 8, 1862, Lancaster [Pa.] Daily Express, September 10, 1862.

3. Hardin Moves Forward a Short Distance, Then Withdraws

It was probably shortly after noon (in all likelihood as a result of the pursuit orders) that Hardin moved his brigade forward from Chinn Ridge along the south side of the turnpike. Soon, however, he withdrew, and as the rear brigade of the division, took position "in front of Bald Hill [Chinn Ridge], extending to the left." Hardin, Twelfth Regiment, p. 97.

4. Division Artillery (Dunbar Ransom Commanding): Simpson's (A, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Cooper's (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Kerns' (G, 1st Pennsylvania Light), and Ransom's (C, 5th U.S.) Batteries

With the rest of the division, these four batteries redeployed on Chinn Ridge. Once there, apparently all except Ransom's battery opened fire. According to Meade, the batteries were "on the plateau looking to the left." Hardin, Twelfth Regiment, p. 97; Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserves, p. 159; Meade's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 398.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

After returning from his late morning reconnaissance, Heintzelman received orders to "advance with General Ricketts' troops and my own corps on the road leading to Sudley Springs and thence toward Hay Market. The first step in the advance brought us in contact with the enemy's skirmishers.... The enemy was still evidently in force." Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413; Schriver (McDowell) to Ricketts, August 30, 1862, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 757; Schriver to Heintzelman, August 30, 1862, ibid., p.757.

A. Kearny Continues to Anchor the Federal Right

Kearny's three brigades, plus artillery, continued to hold the positions taken that morning on the right of the army. Kearny's report, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 416.

B. Two of Hooker's Brigades Continue to Support Artillery: The Other Marches and Countermarches

1. Taylor and Grover are Ordered Under Arms, but Receive no Orders to Move

Both Taylor's and Grover's brigades were ordered to fall in and prepare for pursuit, though both remained in their positions held during the morning hours, as did McGilvery's battery (6th, Maine Light). Charles C. Perkins, Diary, August 30, 1862, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Grover's report, op.cit., p. 440; Taylor's report, ibid., p. 445; 71st New York report, ibid., p. 446; McGilvery's report, ibid., p. 419.

2. Carr is Ordered Out onto Sudley Road, Then Returns and Supports Batteries

Carr's brigade of Jerseymen was the only unit of the corps known to have made preparations to take an active part in the pursuit of Lee. "I was," Colonel Carr wrote, "ordered by General Hooker to march my brigade out on the road in pursuit of the enemy. After marching out on the road I was ordered to halt and await further orders." He retained this position for about two hours, "and was then ordered to the front to support a battery, my brigade to constitute the second line." Once there, the 6th New Jersey moved to the front to act as that battery support. Carr's report, ibid., p. 455; 6th New Jersey report, ibid., p. 459; Bellard, Gone For a Soldier, p. 142; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 3, p. 1209.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps

By noon Porter was already well into his preparations for an attack against Jackson, as outlined shortly before in Pope's verbal order to "Attack; King will support." In fact, according to Porter, by the time he received the order from McDowell stipulating his role in the pursuit (Schriver to Porter, August 30, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, p. 756), he had "become so involved in a movement against Jackson, that I could not on the receipt of the [pursuit] order, make the change, 'to push forward on the Warrenton Turnpike.'" Porter, Narrative, p. 51.

With his men under an annoying fire from Confederate artillery and skirmishers, Porter informed McDowell that nonetheless he would do his best to conform to the new order. At 1 PM he wrote McDowell:

> Dispatch received. I have already sent Butterfield, who will be followed by Sykes, to strike the batteries that have been thinning my ranks. The enemy have six pieces in battery on the right of the Warrenton Road, which Butterfield will take in flank, while artillery engage it in front. All will be in motion soon. I had these in motion too late to move on the Warrenton Road.

Porter to McDowell, 1 PM August 30, 1862, op.cit., pp. 959-60.

In response, Porter received a note from McDowell informing him to proceed with the movement outlined, that Heintzelman "will attend to the front and right," but that Reynolds had been pulled out of the column "and put over on our left." McDowell to Porter, August 30, 1862, ibid., p. 756.

While Porter was busy communicating with McDowell, problems were developing on the firing line of the Fifth Corps. Shortly after 1:45 Porter received a dispatch from Butterfield explaining that his skirmishers could not advance any farthur due to lack of support on their right, "where King [Hatch] should be." Butterfield to Porter, 1:45 PM August 30, 1862, ibid., p. 960.

At this, Porter realized a giant mix-up had occurred. He had assumed, based on the noon pursuit order and subsequent dispatches from McDowell, that his verbal orders to attack Jackson had been supplanted. He was also unaware that Heintzelman's and Ricketts' advances had stopped before they even started, thus leaving his right flank in the air. Conversely, Butterfield, who had received the verbal attack orders and written pursuit orders about the same time, assumed that since the movement outlined in the latter had never developed, the former were still in effect. He was under the impression that Hatch, not Ricketts, was to support the right of the attacking force. Porter acknowledged the confusion, writing to McDowell, "I understood Ricketts was to come up on my right." Quickly he took steps to correct the situation. Porter's acknowledgement of

Butterfield to Porter, ibid., p. 960. Butterfield's MS report, United States Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 4, p. 85-87, Papers of the AGO, 1780's-1917, RG 94, National Archives.

Support for the right of his line was what was needed, so Porter hastily dispatched orders to Hatch to have him move forward on the right of the Fifth Corps. At the same time he informed Colonel Roberts, commanding his right flank brigade, "I will at once send infantry upon your right. Wait until they arrive, then push vigorously forward." Roberts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 472; Hatch's report, ibid., p. 368; 25th New York report, ibid., p. 809.

As the time for the attack neared, Porter, seeing the difficult task facing him, sent repeated requests to McDowell to have General Pope order Sigel forward to his assistance. These requests received little tangible response. Porter, Narrative, pp. 52-53; Sigel's report, op.cit., p. 268; George Montieth to Porter, November 11, 1862, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. Butterfield Readies His Division for an Assault

General Butterfield spent a busy early afternoon readying his attacking column for the task facing it. He spent much of the time attending to the difficulties cropping up on the right of his column, where Roberts' brigade, was having problems with enemy skirmishers. Various dispatches, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, pp. 960-61; Butterfield's MS report, United States Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 4, pp. 85-87.

1. Roberts Takes Position in the Groveton Woods and Skirmishes with the Enemy

Maintaining roughly the same order taken that morning, i.e., the 25th New York on the skirmish line, the 18th Massachusetts behind in line of battle, followed by the 13th New York, 1st Michigan, and 2nd Maine, Roberts regiments moved ahead toward a position in the Groveton Woods. Colonel Roberts reported, "We had passed nearly through the belt of timber to our front when upon the opposite edge beyond the wood my skirmishers, receiving an exceedingly hot musketry fire...were obliged to halt." Of the difficulty Roberts shortly sent word to both Butterfield and Porter. After a brief wait he was told by Porter that support for his right was on the way. It was likely about 2:30 when that support arrived, in the form of Hatch's division. Roberts immediately dispatched a staff officer to Hatch's command, "which was at that time directly in our rear," to assist in its placement. Nonetheless, Roberts recalled, "General Hatch came forward very slowly and in a confused manner, and with much labor on my own part I was obliged to move my entire command slightly to the left, in order more speedily to get into position the advancing brigade. I then notified General Butterfield that the desired connection was at last accomplished." Roberts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 472; Sketch by Butterfield, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 960; E. W. Everson, Diary, August 30, 1862, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

a. The 25th New York Endures a Crossfire on the Skirmish Line

Maj. Edwin Gilbert of the 25th New York reported, "We had advanced but a short distance into the woods when we met the enemy's skirmishers. We drove them back until the left of our line...came to an open field. Berdan's Sharpshooters became mixed up with our skirmishers.... Here we began to receive a sharp fire from our right. I soon found it impossible with our small force to drive back the enemy.... I immediately reported the fact to Colonel Johnson [commanding regiment], who sent out two additional companies.... Soon Colonel Roberts sent two companies of the 18th Massachusetts, and informed me General Hatch would soon send a regiment." Shortly, the center of the 25th was able to advance "some yards," but under a severe fire. "In half hour or so the Second Regiment Sharpshooters...arrived. I directed where they should join our line on our right." 25th New York report, ibid., Pt. 2, p. 809; Roberts' report, ibid., p. 472; Berdan's report, New York Times, September 13, 1862.

2. Weeks Takes Position on Roberts' Left

Like Roberts' brigade, Weeks' regiments maintained their relative positions as they moved forward to the woods: the 1st United States Sharpshooters on the skirmish line, followed by the 17th New York in line of battle, with the balance of the brigade in columns of division closed up behind. Maj. W. T. C. Grower of the 17th New York recounted, "We were ordered to take up position at the edge of the woods near the road [Groveton-Sudley]. The enemy's artillery being quite active the men were ordered to lie down." 17th New York report, op.cit., p. 478; 12th New York report, ibid., p. 476; Sketch by Butterfield, ibid., Pt. 3, p. 960.

a. The 1st United States Sharpshooters Skirmishes from Schoolhouse Branch

Armed with Sharps Rifles, eight companies of the 1st U.S. Sharpshooters (Companies B & G were in reserve), along with two companies of the 44th New York, moved through the Groveton woods and into the field beyond. Sharpshooter George Albee wrote, "We were deployed across an open field in the face of the rebel sharpshooters and a rebel battery about 100 rods off, who popped away at us pretty lively as we went across.... Finally we got down into a dry watercourse that sheltered us a little, and engaged the rebel sharpshooters for about two hours at a distance of about 50 rods...." Letter of George Albee, Quiner, "Wisconsin Correspondence," Vol. 7, p. 82; Various 1st U.S. Sharpshooters' letters, ibid., pp. 83-85; Berdan's report, New York Times, September 13, 1862; Stevens, Sharpshooters, p. 186; J. W. Griswold, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, May 31, 1894; Nash, Forty-fourth New York, p. 99; 25th New York report, op.cit., p. 809.

3. Division Artillery

a. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island Light) Opens Fire

According to Capt. Richard Waterman, "By command of Maj. Gen. Porter I advanced the battery [from Dogan Ridge] to within canister range of the woods, and subsequently, by his command, returned to my former position, and reopened fire on the enemy's batteries that were shelling our infantry." Waterman's report, ibid., p. 467.

b. Hazlett Occupies the Ridge Overlooking Groveton and Opens Fire

It was likely about 1:45 PM when, wrote Lt. Charles E. Hazlett, I "was ordered by Maj. Gen. Porter to place the battery on a hill to the left of the road, in order to shell the woods in front of our position until the infantry advanced, and then turn my guns on the enemy's batteries. When the order was given, General Reynolds' Division occupied the woods on the left and front of the designated position, but as I was proceeding to it I saw his division withdrawing.... As this was a dangerous position to place the battery without a strong support I asked Colonel Warren...if he could not give me some support while I sent back word to General Porter of the state of affairs. He did so...." Hazlett's report, ibid., p. 469.

B. Sykes Moves Forward to Support Butterfield

Shortly after noon Sykes received orders to move forward behind Butterfield's two brigades. Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 448.

1. Buchanan Moves Forward to the Edge of the Groveton Wood

According to Colonel Buchanan, "Butterfield's brigade...was soon advanced into the woods, and I was directed to advance [my] four battalions to the front and obliquely to the right, to take up positions in rear and under cover of woods, which I did in columns of battalions...." The two battalions of the 14th U.S. were in front. Buchanan's report, op.cit., p. 488; 2nd Battalion, 14th U.S. report, ibid., p. 495; Buchanan's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 253.

a. The 3rd U.S. Continues to Fight in and Around Groveton

The 3rd U.S., deployed on the skirmish line that morning, continued to hold their position around Groveton. The Regulars connected with Butterfield's skirmishers on their right and those of the Pennsylvania Reserves on their left. Upon Reynolds' retrograde movement to Chinn Ridge, Captain Wilkins informed Sykes of the affairs opposite his now exposed left flank. Sykes in turn directed Wilkins to occupy the ground vacated by Reynolds' skirmishers, which was promptly done. In this postition, according to Wilkins, "the skirmishers of the 3rd Infantry...occupied all the open ground in front, extending from wood to wood." 3rd U.S. reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 490; New York Herald, September 8, 1862.

2. Chapman Follows Buchanan to the Front

In columns of division, Chapman's regiments followed Buchanan's in their move to the Groveton Woods, and there took position in rear of Buchanan's brigade. Chapman's report, op.cit., p. 496; Sykes Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 253; John Worthington Ames, "The Second Bull Run," Overland Monthly, Vol. 8 (1872), p. 401; William E. Dougherty, "An Eyewitness Account of Second Bull Run," American History Illustrated, December, 1966, p. 37.

3. Warren Moves South of the Turnpike to Support Hazlett

When the remainder of the division moved forward to the Groveton Woods shortly after mid-day, Warren, with the corps artillery reserve, moved ahead to a small stream, "about half way between the intersection and Groveton.... Beyond this point there was quite a depression," and there Warren and the artillery took position. Warren's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 85.

Until about 2 PM Warren remained here. When Reynolds withdrew from the Groveton area, Warren received word from Hazlett that his battery was in position there without support. Since his orders were to protect the artillery of the Fifth Corps, Warren figured he had "about the equivilant to an order to go myself" to Hazlett's support. Warren quickly sent word to Porter of the problem, and, without waiting for orders, moved to fill the void. Warren to Porter, August 13, 1878, Warren Papers, New York State Library; Warren's Testimony, op.cit., pp. 85, 101.

Once in the area of Hazlett's guns, Warren made "all the show of force I could" with his 1100 men. He immediately deployed six companies of the 10th New York as skirmishers and sent them to the west edge of the woods, along Lewis Lane. The remaining four companies of the 10th "entered the woods a short distance and halted" to act as a reserve. Charles W. Cowtan, Service of the Tenth New York Volunteers (National Zouaves) in the War of the Rebellion (New York, 1882), p. 128; Warren's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 503; 10th New York report, *ibid*., p. 505.

Meanwhile, the 5th New York deployed into line of battle "some distance from the Turnpike." The zouaves were "drawn up facing a wood which ran down near their position to a distance of from 30 to 10 feet, and...to the rear on the left ran along at nearly right angles. Company I, on the left, [was] mostly in the woods. A little to the right of the regiment was the boundary of the timberland, and then came the open space. Davenport, Fifth New York, p. 273.

4. Division Artillery

a. One Section of Weed's Battery (I, 5th U.S.) Continues to Engage the Enemy

One of Weed's sections continued to engage the enemy's batteries from a cornfield "between Chapman and the pike." The remaining four guns stayed with the reserve batteries, moving forward slightly at the commencement of the general move of the corps, to the hollow west of Dogan's. Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147; Weed's report, O.R. Ser. I, Pt. 2, p. 485; Davenport, Fifth New York, p. 271.

b. Smead (K, 5th U.S.) and Randol (E & G, 1st U.S.) Act as "Batteries of Maneuver"

According to Randol, these two batteries were designated as "batteries of maneuver." As such, they were held in reserve. Upon the general movement of the corps, the two batteries moved forward with Warren's brigade and took position in the hollow just west of the Dogan House. Here, Randol remained in column on the road, while Smead's guns "stood at right angles with mine in the field." Randol's Testimony, *op.cit*., p. 147; William L. Haskin, The History of the First Regiment of Artillery (Portland, Maine, 1879), p. 514.

C. Piatt Moves Toward the Battlefield

After passing through Centreville, Piatt quickly moved his two regiments toward the battlefield. Rathbun, "Diary," New York History, 1955, p. 338.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens Holds Tight on the Right

Stevens' division, in three brigade-front lines, maintained it's position of that morning, to Ricketts' left, supporting batteries just west of Sudley Road. Stevens, Stevens, p. 466; Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, pp. 202-203; Ricketts'report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 385.

1. Benjamin's Battery (E, 2nd U.S.) Holds Position

Benjamin held his two remaining guns with the division. Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 22, 1862, Andrew J. Morrison Papers, Huntington Library.

B. Reno Continues to Support Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light)

For the most part, Reno's two brigades maintained their positions taken that morning, in support of Durell's battery, though there were apparently some inconsequential, indeterminable movements by the command. Ferrero's MS report, United States Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 3, p. 279; Jackman, Sixth New Hampshire, p. 85; Bosbyshell, Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, p. 67; Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 146.

1. Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light) Opens Fire.

Shortly after lunch the battery received orders to open fire on the woods in its front. This was done, the fire continuing throughout Porter's attack. Letter of C.C., September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Penn] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley Dispatches the 4th New York Cavalry to Reconnoiter the Left

It was just after noon that Colonel Beardsley received orders to send the 4th New York Cavalry "on the road to the left of our position of that day" to reconnoiter. The position the 4th was to examine was "between New Market and Groveton." The 4th had been gone for only an hour when its commander, Lt. Col. Ferries Nazer reported back to Sigel that he had found the enemy "moving against our left." The 4th remained in a position of observation the rest of the afternoon. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272; 4th New York Cavalry report, ibid., p. 274; Sigel's report, ibid., p. 268.

B. Buford's Brigade

At 2 PM, the time Reynolds reported an enemy presence opposite the

Union left, Buford was still near Pope's headquarters. After hearing Reynolds' report, Pope said to Buford, "General Buford, I wish you would take your cavalry and see if the enemy is turning our left." Buford moved out with three of his regiments, the 1st Vermont, 1st Michigan, and 1st West Virginia, and probably turned on to Ball's Ford Road heading westward. Ruggles to Porter, November 14, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Per the noon pursuit orders, Bayard's brigade was assigned to Porter's command to operate on the Fifth Corps' left. Porter, however, directed Bayard to fall in behind the infantry and there Bayard remained inactive until the conclusion of Porter's attack. Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91.

Map #10, Noon to 3:00 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Lee had cast his die in the morning. If Pope retreated Lee would move after him. If the Federal commander attacked, he was ready for that too. All he could do during the early afternoon was watch and wait.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Longstreet spent the afternoon promulgating orders for the diversion his command was to make against the Union left. Longstreet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 565; 18th Georgia report, ibid., p. 609; 1st Texas report, ibid., p. 613.

A. R. H. Anderson's Division

About 3 PM Mahone's and Wright's brigades moved north of the turnpike to secure rations. Armistead's brigade, meanwhile, continued to serve on the picket line until just before Porter's 3 PM attack. At that time they were ordered to rejoin the division. William E. Cameron in Bernard, War Talks of Confederate Veterans, p. 300; John Bowie Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, John B. Magruder Papers, Duke University.

B. D. R. Jones' Division

Jones' men remained in their positions taken that morning. D. R. Jones' report, op.cit., p. 579.

C. Wilcox's Division

Wilcox retained his morning position: Featherston and Pryor in front, his own brigade in the woods behind the interval. Wilcox's report, ibid., p. 598.

D. Evans' (Including Hood's) Division

"Shanks" Evans kept his troops in the positions taken in the morning. In front of Hood's and Law's brigades the Rebel skirmishers kept up a lively fire as they contested the advance of Reynolds' and Porter's skirmish lines. Hood's report, ibid., p. 605; Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, October 26, 1887.

E. Kemper's Division

Kemper's brigades remained in their scattered positions throughout the period. Hunton's report, James Lawson Kemper Papers, University of Virginia; Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 626.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery

The four companies of this command remained in their positions taken that morning. J. B. Walton's report, ibid., p. 572.

2. Stephen D. Lee's Battalion

During the early afternoon the thirteen deployed guns of the battalion kept busy firing on enemy skirmishers. Capt. W. W. Parker recorded, "From early morn a brisk little picket firing was kept up on our right, our boys occupying a barn and an orchard [Peach Grove]. An attempt was made by a few companies (advancing through a cornfield) to drive out this troublesome picket.... A few shots stopped their advance, and caused the men to scatter and lie down.... About 1 A.M.[sic] a regiment [the 3d U.S.] advanced rapidly on the enemy's left, determined this time to drive out our pickets. This effort succeeded and our brave sharpshooters retired through the orchard in good order. So soon as they got out of the way we opened upon the enemy and in 10 minutes they skedaddled in fine style, sheltering themselves in the ravine and behind the barn." Letter of "P" [W. W. Parker], August 31, 1862, Richmond Dispatch, September 8, 1862; S. D. Lee's report, op.cit., p. 577; Robert K. Krick, Parker's Virginia Battery, C.S.A. (Berryville, 1975), p. 35-37.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries

a. Rogers' and Stribling's Batteries

These batteries remained in position along Longstreet's front. Rosser's report, ibid., p.750.

III. Jackson's Wing

Jackson interpreted the flurry of Federal activity in his front as a ruse to cover a Union withdrawal. It was probably shortly after 1 PM that he received a query from Lee's headquarters signal station: "What is result of movements on your left?" Jackson ordered his signalmen to reply, "So far, the enemy appear to be trying to get possession of a piece of woods to withdraw out of sight." In anticipation of this and his planned night time movement around the Federal right, Jackson remained at his headquarters resting quietly, making no major adjustments in his dispositions. J. L. Bartlett's report, ibid., p. 563; Moore, Cannoneer with Stonewall, p. 121.

A. Starke's Division

The four brigades of this division continued to hold Jackson's right, resting behind the unfinished railroad. Johnson's report, op.cit., p. 666; 27th Virginia report, ibid., p. 663; Stafford's report, ibid., p. 669.

1. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

Shumaker's gunners passed the afternoon without incident, with the exception of Poague's battery (Rockbridge Artillery). Cannoneer Edward Moore remembered, "About two o'clock we were ordered some distance forward to fire on a battery posted on a low ridge near a piece of woods. By skirting along a body of woods on our left, and screened by it, we came out in full view of this battery and on its right flank." The Federal gunners opened fire on the men from Rockbridge County, but their shells passed harmlessly overhead. Quickly the four guns of the battery were unlimbered "and opened upon them most vigorously. In five or six rounds their guns ceased firing and were drawn by hand from the crest of the ridge entirely out of view and range." [Assuming Moore's timing is correct, the Federal battery Poague's guns fired upon was probably Hazlett's. If this were the case then Moore exaggerated the effectiveness of the Confederate fire.] Moore, Cannoneer, pp. 120-21.

B. A. P. Hill's Division

Hill's six brigades remained in the positions taken by them that morning. Shortly after noon the skirmishers on the left of the line opened fire to discourage a Federal advance. Otherwise the afternoon passed restfully. Hill's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 671; 1st S.C. Rifles report, ibid., p. 691; Lane's report ibid., p. 677.

1. Division Artillery: R. L. Walker's Battalion

At about noon McIntosh's battery swung into action again behind Gregg's brigade, repelling the half hearted "pursuit" of Ricketts' Federal division. Beyond this, there is nothing to indicate that any batteries of this battalion were in action. 1st S.C. Rifles report, ibid., p. 691; Walker's report, ibid., p. 674.

C. Lawton's Division

Lawton kept his men in the lines they had assumed that morning. Early's report,ibid., p. 713; McLendon, Recollections of War Times, p. 116.

1. Division Artillery

Presumably, J. R. Johnson's, D'Aquin's, and Latimer's batteries remained on the right of the line, near Shumaker's battalion. There is nothing to delineate the activities of the other batteries during this period.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

The cavalry passed an uneventful and inactive early afternoon. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736; Blackford, War Years, p. 130.

MAP 11

Map #11, 3:00-3:45 PM, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

While Porter's men attacked Jackson's line along the unfinished railroad, Pope remained at headquarters on Buck Hill, substantially out of touch with the action. Pope's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 42; T.C.H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 182.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

Surrounded by the distant echo of Porter's musketry, Sigel oversaw the deployment of his troops on Dogan Ridge. Sigel's report, O.R., op.cit., p. 268.

A. Schenck's Two Brigades Continue to Operate Separately

1. Stahel Deploys on Dogan Ridge

Stahel moved three of his regiments forward to the crest "of the hill by the side" of the Dogan House. Stahel reported, "On the crescent itself I placed, beside the two batteries already planted there, Schirmer's battery" (2d, New York Light), and behind the batteries, the infantry: "Adjoining the farm, the 45th [New York]; on the right of it, the 27th [Pennsylvania], and on the right of this the 8th [New York]." Stahel's report, ibid., pp. 284-85; 8th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

a. The 41st New York (DeKalb Regiment) is Dispatched South of the Turnpike to Connect with McLean's Brigade

To provide a connection with the other brigade of the division, now on Chinn Ridge, General Stahel ordered the 41st New York to deploy "on the left of the road." Stahel's report, op.cit., p. 285.

2. Three Regiments of McLean's Brigade are Abandoned on Chinn Ridge

Shortly after taking position on Chinn Ridge, north of the Chinn House and to the right of Reynolds' division, Colonel McLean was chagrined to find himself alone. He wrote, "After a very short time, to my intense surprise, Genl Reynolds marched with his whole command immediately across my front to the right, leaving me entirely alone with no other troops in sight. Thinking Genl Reynolds had forgotten me, I sent an officer to ask if he had any orders for me. He answered no, but tell him to take care of himself, as the enemy are approaching in heavy force through the woods." (Underlining is McLean's.) McLean to John C. Ropes, October 6, 1897, Ropes Papers.

McLean immediately responded by deploying his three regiments along the top of the ridge, abreast of Wiedrich's four guns. The 73rd Ohio held its position on the left of the brigade, facing west, "it's left touching the corner of a cultivated lot in which was...[the Chinn House]." Next to the 73rd was the 25th Ohio, then Wiedrich's two sections, and finally the 75th Ohio. Letter of E. Allen to T. C. H. Smith, illegible date, Smith Papers; Erskine Carson to T.C.H. Smith, January 1, 1868, ibid.; unknown letter fragment, ibid.; McLean's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 286; 73rd Ohio report, ibid., p. 292-293; 25th Ohio report, ibid., p. 290; 75th Ohio report, ibid., p. 294.

a. The 55th Ohio Continues to Operate Independently

Colonel Lee's regiment continued to rest on "the left of the Centreville Pike about 100 rods," with the rest of the brigade on "the ridge in my rear." 55th Ohio report, ibid., p. 291.

3. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Unlimbers and Opens Fire

In conjunction with Stahel's brigade, Blume's guns moved forward to the crest of Dogan Ridge, unlimbered, and opened fire in support of Porter's attack. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 285; S.F. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

B. Schurz Takes Position to Support Stahel

Shortly after Stahel finished deploying, Schurz moved into position behind him. "The regiments formed in column by Division, right in front; General Schimmilfennig's brigade on the right, Koltes [temporarily attached] on the left, and Krzyzanowski's behind the interval, a little to the left," Schurz reported. Here the troops endured a "quite severe" artillery fire. Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 300-301; Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 312; 73rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 307.

1. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

Due to the dearth of source material regarding this battery during this time period, no attempt has been made to show it on the map.

b. Roemer's Battery (L, 2d New York Light) is Ordered to the Firing Line

According to Captain Roemer, he was just finishing a cup of coffee when General Schurz rode up to him and said, "I want your battery immediately. I have a battery up on the hill that isn't worth a cent." Roemer hastened his guns forward and "had Battery L come into line the best way it could amidst the debris." The five guns formed behind the other battery, "piece by piece, and opened fire at once." Roemer, Reminiscences, pp. 77-78.

c. Dilger (I, 1st Ohio Light) Unleashes from Dogan Ridge

When Schurz moved forward to support Stahel, according to General Schurz, "Dilger's battery followed the right and took position on the crest of the hill, not far from Dogan's." Dilger added that his postion was "on the left of the battery that was posted on the summit of the hill fronting the enemy's battery which I engaged yesterday." Here Dilger opened fire with four of his guns, there being insufficient room for the deployment of the remaining two. Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 300-301; Dilger's report, ibid., p. 304.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery

1. Wiedrich's Guns (I, 1st New York Light) Sit Silently with McLean on Chinn Ridge

While McLean adjusted his alignments, Wiedrich and his gunners mutely held their position crowning Chinn Ridge. Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 305; McLean's report, ibid., p. 286.

2. Buell (C, West Virginia Light) Remains in Reserve

Buell, along with the howitzer section of Wiedrich's battery, remained in reserve. Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 305.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light) in Reserve

Dieckmann's guns were presumably with the corps near Dogan's, as they are known to have been involved in the later fighting on Buck Hill in conjunction with Stahel's brigade. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 269.

D. Milroy's Brigade, with Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light) Remains in Reserve

Milroy, with Johnson's battery, maintained his brigade in the position assigned it during the morning hours. Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, in Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. I, p. 90.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

Although in nominal command of most of the army during this period, McDowell exerted control only over Reynolds' division of Pennsylvania Reserves and Tower's and Stiles' brigades of Ricketts' division. The other two divisions of the corps were assigned to other commands: Ricketts to Heintzelman, and Hatch to Porter.

A. Hatch's Division Assaults the Unfinished Railroad on Porter's Right

Upon making the necessary connections with Roberts' brigade, on his left, Hatch ordered his men out of the woods and against the Confederate line. Hatch's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 368; Roberts report, ibid., p. 472.

1. Sullivan's Brigade Leads the Advance and is Pinned Down in a Storm of Southern Fire

a. The 24th and 30th New York Move Forward Side by Side

The foremost of Sullivan's two lines, the 24th New York on the right and 30th New York on the left, debouched from the timber first. Because of their proximity to the Confederate lines, they received a blinding fire almost immediately. The 24th, on the right, suffered the most. Sgt. David Hamer described the advance: "Our skirmishers now fell back behind our lines as Sullivan gave the order to scale the fence. The slight confusion in doing so was quickly over and with the guide on the center we were ordered to charge the enemy behind the bank. We dashed forward, but had not gained to exceed 20 feet when we were met by a perfect storm of bullets.... The line staggered." David Hamer, "One Man's War...," pp. 24, 27.

But, led by Maj. Andrew Barney of the 24th New York, the men of the Empire State pushed on against a withering fire. To one of the men, "it seemed like the popular idea of pandemonium made real, and indeed it is scarcely too much to say that we were transformed for the time from a lot of good natured boys to the most bloodthirsty of demoniacs." The enraged men pushed across the plain. "There was some firing on our part on the way across the field because the line did not move fast enough to keep us busy otherwise," remembered Lt. Theron Haight of the 24th. Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," MOLLUS Wisconsin, War Papers, Vol. 2, pp. 367-68.

Recalled Sergeant Hamer, "As we crossed the little rivulet [Schoolhouse Branch]," the Confederates loosed another volley, "but not with the same deadly effect as before." Soon the two decimated regiments reached the embankment. Major Barney frantically spurred his horse atop the fill, and few a few brief moments towered above all, a solitary figure, beckoning his men to follow. In a flash of musketry, though, his horse reared, and Barney fell dead upon the embankment. The New Yorkers did not—could not—follow. Lieutenant

Haight wrote, "Those of us who were on the embankment were too few to even attempt to drive out the troops on the other side of it and accordingly lay as flat to the slope as we could, crawling occasionally to the top, and discharging our muskets, held horizontally over our heads, in the direction which seemed to afford a chance of hitting something on the other side." Hamer, "One Man's War...," p. 27; J. B. Murdock to the [Adams, N.Y.] Jefferson County News, September 12, 1862; Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run, " p. 369; New York Herald, September 8, 1862.

Soon orders came from the rear for the two regiments to "hold the position," support would soon be on the way. But unfortunately for the New Yorkers, "no other support came," and they were literally abandoned on the embankment to their fate. 30th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

After witnessing the unsuccessful attempt by Sullivan's second line to reach the helpless men along the embankment, Haight recalled that there then came "an unlooked for variation in the proceedings." Huge stones began to fall about us," he said, "and now and then one of them would happen to strike with very unpleasant effect." Colonel Sullivan later testified that some of his men chose an odd response to this new type of ammunition: they simply picked the stones up and threw them right back. While in retrospect the "rock fight" may have seemed comical, Sullivan admitted, "some of my men were hurt with stones from the other side." Haight, op.cit., p. 370; Sullivan's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 153.

Finally, after holding the postition for nearly one-half hour, "we were obliged to fall back." But by this time, the full weight of the Confederate artillery had been brought to bear on the field, turning it into a landscape of death. Dozens of the Empire State men, hopeless at making it back across the field alive, opted to give themselves up as prisoners. Haight, op.cit., p. 364; 25th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 809; John Bryson, "History of the 30th New York Volunteers," TS, New York State Library.

b. The 22d and 84th New York (14th Brooklyn) Attempt to Support

Shortly after Sullivan's first line advanced across the field, his second, with the 84th New York on the right and the 22d New York on the left, moved forward out of the timber to the aid of the two regiments along the embankment. Looking back from his vantage point along the embankment, Theron Haight of the 24th New York described their advance: "As I looked back, I saw our [second] line making a grand rush in our direction, many of the men holding their arms before their faces, as though to keep off a storm. Bullets were pouring into them from the infantry beyond us, but worst of all, Longstreet's batteries, freshly posted on a rise of ground a mile or so to our left, were enfilading the approaching troops with solid shot [and] shell.... Our second line gave way before this storm, and ran back to the cover of the woods...." Haight, op.cit., p. 369; 30th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Hamer, "One Man's War...," p. 25; George C. Hopper, The Battle of Groveton (Detroit, 1913), p. 8. (Hopper was in the 1st Michigan of Roberts' brigade and mentions seeing the 14th Brooklyn advancing to his right and rear.)

c. The 2d United States Sharpshooters are Overtaken by the Attacking Column

According to Hamer, when the main line advanced "the skirmishers fell back behind our line." Hamer, "One Man's War...," p. 27.

2. Doubleday is Held in Reserve

Doubleday's three regiments, holding the rear of Hatch's attack column, maintained their position in the woods. "The grape, shells, and solid shot came through the woods like hail," wrote a man of the 76th New York, but few casualties were suffered. Finally, after "some 20 minutes orders came for us to retreat, the attack on our left having failed." Accordingly the three regiments about faced and marched out of the woods. A.P. Smith, 76th New York, p. 136; Abner Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, p. 48, National Park Service Library, Harpers Ferry Center; Uberto Burnham to his Family, September 3, 1862, Uberto Burnham Papers, New York State Library.

3. Patrick's Brigade Moves Forward in Support of Sullivan

a. The 21st and 35th New York Move to the Attack

In his journal General Patrick described the initial advance of his two regiments (the 21st was on the right and the 35th on the left): "The 21st and 35th, constituting my first line[,] moved steadily forward, the left being impeded some five minutes by a retreating regiment or brigade, until the whole had reached the furthur edge of the wood, the left (35[th]) having on it's front a strong body of the enemy in a cornfield [sic] and behind a railroad bank," while the right "was thrown into temporary confusion" by another line. "Under the direction of General Hatch," the 21st "crossed the fence into the open field beyond...where it sustained a most galling crossfire...which was returned, and the regiment moved forward to the ditch [Schoolhouse Branch], about midway between the fence and the rr embankment." Here the New Yorkers suffered terribly from a fire that was "impossible to return." Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862.

As the two regiments struggled forward, the field in front of the embankment turned into a tangled sea of blue. A Confederate of Brown's brigade described the scene as his regiment (the 15th Alabama) fire into the mass by the "right oblique": "They just simply jammed up against the embankment opposite the right of the 15th Alabama and one of the Louisiana regiments. They were so thick it was impossible to miss them. Cicero Kirkland, of my company...mounted on top of our breastwork and poured buck and ball into them as fast as one of the boys could load and hand him a musket.... What a slaughter! What a slaughter of men that was!" William A. McLendon, Recollections of War Times (Montgomery, 1909), pp. 116-17.

In the face of such fire few troops could stand long. Patrick soon received orders to pull back: "I immediately ordered my own troops to form on the edge of the woods.... The brigade retired in good order." Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862; J. Harrison Mills, Chronicles of the Twenty-first, p. 265-66; Gates, Ulster Guard, p. 276; 80th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 376; Letter to James Remington, September 3, 1862, Buffalo Daily Courier, September 12, 1862.

b. The 80th New York (20th New York State Militia) Advances to Protect the Attacking Column's Right

Patrick, seeing the enfilading fire the advanced units were receiving, ordered the 80th New York, under Col. George W. Pratt, "to extend farther to the right to prevent the enemy's left from turning [our] right." Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862.

In its advance the 80th veered well to the right—in fact too far—and advanced against the embankment through the woods bordering the northern edge of the field. Lt. Col. Theodore Gates reported, "I was on the right of the regiment, and on account of the density of the woods I could not tell what was transpiring on the center and left, where Colonel Pratt was commanding. The right of my line advanced to within a few yards of the embankment...when a large proportion of the officers and men being killed or wounded, the line fell back a few yards, closed up and advanced again with the same results, and so for the third time the effort was repeated...but the fire was too heavy and my men too few to give hope of success." 80th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 376.

By veering so far to the right, Pratt's men missed most of their intended targets, the 15th Alabama and 21st Georgia of Brown's Brigade, who poured such a destructive oblique fire into the attacking waves. William McLendon of the 15th recalled, "By some unknown cause to me [the Federals] failed to attack all the front of the 15th, but seemed to have divided, a part obliqueing to the left, and a part to the right. That which went to the left could not be seen." McLendon, Recollections, p. 116.

For perhaps twenty minutes the 80th New York sustained the attack, hopelessly alone, yet game for the task. The line withered under a fierce Confederate fire. Colonel Pratt fell mortally wounded; six color bearers were shot down. Finally, word came to fall back. The battered regiment "retired upon the 19th Indiana, being 100 yards in the rear and formed...on the left of that regiment." 80th New York report, op.cit., p. 376; Gates, Ulster Guard, p. 276; Enos B. Vail, Reminiscences of a Boy in the Civil War (n.p., 1915), p. 76; Letter of Lt. Leslie, Ellenville [N.Y.] Journal, September 26, 1862; Kingston Democratic Journal, September 10, 1862; Albany Evening Journal, September 12, 1862 (for Colonel Pratt's death); Leroy Johnson, "A Reminiscence of the Civil War...," Kingston Journal and Weekly Freeman, November 12, 1885; William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, Indiana Historical Society.

c. Patrick Witholds the 23rd New York

According to General Patrick, "During the time the 23rd Regiment, constituting the left of my second line, went forward to the edge of the wood and there remained until ordered to withdraw." Patrick, Journal, August 29, 1862; Pound Sterling, Campfires of the Twenty-third (New York, 1883), p. 83.

4. Gibbon's Brigade Holds Its Position in the Woods, Endures a Heavy Fire, but is not Engaged

With the 6th Wisconsin on the right, the 19th Indiana in the center, and the "consolidated" 2d and 7th Wisconsin on the left, Gibbon's brigade remained in the woods while the fight raged to their front. There was "no order to charge the enemy," wrote Rufus Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin, "and we wondered why such orders were not given." Nevertheless, General Gibbon recalled, amidst all the confusion around them "and the woods being thick, communication between the different commands was difficult, [and] my regiments got separated." Gibbon's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 379; Dawes, 6th Wisconsin, p. 70.

On the right, when the 6th Wisconsin was "about 40 rods into the woods...the order was given to halt and dress...on the colors and while doing this the rebel sharpshooters poured a volley into us.... The order was given to lie down and only to fire when we saw the enemy." This was done amidst a hail of "cannon balls, shell, grape, cannister and rifle balls." Shortly Company K deployed as skirmishers to the front, engaged in a scattering fire, and then fell back and joined the regiment. We then got up and backed out of the woods, then "bout faced' and marched across the field." Lyman Holford, Diary, September 4, 1862, p. 105, Library of Congress; Gibbon, Recollections, p. 63; Letter of E. B. Hendrick, Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 3, p. 262.

To the 6th Wisconsin's left, the 19th Indiana operated similarly. According to its report, the regiment "moved forward through the woods with a firm step until we approached the enemy." Here Company B deployed as skirmishers, advanced a "short distance," tangled briefly with the enemy, and returned to the regiment. "We remained in this position for some time in advance of any other troops in the center." While here, recalled William Moore, "A New York Regiment came flying back with a Lieutenant Colonel trying to rally them." The colonel was able to form "the equivilant of a company" on the left of the 19th. (The regiment Moore speaks of was surely Gates' 80th New York.) Soon orders came to fall back. As the brigade passed back through the timber, the regiments became somewhat scattered, but "after leaving the woods" the brigade reformed and retreated in line of battle. 19th Indiana report, Frank Moore, ed., Rebellion Record (New York, 1863), Vol. 5, p. 399; Moore, MS Reminiscences, Indiana Historical Society; Gibbon's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 379; Gibbon, Recollections, p. 63.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

Though there is no source material available to confirm it, it is assumed that Gerrish held his guns in reserve near the rest of the division's artillery.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Remains Near the Warrenton Turnpike

Monroe held his guns in the position taken just before 3 PM for "nearly an hour." Sumner, Battery D, p. 20.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light) is in Position but Receives no Orders to Fire

Reynolds' gunners held their positions taken that morning, "on a slight rise of ground in a small orchard," surrounded by other batteries. As Porter's men hurled themselves against the unfinished railroad, Captain Reynolds "waited for orders to open fire but none came." Consequently, the guns' muzzles remained mute throughout the attack. Lt. George Breck to the Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862; Unidentified letter, Rochester Democrat and American, September 12, 1862.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.) Holds Position on Dogan Ridge

Captain Campbell held his battery in position on Dogan Ridge, but with only Napoleons at his disposal, was able to do little in support of Porter's attack. Moore, MS Reminiscences, Indiana Historical Society; 19th Indiana report, Moore, ed., Rebellion Record, Vol. 5, p. 399.

B. Ricketts' Four Brigades Continue to Act as Two Separate Commands

1. Duryee and Thoburn Remain on the North Flank Supporting Matthews' (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light) and Thompson's (C, Pennsylvania Light) Batteries

These two brigades maintained their positions taken earlier in support of the batteries. At about 3:30, the batteries opened fire; Thompson's battery was shifted to the right of the right of the line. An historian of Thompson's battery wrote, "the battery was again brought into action on the right of the artillery, on a line at right angles with Captain Matthews Battery, with the intention of delivering a cross-fire upon the rebel batteries." Thompson's gunners came under a withering counterbattery fire, and were shortly withdrawn to their former position. Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 5, p. 866; Hough, Duryee's Brigade, p. 98; Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 73; Davis, TS "7th Indiana...," Indiana State Library, Vol. 1, p. 77; Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384-385; Lone Cavalryman (pseud.), "He Wants to Know," National Tribune, May 5, 1887.

2. Tower and Stiles Maneuver near the Stone House with Hall's (2d, Maine Light) and Leppien's (5th, Maine Light) Batteries

2:30-3:45 PM: According to Pvt. Samuel Webster of the 13th Massachusetts, after returning from their brief, early afternoon march toward the right of the army, the two brigades rested and were then "moved to the extreme left, on the road which runs from Sudley Church to New Market, crossing the pike at right angles nearly, the pike at this point being in a hollow." As the brigade passed the intersection, they could see and hear the firing of Porter's guns to the northwest. "The brigade [then] passed south some distance into a woods, and had halted in the dusty road, the men resting beside it...." Samuel Webster, "Gen. Irvin McDowell," National Tribune, May 5, 1892; Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; Phil K. Faulk, "A Fighting Regiment. "The Part Taken by the 11th Pennsylvania on the Plains of Manassas," National Tribune, February 19, 1891; Roebling, Journal, August 30, 1862, Porter Papers; Vautier, Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania, p. 53; Zealous B. Tower to T.C.H. Smith, undated, T.C.H. Smith Papers.

C. McDowell Orders Reynolds off of Chinn Ridge to Support Porter

Shortly after 3 PM, McDowell, seeing the problem Porter's people were having in their assault against Jackson, ordered Reynolds to take his division off Chinn Ridge and to Porter's support north of the Warrenton Turnpike. Reynolds' three brigades promptly moved out, passing across McLean's front. Meade and Seymour, with Ransom's Battery (C, 5th U.S.), led the column; Hardin's brigade along with Cooper's (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Simpson's (A, 1st Pennsylvania Light), and Kerns' (G, 1st Pennsylvania Light) batteries brought up the rear. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394; Meade's report, ibid., p. 394; 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 128; Martin Hardin, History of the Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Corps (New York, 1890), p. 100; Evan M. Woodward, History of the Third Pennsylvania Reserve (Trenton, 1883), p. 160.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny Holds the Federal Right

In its position taken that morning, Kearny's division continued to carry out the task of guarding the right flank of the army. Kearny's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 416.

B. Hooker's Division Continues to Support Batteries in the Center

Although in both his report (ibid., p. 413) and his journal Heintzelman maintains that Hooker's men pushed forward "into the woods near our right" in conjunction with Porter's attack, this is not borne out by the brigade and regimental accounts now available. As near as can be told, Grover, Taylor, and Carr maintained their positions taken prior to 3 PM, as did the division artillery (McGilvery's 6th Battery, Maine Light Artillery). Haynes, Second New Hampshire, p. 138; 71st New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 446; Carr's report, ibid., p. 455; 6th New Jersey report, ibid., p. 459.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

After finally achieving an acceptable alignment, Porter pushed his attacking force forward. Hatch's division was on the right, Roberts' brigade in the center, and Weeks' brigade on the left. Sykes was in a supporting position.

A. Butterfield Crashes into the Confederate Line, Recoils, and Falls Back

1. Roberts' Brigade Moves Forward on the Right

After notifying Butterfield "that the desired connection was at last accomplished" with Hatch's division on his right, Roberts' bluecoats debouched from the timber and pushed into the field in front. Initially, the brigade advanced in column of regiments in line, with the 18th Massachusetts leading, followed in order by the 13th New York, 1st Michigan, and 2d Maine. But as the brigade swept rapidly forward, consuming its skirmish line, the three lead regiments aligned abreast of each other: the 18th Massachusetts on the left, 13th New York in the center, and the 1st Michigan on the right, connecting with the men of Hatch's division. The 2d Maine drifted across the rear of these regiments to the left and connected with the right of the 16th Michigan of Weeks' brigade. Roberts' report, ibid., p. 471; Colonel Elisha G. Marshall's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 349; George C. Hopper, The Battle of Groveton (Detroit, 1913), p. 8; 16th Michigan report, op.cit., p. 475; 25th New York report, ibid., p. 810.

At the Porter retrial Colonel Marshall of the 13th New York testified, "As soon as we commenced scaling the fence [along the Groveton-Sudley Road] the fire commenced. We started on a sort of double quick across the field. We got about one-half way across when the fun stopped." He further noted that the left of the 13th met the right of the 18th Massachusetts "just about where the monument now stands." Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 349.

The air was filled with a tempest of zipping metal. Behind them, the men of the brigade could see the field they had just crossed being cut and furrowed by the shells of the Confederate artillery. So frequently did the shells tear the earth, recalled one man, "that the ground seemed like a mill pond in a shower." In front of them was a wall of Southern fire—a wall that seemed impenetrable. Recalled John Slater of the 13th New York, "The Rebel Infantry poured in their volleys, and we were scarce a dozen feet from the muzzles of their muskets." Scores of the New Yorkers were mowed down, "until a perfect windrow of dead and wounded" marked the farthest advance of the regiment. "And the regiments to our right and left fared no better," wrote another man. Repeatedly flags fell, only to be scooped up by another pair of desperately anxious hands. "For twenty minutes the bullets hummed like swarming bees...for twenty minutes, and those yet alive...received orders to fall back." John S. Slater, An Address to the Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, and Especially to the Surviving Members of the Fifth Corps (Washington, 1880), p. 23; Lt. Col. Joseph B. Mitchell, The Badge of Gallantry: Recollections of Civil War Congressional Medal of Honor Winners (New York,1968), p. 98; Amasa Guild to W.E. Douglas, undated, Amasa Guild Scrapbook, Dedham Historical Society (Guild asserts that the flag of the 18th Massachusetts flag was captured by a soldier of the 27th Virginia); Letter of Lt. Horatio Staples (2nd Maine), Portland Daily Advertiser, September 16, 1862; Letter of B.F. Messervey (18th Massachusetts), Norfolk County [Massachusetts] Journal, September 20, 1862; George Lockley, Diary, August 30, 1862, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; Fisher Baker's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 246; C.A. Stevens, Sharpshooters, p. 189; 18th Massachusetts report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Whitman and True, Maine in the War for the Union, p. 50; Letter of Sergeant Young, Rochester Democrat and American, September 10, 1862; Letter of T.S. (18th Massachusetts), Taunton [Mass.] Daily Gazette, September 5, 1862.

Slowly at first, and then more rapidly, the shattered ranks of Roberts' brigade fell back across the field. The artillery fire was by now immense—a gauntlet of hot, whizzing iron. Losses were heavy, but back along the road the survivors were rallied by, among others, Porter himself; they then left the field in reasonable order. Fisher Baker's testimony, op.cit., p. 246.

2. The 17th New York Leads the Advance of Weeks' Brigade

Deployed in line of battle, the 17th New York pushed out of the timber and led the Third Brigade's advance. Maj. William Grower, commanding the 17th, reported, "The men were up in a moment, and we advanced in the same order as before—the 17th New York forming the first line, the rest of the brigade following in columns [of divisions] doubled on center. We crossed the road, the men scrambling over the fence on the other side, and moved forward steadily in quick time. No sooner had we appeared in plain view of the enemy than he opened a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry on our advancing line. Nothing could surpass the behavior of the officers and the men, the latter steadily closing the huge gaps made in the ranks.... Placing myself at their head, I now gave the word 'Double quick, charge' and with a mad yell the gallant fellows rushed up the hill to what was almost certain death.

"We now reached a sort of plateau, a battery on the summit of the hill playing upon us, while another on the right opened with...canister, completely enfilading our lines. The woods on our left were full of the enemy's infantry. We seemed entirely without support, being some distance in advance of the brigade. I was compelled to halt, and ordered the men to lie down and commence firing." 17th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 478.

Behind the 17th New York, the rest of Weeks' brigade struggled across the field. Formed in column of regiments in columns of divisions, the 44th New York in front, followed by the 83rd Pennsylvania, 12th New York, and 16th Michigan, the regiments deployed in the open field, under a heavy Confederate fire. The experiences of the 44th New York during the early part of the advance were typical of the brigade: "Emerging from the woods," wrote Anthony Graves, "we were ordered to deploy column, a maneuver we tried to execute under a galling fire of the enemy's batteries and infantry; and most of the companies became badly tangled; the enemy was concealed in an old railroad cut about 500 yards in our front, and their fire...made sad havoc in our ranks; the rain of shot and shell...was something terrible. About midway across this open field was a dry brook into which many of our men fell for shelter...." Anthony Graves in Proceedings of the 44th Ellsworth Veteran Association at Their 50th Reunion (Published by the Committee of the 44th New York Veteran Association, 1911), p. 19; 12th New York report, O.R., op.cit., p. 476.

As the four regiments neared the firing line, the brigade front began to take shape. The 12th New York, originally third in column, had advanced most of the way across the field "when an order was received to face by the right flank. Here the enemy had an oblique fire on us, and we lost many of our men; but the movement brought us behind...a belt of woods, which somewhat protected us, and we were marched through to the front where we formed [with] the 44th [New York] on our left and the 16th [Michigan] on our right." The 16th in turn connected with the 2d Maine of Roberts' brigade. 12th New York report, ibid., p. 477; 16th Michigan report, ibid., p. 475; Charles H. Slater (16th Michigan) to "My Dear Friend," September 20, 1862, Charles H. Slater Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; J. W. Griswold, "The Second Bull Run," National Tribune, May 31, 1894; "MaCauley" (44th New York) to the Rochester Democrat and American, September 13, 1862; Letter of "Lew" (12th New York), September 6, 1862, Syracuse Daily Standard, September 12, 1862.

The 83rd Pennsylvania, meanwhile, "advanced at a double quick until it nearly crossed the field, when it was flanked into a small piece of woods on our right." Unlike the 12th New York, the 83rd held tight to these woods, and opened fire, but with "little effect" on the Rebels. 83rd Pennsylvania report, op.cit., pp. 480-81; Letter of J. C. H., September 6, 1862, Erie [Pa.] Weekly Gazette, September 18, 1862.

Like the other attacking brigades, Weeks' men locked in a savage firefight with the Southerners, keeping up a sustained musketry fire that staggered the Rebels again and again. But, no headway could be made against the Confederate's semi-fortified line. A man of the 83rd Pennsylvania recalled, "The enemy were secreted behind a little hill a short distance in advance of us. Occasionally they would rise and pour in one deadly volley into our ranks, and then settle down in their hiding places. Batteries on the left were shelling us—everything was in confusion. Regiments got mixed up—brigades were intermingled—all was one seething, anxious, excited mass.... Some officers were yelling 'fire!' [while] others were yelling 'Cease for God's sake! You are shooting your own men.... In the midst of all this confusion there seemed to be no competent head to bring order out of chaos...." Letter of J. C. H., ibid.

One reason for all this confusion was that the brigade high command was in a state of flux. Colonel Weeks fell wounded early in the fight, and the command devolved upon citizen soldier Col. James C. Rice of the 44th New York. The tactical situation soon went from bad to worse—the columns on the right were crumbling—and, wrote one man, "it at once became apparent that to hold our position was impossible, and that to remain longer would probably result in [our] being surrounded and captured." Rice, realizing this just in time, ordered the brigade to forego any farther advance and fall back. After 30 minutes of fighting, the attack had failed. 83rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 481; Amos Judson, History of the Eighty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers (Erie, c 1867), p. 51; 44th New York report, op.cit., p. 479

With a decided spring to their step, the men of the Third Brigade fell back across the field, toward "a piece of woods to the right of those occupied by us before the advance." "The whole brigade," wrote a man of the 83rd Pennsylvania, "went back pell-mell together.... The Rebels kept up a heavy fire upon them as they retired, and it is probable that as many men were lost in the retreat as in the advance." Another of the brigade admitted, "the fire of the enemy was more severe than ever...and the confusion could not be arrested until we arrived behind the artillery." 12th New York report, ibid., p. 477; Judson, Eighty-third Pennsylvania, p. 51. See also Eugene A. Nash, History of the Forty-fourth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry (Chicago, 1911), pp. 99-100; Butterfield's report, United States Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 4, pp. 86-88; William H. Wood, "Second Bull Run. An Eyewitness Tells What Butterfield's Brigade Did," National Tribune, April 13, 1893; Anonymous letter (16th Michigan), September 5, 1862 to the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, September 10, 1862; Letter of A. Edwards, September 5, 1862, Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, September 10, 1862.

a. The 1st U.S. Sharpshooters Add Their Firepower to Butterfield's Assault

In a letter home after the battle, Sharpshooter Charley Champis wrote, "We lay in the ditch until three or four o'clock, and then our columns charged. We advanced at the same time.... The enemy opened all their masked batteries on us.... Our company and B occupied a position on the left of our division and a very dangerous one it was. The enemy determined to drive us off as we had good range on some of their batteries, but we stood our ground. After a while our forces began to fall back. This they did in good order...to the hills where we had plenty of artillery planted." Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 7, p. 83. See also letters on pp. 82-85; Auschmann, Memoirs, pp. 88-89; E. A. Wilson, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, October 19, 1905.

3. Division Artillery

a. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island light) Fires in Support of Porter's Attack

Throughout the attack by Porter's men, Waterman's gunners worked their pieces from their previously taken position on Dogan Ridge. Waterman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 467.

b. Hazlett's Battery (D, 5th U.S.) Continues to Fire from the Ridge Overlooking Groveton

Hazlett's grimey gunners worked incessantly to keep their six 10-pounder Parrotts firing from their strong but exposed position near Groveton. Hazlett's reports, ibid., pp. 467-68.

B. Porter Witholds Sykes' Division—The Regulars Lay in Support

1. Buchanan's Brigade Actively Supports Butterfield

a. Two Battalions of the 14th U.S. Move Forward to Cover the Retreat

As Butterfield vainly assailed the Confederate position, Buchanan ordered his two battalions of the 14th U.S. to move "into and through the woods to his support." With the 1st battalion leading, the two units worked their way through the timber and took position "on a road under a tremendous fire from the enemy." Shortly, the battalions "were ordered back into the woods, some 25 yards from [the] road, with orders from the brigade commander to hold that place...." Buchanan's report, ibid., p. 488; 1st Bn., 14th U.S. report, ibid., p. 494; 2d Bn., 14th U.S. report, ibid., p. 495.

Soon the remnants of the attacking columns were streaming back through the Regulars' lines. They held firmly, however, and "waited until the [pursuing] enemy had approached within a short distance, when they rose and decimated their ranks and sent them retreating in confusion." Shortly, the two battalions received orders to retire, and pulled out of the woods "in line of battle by battalions." Nash, Forty-fourth New York, p. 100; 1st Bn., 14th U.S. report, op.cit., p. 494; Buchanan's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 253.

b. The 3rd U.S. Continues the Fight Around Groveton, Then Falls Back

Continuing to fight on the skirmish line, the 3rd U.S. screened the left of Butterfield's attacking column by holding the ruins of the Lucinda Dogan House—Peach Grove—and the other buildings around Groveton. When Butterfield's men began to fall back, "the Third Infantry still held its ground...[but] an order to retire was then given, and four companies were formed, but the enemy pushed in and prevented a junction of the rest of the command with them. The companies thus cut off formed on the flank with the Fifth New York.... The four companies that had rallied around the colors rejoined the brigade." 3rd U.S. report, New York Herald, September 8, 1862, Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 448; Andrew Sheriden to Porter, June 30, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

c. The 4th U.S. and the 1st Battalion, 12th U.S., Lay in Support, Out of Action

Throughout the attack, these two units were "posted on the skirt of the woods, and remained there under fire (not heavy) of artillery until orders were given to retire, which was done in line of battle by battalion." 1st Bn., 12th U.S. report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 493.

2. Chapman's Brigade Looks on as the Fifth Corps is Beaten Back

While the musketry and artillery roared, Chapman's brigade supported passively some distance in the rear. Colonel Chapman reported, "After a portion of the First Brigade [Buchanan] advanced into the woods, my brigade deployed its columns and formed a column of regiments in line. About 3:30 PM, by General Porter's order, the brigade retired in admirable order...." Chapman's report, ibid., p. 496; Sykes' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 448;

John Worthington Ames, "The Second Bull Run," Overland Monthly, May, 1872, p. 401.

3. Warren's Regiments Continue to Support Hazlett's Guns

The 5th and 10th New York maintained their positions taken the previous hour in support of "Battery D." Warren's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 503; Alfred Davenport to his Family, September 6, 1862, Alfred Davenport Letters, New York Historical Society.

4. Division Artillery

a. Weed's Six Guns (I, 5th U.S.) Pound Away at the Enemy, but with Marginal Results

Throughout Porter's attack, Weed's detached section continued to fire from the knoll "between Chapman and the Pike." While these guns worked, the remaining four rifles of the battery took position near the Dogan House and opened fire at a range of about one mile. Weed's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 485; Ames, "The Second Bull Run," Overland Monthly, May, 1872, p. 401; Alanson Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147.

b. Smead (K, 5th U.S.) and Randol (E & G, 1st U.S.) Remain on the Warrenton Turnpike

Randol reported that these two batteries held their positions as reserve batteries throughout the Fifth Corps' attack. Randol's testimony, ibid., p. 147; Randol's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 486; Haskin, First Regiment of Artillery, p. 514.

C. Piatt's Brigade Hurries Toward the Field of Action

Piatt continued his regiments on a hurried march from Centreville to the battlefield. Given that the brigade arrived on the field sometime in the neighborhood of 4 PM, it was probably well west of Cub Run at this time. Rathbun, "Diary," New York History, 1955, p. 338; Piatt's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 401.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens Makes a Feeble Attempt to Support Porter's Right with Christ's Brigade

The magnitude of the firing to his left front prompted General Stevens to make some sort of move to support it. So, apparently without orders, Stevens directed his leading brigade, under Col. Benjamin Christ, to move forward "through the woods on the right of Porter's column." An enlisted man of the 50th Pennsylvania wrote, "We were beginning to think there was nothing for us to do for that day, when we were ordered to fall in.... We moved down towards the same woods in which we had the fight the day previous. The rebels had planted a battery there, and we were sent to silence it. We advanced into the woods and after a few volleys, succeeded in doing so. We, however, were warmly opposed by a strong body of infantry...." Seeing Porter fall back on his left, Stevens ordered Christ to pull his men out of the woods. Stevens reestablished his line "on the first ridge in rear of the woods...just behind the crest, with skirmishers holding the edge of the woods." Stevens, Stevens, p. 467; Letter of W.H.M. (50th Pennsylvania), Pottsville [Penn.] Miner's Journal, September 13, 1862; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 1, p. 1279; Hazard Stevens' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 344; Wilbur P. Dickerson, "A Drummer Boy's Diary," National Tribune, December 8, 1904; H. Belcher, Diary, August 30, 1862, McCreery Family Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

While Christ's men skirmished in the woods, the rest of the division remained in support of batteries, just to the left of Ricketts' division. Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, p. 203; Andrew J. Morrison, Letter of September 22, 1862, Andrew J. Morrison Papers, Huntington Library; 25th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 809.

1. Benjamin's Battery (E, 2d U.S.) Stays with the Division

Benjamin's two remaining 20-pounder Parrotts remained with the division. Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 22, 1862, Andrew J. Morrison Papers, Huntington Library.

B. Reno Continues to Support Batteries on Stevens' Left

Ferrero and Nagle continued to hold the positions taken by them earlier in the day, supporting Durell's battery (D, 1st Pennsylvania Light). Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 146; Fowler, Memoirs, p. 56; Cuffell, Durell's Battery, p. 66.

1. Durell's Gunners (D, 1st Pennslyvania Light) Continue to Bombard the Woods

The bombardment started earlier was continued by the Pennsylvanians. Letter of C.C., September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Pa.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862.

VII. Cavalry Commands

The three brigades continued to operate as before, viz, Beardsley primarily in reserve with the 4th New York dispatched to the left on reconnaissance, Buford on the left searching vainly for the enemy, and Bayard behind Porter. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272; S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," *National Tribune*, 1888; Bayard's report, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

Map 11, 3-3:45 p.m. August 30th, Union

Map #11, 3-3:45 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Throughout Porter's assault General Lee remained at or near his headquarters receiving and disseminating information. Shortly after the attack began he received word from Jackson that Jackson's line was hard pressed and he needed reinforcements. Quickly Lee passed the word along to Longstreet, who promptly took steps to render aid. It was probably at the same time that Lee also directed R. H. Anderson to move forward in Jackson's direction. Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," p. 521; Bernard, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," in War Talks of Confederate Veteran, p. 16, 300.

II. Longstreet Concentrates his Commands and Brings up a Battery to Help Drive Porter Back

At 3 PM Longstreet trotted forward from headquarters to complete dispositions for the diversion he was to undertake against the Federal left. (Orders for the move were dispatched to at least Kemper's division and Hood's brigade, and probably to the rest of his command as well.) As he neared the front Longstreet heard the crash of fire signaling the opening of Porter's assault. Longstreet recorded, "At the critical moment I happened to be riding to the front of my line.... I reached a point a few rods in front of my line on the left of the pike where I could plainly see the Federals as they rushed in heavy masses against the obstinate ranks on the Confederate left. It was a grand display of well organized attack, thoroughly concentrated and operating cleverly So terrible was the onslaught that Jackson sent to me and begged for reenforcements. About the same time I received an order from General Lee to the same effect."

Longstreet realized that to send infantry to Jackson's aid would take time—too much time. Instead he chose to bring a battery into a position from where, he wrote, "I could get an enfilading and reverse fire on" the Federal columns. Promptly Chapman's and Reilly's batteries were ordered forward. Chapman's arrived first and opened an effective fire. Reilly did not arrive until the attack was nearly over. Longstreet, "Our March Around Pope," p. 521; Longstreet's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 122; Longstreet, "The Artillery at Second Manassas—General Longstreet's Reply to General S. D. Lee," SHSP, Vol. 6, pp. 216-17.

A. R. H. Anderson Moves Toward the Front

Anderson's men had started to cook rations when their general received orders to move forward to Jackson's aid. The division moved a short distance, its right resting on the turnpike, then stopped and waited. At this time Armistead's brigade rejoined the division, taking position behind the other two brigades, where they stacked arms and ate. Grimes' Battery was in position only 50 yards in front of the division. William E. Cameron in, Bernard, War Talks of Confederate Veterans, p. 300; Bernard, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," p. 15, 17; John B. Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, Magruder Papers; Benjamin L. Farinholt, Diary, August 30, 1862.

B. D. R. Jones' Division

Jones' three brigades remained in place, Drayton on the extreme right, Benning north of the railroad, about one-quarter mile from Compton's house, and G. T. Anderson somewhere near Benning. Benning's left was left somewhat uncovered by the return of Corse's brigade to Kemper's division. Benning's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 583; Jones's report, ibid., p. 579; Letter of A. S. E. to Willie, September 14, 1862, [Athens, Ga.] Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862.

C. Porter's Attack as Seen By General Wilcox: Featherston is Ordered to Assail the Flank of the Attacking Column

When Porter's men emerged from the Groveton Wood to attack Jackson's line, General Wilcox immediately rode to the front to witness the drama. He reported, "Seeing the advance of the enemy, I repaired at once to the interval between Pryor's and Featherston's brigades. From this point there was an excellent view of the field and not more than 400 yards distant. The first line of the enemy advanced in fine style across the open field. There was but little to oppose them. They were fired upon by our pickets and skirmishers, but they continued to advance, and, ascending the rise...came within full view of Jackson's line, and were here received with a terrific fire of musketry at short range. They hesitated for an instant, recoiling slightly, and then advanced to near the embankment.... Seeing a second line issuing from the woods upon the field, I was in the act of ordering a battery to be placed in position to fire upon them when a battery was directed by the major general commanding to fire upon them, this battery [Chapman's] being near the turnpike in an excellent and commanding position. The fire of this battery was most opportunely delivered upon this advancing line of the enemy. They were caught in the open field. The effect of every shot could be seen.... As the shells and spherical case would burst over in front and near them their ranks would break, hesitate and scatter....

"Seeing these successive lines and regiments [undoubtedly Hatch's] of the enemy checked and finally driven back, and yet their front line quite close upon Jackson's line, thus leaving an interval of more than 600 yards between to them and the broken retreating lines, I ordered General Featherston to move his brigade by the flank rapidly down the slope in his front, and thus take in rear or intercept the retreat of the enemy that were so closely engaged with Jackson. The order was repeated three times and in the most positive and peremptory manner, but it was not obeyed. At length the front line of the enemy...broke and fell back with great precipitancy and disorder, followed by a portion of Jackson's troops...." Wilcox's report, op.cit. p. 599; Wilcox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 267.

1. Chapman's Battery (Dixie Artillery) is Called Up by Longstreet and Enfilades Porter's Lines

Captain Chapman recalled in a post-war letter to General Longstreet that shortly before 3 PM, "I had ridden to the position occupied by Featherstone's[sic] brigade...and while at the highest point occupied by it, we could see the enemy's infantry, about a mile distant, moving in large bodies to the left and disappearing in a body of woods in front of Jackson's right wing. I hurried back to my battery, which was on the left of the turnpike, about fifty yards from it, and immediately behind Hood's division." On the way, Chapman passed Longstreet, heading toward the front. The captain anticipated orders to move to the firing line, and directed his gunners "to be ready to move." In less than five minutes the expected order came.

"Being ready," Chapman continued, "we moved instantly, and at a gallop, soon reached the point where you were, on the left of the turnpike, fifty or one hundred yards from it, and in front of Whiting's [Law's] brigade of Hood's division. We went into position where [Longstreet] indicated and commenced firing at a heavily massed body of infantry on our left, not more than 400 yards distant.... I fired from this position until their ranks were broken and driven back...." William H. Chapman, "Dixie Battery at the Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 39, p. 193; Chapman to John Warwick Daniel, no date, Box f 24, "Confederate Artillery Units" Folder, Daniel Papers, University of Virginia.

D. Hood's, Evans', and Law's Brigades Continue to Rest

These three brigades continued to rest in place along the Warrenton Turnpike. Despite the swirl of battle to their left, no major changes were made in their dispositions. Hood's report, op.cit., p. 605.

1. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding): Bachman's (German Artillery), Garden's (Palmetto Artillery), and Reilly's (Rowan Artillery) Batteries

Of the three batteries attached to the division, only one, Reilly's, went into action during Porter's attack. Captain Reilly was resting along the turnpike with his guns when he received orders to move his battery to the front. He did so, unlimbering near Chapman's guns on Battery Heights too late to play an effective role in the repulse of Porter's assault. Bachman's and Garden's batteries apparently remained in place along the Warrenton Turnpike. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 187; Chapman, "Dixie Battery at the Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 39, p. 194; Frobel's report, op.cit., p. 607; Frobel's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 688.

2. Boyce's Battery (MacBeth Artillery) is Ordered to the Firing Line

In conjunction with Chapman's and Reilly's battery, Boyce was ordered to bring his guns forward and open on Porter's advancing column. The battery, though, apparently arrived too late to be of any service. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 187.

E. Kemper is Ordered to Prepare for the Diversion

Colonel Corse reported, "At 3 o'clock Colonel Hunton...brought the order that [my] brigade, with the others of [Kemper's division], were to occupy at 5 p.m. a wood near the Chinn house, in front of the line occupied by Jenkins and Hunton. It was agreed that they should advance and occupy the position while I would support them." Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 626.

Meanwhile, Corse's and Hunton's brigades made only minor shifts in their positions, while Jenkins moved into place on Hunton's right, overlapping for a time Hunton's right regiment, the 8th Virginia. [Norborne Berkeley] "The Eighth Virginia's part in Second Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 37, p. 314.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery

The four companies of the Washington Artillery remained in their assigned positions: Richardson along the Manassas Gap railroad, Eshleman with Hunton's brigade, and Squires and Miller in reserve. Walton's report, ibid., p. 571.

2. Stephen D. Lee's Battalion Pounds Porter's Advance

Colonel Lee was sitting placidly eating dinner with Capt. W. W. Parker when Porter's men made their appearance. A wild private ran up to him yelling, "Here they come, Captain! Here they come!" Instantly Colonel Lee was on the move. He quickly ordered his five reserve howitzers (two from Parker's battery, two from Rhett's, and one from Jordan's) to join Eubank's four smoothbores on the left of the ridge. To the rifles on the right he sent orders to "change their position, so as to fire on the enemy in flank and on the woods containing their reserves." Within a few minutes the 18 guns of Lee's battalion were ablaze.

By the time Lee's guns opened in full force, the first of Porter's lines had already crossed the field. Therefore, Lee concentrated his fire on Porter's reserves. Lee reported, "His reserves [Hatch] moved twice out of the woods to the support of the attacking columns and twice they were repulsed by the artillery and driven back into the woods." For half an hour the gunners kept up their fire, turning the plain in front into a meadow of fire and death. Finally the Federal lines along the railroad embankment gave way. The gunners redoubled their fire. Their screaming shells tore into the Federal ranks—some at only 500 yards range. All attempts to rally the Union ranks in the open field were useless. The defeated Federals hastened back to the cover of Groveton Woods pursued by a handful of zealous Confederates. S. D. Lee's report, ibid., pp. 577-78; Letter of "P" [W. W. Parker], August 31, 1862, Richmond Dispatch, September 8, 1862; S. D. Lee, "The Second Battle of Manassas—A Reply to General Longstreet," SHSP, Vol. 6, p. 65; Edward Samuel Duffey, Diary, August 30, 1862, Virginia Historical Society; Letter of T. C. Howard to the Memorial Bazaar, April 26, 1893, Museum of the Confederacy; Krick, Parker's Battery, p. 35-37.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries

a. Rogers' Battery (Loudoun Artillery)

Rogers' gunners remained near Stribling's, in the neighborhood of Jenkins' brigade. Rosser's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 750.

b. Stribling's Battery (Fauquier Artillery)

The Fauquier Artillery remained with Jenkins' brigade. Rosser's report, op.cit., p. 750.

III. Jackson's Wing

General Jackson was sitting quietly on a fence post when the echoing crash of battle to his front told him that a Federal attack was underway. Quickly Jackson mounted his horse and rode into the woods toward the firing. The seriousness of the assault was immediately apparent to Jackson for his entourage had ridden only a short distance when he decided he needed reinforcements. He dispatched two couriers, one to Longstreet and one to Lee, asking for aid. Moore, Cannoneer Under Stonewall, p. 122; Douglas, I Rode With Stonewall, pp. 141-42.

Into the woods Jackson rode and there set up a command post. The fight in front raged with unabated fury for 30 minutes. Jackson's line was tested to the limit. At the height of the fight, an officer of the Stonewall Brigade dashed up to Jackson, informed him of Colonel Baylor's death (Col. A. J. Grigsby was now in command), and delivered an urgent appeal for reinforcements. Jackson inquired of the officer, "What brigade Sir?" "The Stonewall Brigade," came the answer. "Go back," Jackson ordered, "give my compliments to them, and tell the Stonewall Brigade to maintain her reputation." With a salute, the officer wheeled to leave. But, perhaps realizing mere admonition could not stem the Federal assault, Jackson reconsidered and beckoned him back again. "Go tell Grigsby to hold his position at all hazards for a short time, and I will send Pender's brigade to his assistance in ten minutes." A dispatch was then sent to General Hill. Shortly both Pender's and Brockenbrough's brigades were hustling to the scene. E. E. Stickley, "The Stonewall Brigade at Second Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 22 (1914), p. 231. James M. Garnett, "The Second Battle of Manassas, Including Ox Hill," SHSP, Vol. 40, p. 227.

A. Starke's Division Beats off Porter's Attack

1. The Stonewall Brigade Fights Its Way Forward from the Woods to the Unfinished Railroad: Colonel Baylor is Killed

Just after 3 PM the quietude of the day was shattered as the Federals emerged from the Groveton Wood and headed for Starke's division. Instantly, Baylor's Virginians were astir, forming into ranks. But the Federal advance looked irresistible. Recalled Capt. E. E. Stickley, "The Federals came up in front of us [as] suddenly as men rising up out of the ground, showing themselves at the old railroad line opposite our line in double battle phalanx coming forward in slow time, pouring their shot in our ranks in unmerciful volume." Quickly officers passed the order to move forward from the woods to the railroad grade. As the line started, a Federal volley tore into the brigade's ranks, staggering it at the woodline. At this point, seeing his fighters wavering, Col. Will Baylor ran to the front of the brigade, grabbed the flag of the 33d Virginia, and dashed into the field, screaming over the din, "Boys, Follow me!" Obediently the Valley Men started forward, but another fusilade tore into their ranks. Colonel Baylor fell, and the brigade "fell back into the woods about 100 yards." Colonel Andrew Grigsby assumed command of the brigade, and quickly sent to General Jackson for reinforcements.

In the meantime, though, the brigade rallied and tried again to traverse the field. This time they succeeded, but at a heavy price. Capt. Rawley Colston of the 2d Virginia reported, "My orders were to get to the regiment, if possible, into the railroad cut, which position appeared to be a relatively safe one. The conflict from the woods to the railroad was terrible, and it was at this time that the casualties in the Second Regiment were the greatest...." Sternly the Virginians pushed forward, finally gaining the grade "just where the cut ran out...where there was but little protection." The Virginians took what cover they could and opened a withering fire that soon sent the Federals reeling in retreat. In their haste, the men of the 18th Massachusetts (Roberts' brigade) left their flag resting against a bush; it was scooped up by an alert man of the 27th Virginia. E. E. Stickley, "The Stonewall Brigade at Second Manassas," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 22 (1914), p. 231; Garnett, "The Second Battle of Manassas, Including Ox Hill," SHSP, Vol. 40, p. 227; 2d, 4th, 27th, 33d Virginia reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 660, 662, 663, 664; M. Shuler, Diary, August 30, 1862, Library of Congress; Robert M. Mayo, "The Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 7, p. 123; Amasa Guild, Scrapbook, Dedham Historical Society.

2. Johnson's Brigade Fights to Hold the "Deep Cut"

At the onset of the Federal attack, Johnson's command (800 strong) was formed thus: the 48th Virginia was in the copse of timber on the right of Johnson's line, extending almost at a right angle from the railroad grade. The 42d Virginia connected with the left of the 48th, holding the area of the "Deep Cut." Along the edge of the woods abreast the Stonewall Brigade were Johnson's two remaining regiments, the 21st Virginia and 1st Virginia Battalion.

When the Federals first appeared in front, reported Colonel Johnson, the 21st Virginia and 1st Virginia Battalion were ordered forward to the unfinished railroad. Without even bothering to load their guns, the two regiments dashed ahead. "I halted them under shelter of the cut, where, with the Forty-second, they held back the enormous force pressing up the hill on them," Johnson wrote. Meanwhile on the right, the 48th Virginia opened fire on the flank of the 17th New York as it moved against Johnson's men. The raking fire forced the New Yorkers to stop their advance and lie down. Shortly, though, the rest of Weeks' Federals charged up the slope and crashed full force into the 48th. Its commanders all stricken, the 48th wavered and soon abandoned the copse of trees. The three other regiments fought on alone. The firefight was terrific. Recalled Johnson, "I saw a Federal flag hold its position for half an hour within 10 yards of a flag of one of the regiments in the cut and go down six or eight times.... The men fought until their ammunition was exhausted...." Then, like the Louisianans to their left, Johnson's men began pegging stones at the bluecoats. This strange fight continued but a few moments until Brockenbrough's brigade arrived. Stung by the intensified Confederate fire, the Federals began to fall back. As they did, many of Johnson's men scrambled out of the cut in pursuit, but the chase was disorganized and brief, being halted by a Federal volley at Groveton-Sudley Road. Johnson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 666-67; Bradley Johnson to John Warwick Daniel, October 4, 1892, John W. Daniel Papers, Duke University; Worsham, One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry, pp. 131-32.

3. Taliaferro's Brigade Fights on the Extreme Right

Unfortunately, no source material that delineates the role of Taliaferro's brigade in the repulse of Porter's attack has been found. At least part of the brigade was engaged—Bradley Johnson in his report stated that Taliaferro's brigade was occupied "whipping a whole division by itself." While this is an obvious exaggeration, judging from the probable frontages of Porter's units it would seem that Taliaferro must have taken part in the fight. This is further substantiated by one of S. D. Lee's men who noted that the Federal columns suffered from the fire of "two small regiments, which had been placed on our left to support us...." None of Longstreet's regiments are known to have played such a role; perhaps they were Taliaferro's. That only part of the brigade was engaged is suggested by the testimony of a veteran of the 37th Virginia who maintained that his regiment was not engaged that day. Johnson's report, op.cit., p. 666; Letter of "P" [W. W. Parker], August 31, 1862, Richmond Dispatch, September 8, 1862; James W. Orr, Recollections of the War Between the States (Pamphlet Filed with the Southwest Virginia Historical Society).

4. Stafford's Louisianans Fight to Their Last Round

Like Johnson's brigade, Stafford's men were arranged in two lines. Based on probable frontages, the first line most likely consisted of three regiments, the 15th Louisiana on the right and the 1st Louisiana in the center. The second line was, in all likelihood, along the edge of the woods behind the railroad grade. The 2d Louisiana and perhaps one other regiment manned this position. Just behind the right of the 15th Louisiana were the four guns of Brockenbrough's Baltimore Artillery.

The first wave of the Federal attack (Sullivan's brigade) met a blinding fire from Stafford's men. E. D. Willett of the 1st Louisiana remembered, "When the smoke arose the line of the Federals was almost swept away, with the exception of a gallant band who [had] advanced and secured protection on the opposite side of the embankment." The second Federal wave met an even hotter reception as the Louisianans pumped bullet after bullet into them. But the Federals came in such force that help was needed. Jackson saw this and ordered Stafford's second line forward into the fray. "With a great yell the troops charged down upon" the Unionists, and the batttle reached its climax. Yet a third Federal line (Patrick's) appeared.

At this point ammunition began to run low. Colonel Stafford reported, "The men procured some from the dead bodies of their comrades, but the supply was not sufficient...." There was no time to send to the rear for more. As the Federal line neared, the command "Fire!" echoed along the line; many men dispatched their last rounds. Then, an Irishman of the 1st, M. O'Keefe, jumped up and hollered, "Boys, give them the rocks." The Louisianans sent a shower of stones into the remains of the Federal ranks. But the need to throw stones was soon dispelled as Brockenbrough's brigade arrived and opened fire. The blueclad survivors rushed rearward toward the woods. Thomas Rice, MS "Historical Memoranda of Company E, Montgomery Light Guards, First Regiment Louisiana Volunteers," Excerpt, Manassas NBP Library; Wolf Lichtenstein, Memoirs, *Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Stafford's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 669; E. D. Willett, "Gallant Louisiana Troops," *Philadelphia Weekly Times*, December 24, 1881; R. J. Hancock, "William Singleton," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 14 (1906), p. 498; Napier Bartlett, *Military Record of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 31 (Bartlett misidentifies the brigade that succored the Louisianans at the end of the fight as Barksdale's. That it was Brockenbrough's is certain.).

5. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

The role that Shumaker's guns played in the repulse of Porter's column is questionable. Colonel Crutchfield reported that at least five batteries of the battalion—Wooding's, Poague's, Carpenter's, Rice's, and

Brockenbrough's—were engaged during the fight. Members of Poague's and Carpenter's batteries, however, state otherwise. Of the four, only Brockenbrough's is known positively to have been in action. Crutchfield's report, op.cit., p. 653; Fonerden, Carpenter's Battery, p. 36; Philip G. Slaughter, A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax (Richmond, 1865), p. 31; Moore, Cannoneer Under Stonewall, p. 122.

a. Brockenbrough's Battery

According to one of the men of Stafford's brigade, Brockenbrough's guns were in position on the rise of ground immediately behind that brigade. If Federal accounts can be believed, the battery's fire was initially very effective, but subsequent to the advance of Roberts' brigade, the gunners were driven from their pieces. Thomas Rice, MS "Historical Memoranda..."; 17th New York report, op.cit., p. 478; E. G. Marshall's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 349.

B. A. P. Hill's Division

Despite many claims to the contrary, Hill's division weathered no major Federal attacks on the afternoon of the 30th. It was, however, called upon to supply reinforcements to Starke's hard-pressed line. For this Hill promptly dispatched Brockenbrough's brigade, followed by Pender. report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 671.

1. Branch's Brigade

Branch's North Carolinians maintained their position on the left under "a heavy artillery fire." Lane's report, ibid., p. 677.

2. Archer Receives Orders to Move to Starke's Assistance, but Becomes Engaged Before He Can Move Out

General Archer reported, "The troops on our extreme right having become hotly engaged, I received orders from General Hill to draw out my brigade, if not already engaged myself, and go to the support of the right; but while I was receiving the order the enemy [Christ's brigade] drove in my pickets and attacked my brigade." Archer's men returned the Federal fire for "ten or fifteen minutes," then leaped across the railroad grade and drove the Federals away, following them closely. Archer's report, ibid., p. 701.

3. Pender Moves to Starke's Aid, but Arrives too Late to Take Part in the Fight

Resting in reserve, Pender received orders to hurry to the right to assist Starke's division. Through the woods the brigade double timed, but it arrived at the scene of conflict too late to be of service. Pender's report, ibid., p. 698; Garnett, "The Second Battle of Manassas, Including Ox Hill," SHSP, Vol. 40, p. 227.

4. Brockenbrough's (Field's) Virginians Rush to Support Stafford and Johnson

Brockenbrough's men were the first to receive Jackson's request for reinforcements. Robert Healy of the 55th Virginia chronicled, "We proceeded at double quick to a point in the woods behind the deep cut, where we formed our line...." After a brief respite, Brockenbrough ordered the line forward. Healy continued, "We came in sight of the enemy when we advanced a few yards, and were saluted with cannon. We pushed on, however, to the old railroad cut.... The troops occupying this place had expended their ammunition and were defending themselves with rocks...which seemed to have been picked up or blasted out of the bed of the railroad, chips and slivers of stones which many were collecting and others were throwing." The right of the brigade stopped behind the grade due to the deepness of the cut in front of it. From there they opened fire. The Federals "made but feeble resistence" and were soon sent into headlong retreat. Some of the more enthusiastic of the brigade hurried in pursuit, not returning until recalled by General Starke. Robert Healy in Redwood, "Jackson's Foot Cavalry at the Second Bull Run," Battles and Leaders, Vol. II, p. 535; Robert M. Mayo, "The Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 7, pp. 123-24; Wayland Dunaway, Reminiscences of a Rebel (New York, 1913), p. 42.

5. Gregg's Brigade

These men from the Palmetto State remained in place without incident. 1st S.C. Rifles report, op.cit., p. 691.

6. Thomas Assists in Repulsing Christ's Advance

Though there is little detail available, Thomas' Georgians apparently played a peripheral role in the repulse of Christ's brief advance. Thomas' report, ibid., p. 703; E. R. Dozier, Diary, August 30, 1862, U.D.C. Bound TS, G.D.A.H., Vol. 8.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

There is no indication in the source material of any activity among the batteries of Walker's battalion, except Crenshaw's. William Jones of that battery recorded in his diary that about 3 PM "orders came to move our position about 400 yards to the right." The battery hurried into position in rear of the woods under "a terrible fire," rammed charges of canister down their tubes, and waited. "But," Jones noted happily, "we had no occasion to use [the canister] for our brave boys made a stand at the edge of woods and soon had them on the run." Walker's report, op.cit., p. 674; William E. Jones, Diary, August 30, 1862, p. 41.

C. Lawton's Division

1. Douglass' Brigade

Though there is little source material relating to this brigade, General Early indicated in his report that the Georgians were engaged during Porter's attack. Undoubtedly, the forces they tangled with were the 20th N.Y.S.M. of Patrick's brigade (on their right) and Christ's two regiments (on their left). Early's report, op.cit., p. 715.

2. Early's Brigade Repels a Brief Attack

As the fire to their right grew in intensity, Early's three front-line regiments (the 49th on the left, 44th, and 52d Virginia) found themselves confronted by an advancing Federal force. They easily drove off this half-hearted advance. Early's report, ibid., p. 715.

3. Brown's (Trimble's) Brigade: The 15th Alabama and the 21st Georgia Assist Stafford's Men With an Oblique Fire: The Rest of the Brigade Tangles with the 20th N.Y.S.M.

The brunt of the Federal attack fell to the right of Brown's brigade, on Starke's division. The right regiments of the brigade, however, the 15th Alabama and 21st Georgia opened an enfilading fire that helped cripple the advancing columns. Private William McLendon of the 15th recalled, "On the right they were in an old field in plain view, and the whole of the 15th Alabama got in some deadly work at the right oblique. [The Federals] just simply jammed up against the embankment.... They were so thick it was impossible to miss them.... What a slaughter! What a slaughter of men that was." Behind the 15th, the 21st Georgia also chimed in, continuing to fire until the Federal lines broke and fell back.

Unfortunately there is little available to tell the story of what transpired on the left of the brigade during the attack. It seems probable, though, that it was the left of Brown's and the right of Douglass' brigade that received the attack of the 20th N.Y.S.M.. If so, these regiments participated in some of the most obstinate fighting of the battle. McLendon, Recollections of War Times, pp. 116-17; Thomas, Doles-Cook Brigade, p. 356;

Houghton, Two Boys in the Civil War and After, pp. 25-26; Oates, The War Between the Union and the Confederacy, p. 144; Letter of Shepard G. Pryor, September 2, 1862, Pryor Papers.

4. Strong's (Forno's) Brigade

This brigade of Louisianans remained in the rear, out of touch with the action. Early, Autobiographical Sketch, p. 127.

5. Division Artillery

According to Colonel Crutchfield, J. R. Johnson's, D'Aquin's, and Latimer's batteries were in position on the right of the line near Shumaker's battallion. Whether the batteries fired on Porter's column or not is unknown. The location of the three other divisional batteries cannot be deter mined. Crutchfield's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 653; Letter of Charles Thompson, February 3, 1863, Huntington Library.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

Stuart watched Porter's assault from the top of a large walnut tree, but his troops continued to take no part in the action of the day. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 736.

MAP 12

Map #12, 3:45-4:30 PM, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

According to staff officer D. H. Strother, during much of this period General Pope remained on Buck Hill watching events from afar. He ventured off the hill only once, to question McDowell as to whether or not McDowell "had not taken too much from the right" by ordering Tower's command to the left. McDowell appraised him of the worsening situation, and Pope assented to the move. Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 95; McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 341; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 181.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

A. Schenck's Division Awaits the Onslaught

1. Stahel in position near the John Dogan House

Now fully deployed, Stahel's three regiments atop Dogan Ridge could do little beyond act as a net for Porter's rapidly retreating regiments. The 41st New York continued to hold its position south of the Warrenton Turnpike. Stahel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 284-85.

2. McLean's Ohioans Witness Disaster

From their position on Chinn Ridge, three of Colonel McLean's regiments could only look on helplessly as first Warren's and then Hardin's brigades were cut down and scattered in front of them. McLean recounted that he could see the enemy advancing "on my front and a little to the right, driving a regiment of zouaves. They came on rapidly, when some troops advanced to meet them from behind a hill on my right. These troops were also driven back in confusion...." McLean's report, *ibid.*, p. 286; McLean to John C. Ropes, October 6, 1897, Ropes Papers.

a. The 55th Ohio Attempts to Support Hardin, Then Falls Back to the Main Brigade Line

The 55th Ohio, situated to the front and to the right of the rest of the brigade, was startled by the sudden crash of gunfire to its front. In a letter home, Pvt. John Rumpel wrote, "[Soon] the shells commenced coming and some lit in our ranks[,] so the Col thought it time for us to be doing something too[,] so we deployed out in line of battle and marched [up] the hill." Col. John Lee recorded that the regiment advanced quickly, but met nothing but a stream of retreating Federals. "With this mass pressing against us," he wrote, "it was impossible to fire, and being wholly unsupported, the battalion was faced by the rear rank and moved rapidly over to the ridge behind us," passing through a piece of woods (according to Private Rumpel), and re-formed "on the right of the Seventy-fifth [Ohio]." There, remembered another of the regiment, the 55th "faced the enemy as they came down across a gully or depression and up toward us." H. E. Rosenberger, ed., "Ohiowa Soldier," Annals of Iowa, Fall, 1961, p. 117 (Letters of John Rumpel); 55th Ohio report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 291; Luther B. Mesnard, Memoir, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I., p. 12; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Generals and Soldiers (Cincinnati, 1872), Vol. 2, p. 332.

3. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Fires from Near Dogan's

Presumably, Lieutenant Blume continued to fire his guns from near the Dogan House to cover Porter's retreat. Stahel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 285; Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

B. Schurz Holds Position

Amidst the confusion of Porter's retreating forces, Schurz's division maintained its newly taken position behind Stahel on the east slope of Dogan Ridge. Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 301.

1. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

It can be assumed that this battery remained in the position taken by it in the morning.

b. Roemer (L, 2d New York Light) Continues to Engage the Enemy

From their position on Dogan Ridge, Roemer's boys from Flushing kept up an effective fire on the distant Confederate batteries. Roemer, Reminiscences, p. 78.

c. Four of Dilger's Guns (I, 1st Ohio Light) Also Chime In

The redoubtable Dilger kept four of his six guns working from the position taken previously in John Dogan's yard. Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 305.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding)

1. Wiedrich's Gunners (I, 1st New York Light) Watch Impatiently from Chinn Ridge

With McLean's Buckeyes deployed on either side of his four guns, Wiedrich was forced to endure an excrutiating period of inactivity. "Major General McDowell," wrote Captain Wiedrich, "...forbade me to open fire for fear of injuring our own men, of which there was one battery about 500 yards in front to our right and some infantry a short distance in advance of that battery to our left." Wiedrich's report, ibid., p.304; Mark Wiedrich to John Mead Gould, March 12, 1880, John M. Gould Papers, Duke University.

2. Buell (C, West Virginia Light) Remains in Reserve

Buell apparently maintained his position taken earlier. Wiedrich's report, op.cit., p. 304.

3. Dieckmann (13th, New York Light) Holds Position

Dieckmann's guns remained in reserve with the rest of the corps.

D. Milroy Tries to Stem the Retreat

The Young's Branch valley rapidly filling with the remnants of Porter's command, Milroy took it upon himself to try and stop "the great tide of cowardly runaways," as he called them. To his wife he recounted, "I tried this a while alone with my sword but soon found I could not stay the tide. I then ordered my Bgd to deploy into line and threw them rapidly across the [Warrenton] road and valley...and ordered my Regts to face the front and fix bayonets and stop every man whether officer or private." Milroy to his wife, September 5, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. I, p.91; Theodore F. Lang, "Personal Reminiscences," in his Loyal West Virginia from 1861-1865 (Baltimore, 1865), p. 101.

Johnson's battery (12th, Ohio Light) remained with Milroy.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

The crash of musketry signaling the opening of Longstreet's counterattack marked the beginning of a very busy afternoon for Irvin McDowell. Realizing his error in ordering Reynolds' division to Porter's support north of the Turnpike, McDowell rode rapidly and overtook the rear of the column—Hardin's brigade, plus Simpson's, Cooper's, and Kerns' batteries. Promptly, he ordered them into the intensifying fray south of the road and then spurred his horse eastward in search of other reinforcements. Shortly he came upon Tower's and Stiles' brigades and ordered them to prepare for action. John Taggart, MS Memoirs, pp.

47-48, in Robert Taggart Papers, Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission; McDowell's report, op.cit., p. 341.

A. Hatch's Division Falls Back

Now commanded by Abner Doubleday, the division—half of it shattered—streamed back across the fields to the cover of the batteries on Dogan Ridge. Abner Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, National Park Service Library, Harpers Ferry.

1. Sullivan Takes Cover Behind Dogan Ridge

Though specific documentation for these New Yorkers ceases with the end of their attack against the unfinished railroad, it is probable that the remnants of the brigade followed the retreating throng.

2. Doubleday Moves Back and Supports Batteries

On orders from Porter, Doubleday moved his brigade back "as if on parade" to a position "behind a line of batteries crowning the summit of a ridge some 800 yards in the rear." "We occupied this new position undisturbed for nearly ½ hour...." Doubleday's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 370; Doubleday's Journal, August 30, 1862, National Park Service Library, Harpers Ferry Center.

3. Patrick Withdraws to Sudley Road

General Patrick recorded in his journal, "The Brigade, excepting the 20th [New York State Militia] regiment, which had in part formed on the 19th Indiana, retired in good order to a position on the right of the Sud[ley] Sp[rings] Road, near the rear of the wood adjoining the headquarters of Gen's Pope and McDowell, where I found one of Sigel's Batteries, without support and stragglers fleeing in great numbers to the rear.... Throwing in a part of the brigade to support the battery and the remainder across the road and through the woods, every man was halted and sent back or retained in the wood, until order was restored. The brigade remained in this position...." Patrick, Journal, August 30, 1862; Letter of Lt. Leslie (20th N.Y.S.M.), Ellenville [N.Y.] Journal, September 26, 1862.

4. Gibbon Moves and Supports Campbell's Battery

The failure of the attack acknowledged by all, General Gibbon "threw line of pickets to the rear and marched in line of battle to the hill behind us near the Dogan House where several batteries were in position, my own [B, 4th U.S.] amongst them." Gibbon, Recollections, p. 64; Lyman Holford, Diary, September 4, 1862, Library of Congress.

The 19th Indiana, with the rest of the brigade, went to the support of Campbell's gunners. The Hoosiers lay down immediately in front of the six Napoleons—so close in fact that the gunners almost stepped among them as they worked their pieces. The consolidated 2d and 7th Wisconsin position behind the guns, and the 6th Wisconsin fell in behind them. William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, Indiana Historical Society, p. 114; George Fairfield, Diary, August 30, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Robert Hughes, Diary, August 30, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Philip Cheek and Mair Pointon, History of the Sauk County Riflemen, Known as Company "A" Sixth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry (n.p., 1909), p. 42.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

As before, it can be assumed that Gerrish's battery was in position with the rest of the artillery of the division.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Remains Near the Dogan House

Captain Monroe indicates that the battery remained in its previously taken position until ordered to Henry Hill. Monroe, "Battery D," pp. 21-23.

c. Reynolds' (L, 1st New York Light) and Campbell's (B, 4th U.S.) Batteries Remain on Dogan Ridge

These batteries did not change position during the period. William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, p. 114; Lt. George Breck to the Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

B. Half of Ricketts' Division Receives Orders to Move Toward the Scene of Conflict

1. Duryee and Thoburn, Along with Matthews' (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light) and Thompson's (C, Pennsylvania Light) Batteries Hold Position on the Union Right

These forces maintained, without incident, the positions taken by them earlier in the day. Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384.

2. Tower's Command (His Own and Stiles' Brigades Plus Hall's [2d Maine Light] and Leppien's [5th Maine Light] Batteries) Readies for Action

Tower's men were allowed to rest south of the turnpike along Sudley Road for about 45 minutes when suddenly, according to Samuel Webster of the 13th Massachusetts, General McDowell dashed up to the troops bellowing, "Fall in boys, fall in! We've got them. General Porter's in their rear with 30,000 men. We've got 'em now!" The weary troops scurried into column and "turned to our left, down the hill in front of the Stone House...." Charles McClenthen to "Friend Scott," September 5, 1862, Charles McClenthen Papers, Cornell University; Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; Letter of Warren, Quincy [Mass.] Patriot Ledger, September 20, 1862; Phil K. Faulk, "Fighting Regiment. The Part Taken by the 11th Pennsylvania on the Plains of Manassas," National Tribune, February 19, 1891; McDowell's report, op.cit., p. 341.

C. Two of Reynolds' Brigades Move North of the Turnpike: The Third is Thrown into Action on the South Side

1. Meade and Seymour Move to Porter's Aid

By the time the fighting opened south of the turnpike, Meade and Seymour had already passed north of the road. Their immediate recall was impossible. Reynolds reported, "Passing across the field to the right, with Meade's and Seymour's brigades and Ransom's battery, my course was diverted by the difficult nature of the ground, and the retreating masses of the columns among troops of Heintzelman's corps, already formed, by which much time was lost and confusion created, which allowed the enemy to sweep up with his right so far as to almost to cut us off from the pike, leaving nothing but the rear brigade and the three batteries of artillery of my division and scattered troops of other commands to resist the advance of the enemy upon our left." Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394; Meade's report, ibid., p. 398.

One of the Reserves, Evan Woodward, recalled, "Arriving on the brow of a hill, our brigades and battery took up a position near a road, from which we overlooked a large portion of the field, and Porter's corps commenced forming behind us...." Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserves, p. 161.

2. Hardin's Brigade Grapples Briefly with the Texans, Then is Forced Back

Colonel Hardin recorded, "The Division moved off to the right—the

First and Second Brigades, then the division batteries, then the Third Brigade [Hardin's]. Just as the last battery (Kerns') reached the road sharp firing was heard near Groveton south of the pike. Captain Kerns' and [myself] rode rapidly to the crest of a small hill south of the pike to see what it was." There they saw the shattered remnants of Warren's brigade streaming back toward them. "Kerns said he would bring his battery backward to the spot where we stood." Hardin himself rode back to the brigade and ordered "'Left into line, Wheel!' and moved the brigade up to the crest on the left of Kerns battery, two regiments being on the crest and two about 100 feet in the rear." Kerns opened with his four 10-pounder Parrotts, but his fire was ineffective—there were still too many of Warren's men in front. The Confederates continued their advance "down the slope of the hill west of the Third Brigade's position." At the foot of the hill Kerns' fire finally took effect, briefly stopping the Hood's advance. The right of the Confederate line, however, found cover in the woods screening the Pennsylvanians' left and began to push up the hill. Martin Hardin, History of the Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps (New York, 1890), p. 100; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. I, p. 883.

The musketry grew in intensity as Hardin's first line, the 11th Reserves on the left and the 12th on the right, braced to meet the onslaught. Quickly alignments were shifted to counter the enfilading fire coming from the woods on the left. The second line rushed to the support of the first, but the cross-fire could not be endured. Colonel Hardin fell seriously wounded. The cannoneers of Kerns' battery were forced to flee their guns or be shot. The 5th Texas lapped around the brigade's left and forced a precipitous retreat. Falling back, the brigade made a brief stand in a pine thicket on the northwest shoulder of Chinn Ridge, but it could not be sustained, and the shattered brigade continued to the rear. Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. I, pp. 850, 883-84; Hardin, Twelfth Regiment, p. 100; 12th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 130; Letter of Charles Osgood, September 5, 1862, The Warren [Pa.] Mail, September 13, 1862; John D. McQuaide to Thomas McQuaide, John McQuaide Papers, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; John Taggart, Diary, August 30, 1862 and Memoirs, p. 48, Taggart Papers, Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission; Polley, Texas Brigade, p. 94.

3. Division Artillery (Dunbar R. Ransom Commanding)

a. Simpson's Battery (A, 1st Pennsylvania Light)

Both Colonel Hardin and General Reynolds indicate that

Simpson's guns were with Hardin's brigade during their brief fight south of the turnpike. The battery's role in the fight, if any, is not outlined in any of the source material. Hardin, Twelfth Regiment, p. 100; Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 394.

b. Cooper (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light) Loses His Caissons

While Reynolds, in his report, asserts that Cooper lost his caissons during the fight south of the road, no mention of how it happened can be found in any of the participants' accounts. Too, none of the Confederates involved in the affair lay claim to capturing any Federal equipment beyond Kerns' four guns. Reynolds' report, ibid., p. 394.

c. Kerns' (G, 1st Pennsylvania Light) Loses His Guns and His Life

Just as Kerns' battery reached the Warrenton Turnpike on their move to the north side, the roar of battle summoned them to action. Kerns joined Hardin and rode to a knoll just south of the pike, surveyed the situation, and selected a position for his battery. Within minutes the four guns were hauled into position. Their front obstructed for a few moments by the remnants of Warren's brigade, the first few rounds were ineffective, but as the front cleared, the Pennsylvanians' metal began to tell on the Rebel ranks. Fifty-one year old Cpl. Abraham Rudisill described the brief fight: "All are ordered to their posts. During the engagement firing was in an extraordinary manner. Three charges of cannister were put out at once from our cannons which must have made fearful voyages in the rebel column. But astonishing as it may appear, they rushed forward to the very mouth of the destructive fire of our cannon and it was only when the Rebels came actually in collision with our battery, getting two of our cannons when our battery was in the act of limbering up. During this time about 30 horses were killed and quite a number of men wounded. Our Captain fell and was left dead on the field after being several times wounded during the engagement.... All our guns were captured, of necessity, as the horses were shot; only two limbers and two caissons were brought off." Hardin, Twelfth Regiment, p. 100; Letter of Abraham Rudisill, n.d., in James Jefferson Rudisill, The Days of Our Abraham, 1811-1899 (New York, 1936), pp. 209-10.

1. The Capture of Kerns' Battery as Seen by the Texans

One of the 4th Texas related that "the battery...held its ground, and as we neared it, began to hurl...canister that tore great gaps in our ranks. Behind [the battery] lay, in a thicket of cedars, a regiment whose special duty it was to support it, but when [it] saw the two lines in front break into flight, it also broke and fled, leaving the battery entirely without support. Then, feeling themselves deserted, the men belonging to the battery abandoned it and made for the rear, leaving only their captain to stand by it. And that he did, with a courage and a heroism that, although wasted on the impossible, deservedly won the admiration and even the sympathy of the foes he was doing his best to destroy. Even when we had come within forty yards of the guns, he stood at the only loaded one, and was in the act of discharging it when he was shot down." "When we reached the gun beside which he fell," remembered another of Hood's men, "with all his life blood ebbing away he said, 'I promised to drive you back, or die under my guns, and I have kept my word.'" Polley, Texas Brigade, pp. 88, 93.

d. Ransom's Battery (C, 5th U.S.) Moves with Meade and Seymour

Holding a more forward position in the column than the other batteries, Ransom's battery moved north of the turnpike with the bulk of Reynolds' division. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 394.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny's Division Remains in Place

The source material indicates that there were no significant movements by any units of Kearny's division during this period. The batteries (Randolph's and Graham's), however, did open fire on those Confederates that ventured to pursue Porter's retreating men into the open field east of the Groveton Wood. Kearny's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 416; Thomas T. Cooney, "Sykes' Regulars," National Tribune, February 9, 1893.

B. Hooker's Men are Called to Arms and Move Forward Briefly

Porter's retreat encouraged an impetuous advance by many Confederate units. In Hooker's front, about 4 PM one of those units appeared. A man of Grover's brigade wrote, "the order suddenly rang out for the division to 'Fall in!' There were indications of an advance on Hooker from a point near Groveton. A rebel battery opened fire, and some of Hooker's guns [McGilvery's 6th, Maine Light] responded; but when the division moved forward, the rebel force which had uncovered went quickly back to the cover of the woods." Haynes, Sixth New Hampshire, p. 139.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Morell Arrives on the Field, Assumes Command of his Division, and Tries to Regroup it

General Morell, after his misguided trip to Centreville, arrived on the field in time to witness the retreat of his shattered division. He immediately took command from Butterfield and did his best to restore order. Roberts' report, ibid., p. 472.

1. Roberts' Brigade Joins Butterfield's and Falls Back

Roberts recalled that after recoiling from the unfinished railroad he succeeded in getting his command "nearly one-eighth of a mile to the rear." There he halted, and "joining with the Third Brigade, moved over to the high hill back from the field of battle." Roberts' report, ibid., p. 472.

a. The 25th New York Falls Back with Hatch's Division

Separated from its own brigade, Colonel Johnson's regiment joined Sullivan's brigade and withdrew from the front in their company. 25th New York report, ibid., p. 810.

2. Butterfield Regroups and Returns to Dogan Ridge

After falling back, Butterfield reformed his regiments in the open field behind the Groveton wood. The brigade, according to one of Berdan's Sharpshooters, then "fell back to the hills where we had plenty of artillery planted." With the rest of the corps, it continued rearward "past the Stone House.... There our corps halted and we stood there for an hour." 44th New York report, ibid., p. 479; 83rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 480; Letter of Charley M. Champlis, Quiner, "Correspondence," Vol. 7, p. 83; E. A. Wilson, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, October 19, 1905; William E. Dougherty, "An Eyewitness Account of Second Bull Run," American History Illustrated, December, 1966, p. 38.

3. Division Artillery

a. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island Light) Continues to Fire

As Porter's men fell back, Waterman's gunners did their best to cover their retreat by firing "with shrapnel at shorter range at the enemy's infantry, who were endeavoring to form under cover of the woods." Waterman's report, op.cit., p. 466.

b. Hazlett's Battery (D, 5th U.S.) Escapes Capture

Like so many of the other batteries, Hazlett's worked feverishly to cover Porter's columns as they fell back. From their excellent position, the gunners hampered any Confederate pursuit. Suddenly, according to Lieutenant Hazlett, "Colonel Warren informed me that the enemy were approaching through the woods on my left, and immediately after they were upon him in overwhelming force.... I could afford him no assistance by my fire." "...Nothing was left for me but to leave as soon as possible, as there was a very difficult ditch to cross, but one carriage being able to cross at a time. I left at a walk," and then took position "on a hill farther to the rear." Hazlett's reports, *ibid*., p. 469, 470; Warren's report, *ibid*., p. 503.

B. Sykes' Division Retreats

1. Buchanan Takes Refuge on Dogan Ridge

After covering Porter's withdrawal from the field, "the brigade [except several companies of the 3rd U.S. that had been separated and forced to serve with Warren's brigade] was withdrawn from the woods in admirable order, moving by fronts of battalions in column, and halted for a short time in rear of Weed's battery, on a line with the Dogan House." Buchanan's report, *ibid*., p. 488; 1st Battalion, 14th U.S. report, *ibid*., p. 494; 3rd U.S. report, *New York Herald*, September 8, 1862.

2. Chapman is Ordered Out of Range: The Retreat as Seen by one of the 6th U.S.

The Regulars were "ordered to retire in line of battle, and when out from under fire to march...to the vicinity of Bull Run Hill and give the men something to eat." 17th U.S. report, *op.cit*., p. 501.

In so doing, according to William Dougherty of the 6th U.S., "our division passed over the southern slope of the Dogan house hill in the finest order.... [We] passed into a lane that ran along the foot of the hill and led to the turnpike some distance furthur on. We encountered the most awful confusion here. The narrow space was packed with the broken brigades of Butterfield and Barnes [Roberts], among whom were many wounded. In the midst of this throng were several ammunition wagons and Smead's battery.... The infantry, obliged to halt to maintain its organization, was delayed several minutes here.... [Then] our 2d Brigade moved along with the mass into the road and down to the tollgate at the foot of Henry Hill." Dougherty, "Eyewitness Account," pp. 40-41; John Worthington Ames, "The Second Bull Run," *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 8 (1872), p. 401.

3. Warren's Brigade is Unable to Slow Longstreet's Advance

a The 5th New York Meets Disaster

It was quiet along the front of the 5th New York—suspiciously so. "It struck me," remembered Pvt. Alfred Davenport, "that some mischief was brewing." Soon the skirmishers of the 10th New York came tumbling back through the woods. They piled up on the left of the 5th's line, "in a heap and much scared." The enemy was coming! they yelled. Alfred Davenport to his family, September 5, 1862, Alfred Davenport Papers, New York Historical Society.

"Attention Battalion!" the officers hollered. "There was a moments stillness," Andrew Coats recalled, "and then bang! bang, bang, bang! came the sound of shots from the woods directly in our front." A tremendous volley of musketry followed. "The balls began to fly from the woods like hail," said Davenport. "It was a continual hiss, snap, whiz, and slug." The 5th stood there "like statues." No enemy was visible—only the streaks of smoke wafting through the trees. Then, suddenly, men could be seen. Some of the New Yorkers prepared to fire, but others warned them not to: "Don't fire! Those men belong to the Tenth!" The entire right of the 5th was screened by the 10th. Only the left wing opened fire. Davenport to his family, ibid.; Dedicatory Ceremonies Held on the Battlefield of Manassas or Second Bull Run, Virginia, October 20th, 1906 and May 30th (Memorial Day), 1907 Under the Auspices of the Fifth Regiment of New York Volunteer Infantry (New York, 1907), pp. 26-27; Davenport, Fifth New York, p. 276.

By the time the entire 5th New York was able to loose a ragged volley, the enemy fire was devastating. The men of the 5th fell by the dozens; the 10th had already given way 'and were flying to the rear." And it only got worse. "We had not fired more than two rounds," wrote Davenport, "before they were on us in front and flank." The 5th was cut down as if at the hands of the executioner. The color guard was nearly wiped out, yet the colors remained in the wind. Sgt. Andrew Allison, bearing the National Flag, received a ball in the wrist, gave up the flag momentarily, seized it back again, only to fall dead with a bullet through his heart. The new recruits wavered. The file closers struggled to hold them in line—some of them physically shoving the frightened young men back into the ranks. But the fire was too great. "Let them go! Let them go!" yelled Sergeant Forbes. Davenport, Fifth New York, p. 278; Dedicatory Ceremonies, p. 28.

There was no hope for holding the line. Someone gave an order to retreat, but most did not hear it. It mattered little; soon they had no choice. The entire regiment broke and the men "ran for their lives" down the hill toward Young's Branch. Remembered Davenport, "The Rebels [were] after us with their yells.... They were in their shirt-sleeves & came charging on, yelling for Jeff Davis and the Confederacy, there was no hope but in flight—of saving a man, all the time they were pouring in their deadly shots at short range [and] picking off our men....

"While running down the hill towards the small stream at its foot, I saw the men dropping on all sides, canteens struck and flying to pieces, haversacks cut off, rifles knocked to pieces, it was a perfect hail of bullets—I was expecting to get it every second, but on, on, I went, the balls hissing by my head. I felt one strike me on the hip, just grazing me and cutting a hole in my pants. I crossed the run in the wake of Warren, he being about 100 yards ahead of me, with his red cap in his hand, his horse running at the top of his speed. I turned to look behind once and only once, that was enough to let me know there was no time to stop." "We," admitted another man, "had to run like dogs." Alfred Davenport to his family, September 5, 1862, Davenport Papers; Richard Ackerman to his wife, September 6, 1862, Richard Ackerman Papers, Missouri Historical Society; Thomas E. Fish to his Mother, September 7, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 16, 1862; Letter of George F. Mitchell, September 5, 1862, George F. Mitchell Papers, New York Historical Society; Warren's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 504.

The survivors of the 5th streamed back over the fields until they reached Chinn Branch, where they were rallied by Colonel Warren. Here the little band presented a striking sight to those that saw them. One of the Regulars remembered, "Warren sat immobile on his horse, looking back at the battle as if paralyzed, while his handful of men, formed in files of four, blackened with dust and smoke, stood under the colors silent as statues, gazing vacantly at the tumultuous concourse trudging by. A murmur of surprise and horror passed through the ranks of our Regulars at the fate of this brave regiment...." Dougherty, "Eyewitness Account," p. 41.

The regiment lost more men killed in those five minutes on that ridge than any other infantry regiment in any other battle of the Civil War. After the war one man recalled simply, "I can assure you that where the regiment stood that day was the very vortex of Hell." Dedicatory Ceremonies, p. 28.

b. The "National Zouaves" Are Driven Back in Disorder

Six companies of the 10th New York were deployed as skirmishers along Lewis Lane when, according to the regimental historian, "Suddenly the rebel pickets arose and rapidly advanced, firing as they came, and the Texas Brigade burst into view from the woods opposite.... The attack was so sudden that the deployed companies of the 10th had barely time to discharge their pieces once before the rebels were almost upon them. The order was given to fall back, and a retrograde movement was made through the woods, the men loading and firing as they retreated.... The skirmishers hardly reached the reserve of the regiment before the graycoats were seen through the woods, and the next instant a destructive volley tore through the two devoted regiments." Cowtan, *Tenth New York*, p. 129.

The 10th turned into little more than a disorganized mob, inadvertantly preventing the right wing of the 5th from opening fire. Colonel Warren spurred his horse into the throng, trying to clear the line of fire. While he did, helpless scores from both regiments fell. The colors of the 10th nearly fell into Confederate hands, saved only by the determination of Private Alexander, who tore the banner off the standard, stuffed it into his shirt, and carried it off the field. Finally, Warren was able to re-form the reserve of the regiment—four companies—on the right of the 5th. The 14 companies loosed one last volley, and then ran for their lives. Warren's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 504; 10th New York report, *ibid*., p. 505; Anonymous, "A Masonic Emblem," *National Tribune*, June 22, 1905; Cowtan, *Tenth New York*, p. 129; Davenport, *Fifth New York*, pp. 276-277.

4. Division Artillery (Stephen Weed Commanding)

a. Weed's Battery (I, 5th U.S.) Consolidates and Reopens Fire

Withdrawing his foremost section, Weed consolidated his battery near the Dogan House and sent his caissons to the rear. After allowing the retreating troops to pass through the intervals of the guns, Weed's gunners let loose on those Confederates that had ventured to pursue. Weed's report, *op.cit*., p. 485; Sykes' report, *ibid*., p. 482; Ames, "Second Bull Run," p. 401; Sykes' Testimony, *Porter Retrial*, Pt. 2, p. 448.

b. Smead's Battery (K, 5th U.S.) Moves to Dogan Ridge: Its Commander is Killed

The commencement of Longstreet's counterattack made it apparent that the position of the Fifth Corps artillery reserve on the Warrenton

Turnpike was untenable. As Hazlett's battery retreated, so too did Smead's, travelling eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike. En route Captain Smead was shot through the head and killed instantly. The battery continued on until it reached the shoulder of Dogan Ridge, where it was temporarily bogged down amongst the retreating masses. Randol's report, op.cit., p. 486; Lt. Van Reed's report, ibid., p. 487; Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147; Dougherty, "Eyewitness Account," p. 40.

c. Randol's Battery (E & G, 1st U.S.) Looks for a New Position

With Hazlett's and Smead's batteries, Randol retired his guns rapidly after the danger opposite the Union left became apparent. He finally took position immediately in front of the Dogan House, but never opened fire. Randol's Testimony, op.cit., p. 147; Randol's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 486.

C. Piatt Arrives on the Field and Lays in Reserve

After their hard march from Centreville, Piatt's men arrived on the field shortly after 4:30 PM and were held out of action on "a high eminence." Letter of Colonel B. F. Bailey, Corning [N.Y.] Weekly Journal, October 9, 1862.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens Resumes Position and Supports Batteries

After skirmishing in the woods and being driven out, Stevens held tight, at least for the time being, in the same positions taken earlier in the day. Stevens, Stevens, p. 467.

1. Benjamin's Battery (E, 2d U.S.) Holds its Position

There is no evidence to indicate that Benjamin moved his two guns during this period.

B. Reno Remains in Place

Reno's two brigades, Nagle's and Ferrero, remained in position, supporting Durell's battery. Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 146; Fowler, Memoirs, p. 66.

1. Durell's Gunners (D, 1st Pennsylvania Light) Open Fire on the Pursuing Confederates

As Porter's and Hatch's forces fell back, Durell's battery opened fire: "We saw the Rebels come out [of the woods], so we let drive into them and soon drove them back." Letter of C. C., September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Pa.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

Beardsley remained out of action until the left of the army gave way. The 4th New York continued to operate on the left. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272; 4th New York Cavalry report, *ibid*., p. 274.

B. Buford's Brigade

Buford continued to maneuver with his three regiments on the Union left. The 5th New York (seven companies) remained near Pope's headquarters. S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," *National Tribune*, June 21, 1888; Charles B. Thomas, "Second Bull Run," *ibid*., May 19, 1892.

C. Bayard's Brigade Deploys to Stop Fugitives

As Porter's attack showed signs of faltering, General Porter dispatched staff officer Stephen M. Weld to Bayard with orders to deploy his brigade and stop stragglers. Bayard did so, sending the 1st New Jersey to the "extreme left" and putting the rest of his regiments to their right. Weld, *War Diary and Letters*, p. 135; Bayard's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 91; Unknown letter, September 4, 1862, *Newark Daily Mercury*, September 13, 1862; Edward Tobie, *History of the First Maine Cavalry, 1861-65* (Boston, 1887), p. 86.

Map #12, 3:45-4:30 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

It was about 3:45 that Jackson informed General Lee that the enemy was giving away in his front. Immediately Lee decided to counterattack. He dispatched orders to Longstreet to move his wing forward against the Union left. J. L. Bartlett's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 563; Lee's report, ibid., p. 557.

II. Longstreet Anticipates Lee's Orders and Moves to the Attack

Watching as Porter's troops fell back, Longstreet realized that the opportunity for attack had come. Without waiting for orders from Lee, Longstreet issued the orders necessary to get his 28,000 men in motion. This task was made easier by the fact that most of his divisions had earlier been directed to be ready to move forward as a diversion. Now, as Longstreet wrote, "the intended diversion was changed into an attack." To Hood, whose brigade was designated as the column of direction, Longstreet sent orders to "push for the plateau at the Henry House, in order to cut off [the enemy's] retreat at the crossings by Young's Branch." Kemper would move on Hood's right, D. R. Jones on the extreme right. The responsibility of sending R. H. Anderson into the fight was left initially to Lee. Wilcox was already moving his brigades forward (on his own authority) north of the Warrenton Turnpike. Longstreet's report, ibid., p. 565; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 188.

A. R. H. Anderson Awaits Orders

After moving forward north of the turnpike during Jackson's fight with Porter, Anderson's men continued to rest in the fields there, awaiting orders. The rest of Longstreet's wing, meanwhile, advanced, leaving Anderson's men to act in effect as a mobile reserve. John Bowie Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, Magruder Papers; Bernard, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," p. 16.

B. D. R. Jones Moves Forward

About 4 PM General Jones received orders to move his command forward. Quickly, Benning's and G. T. Anerson's brigades formed ranks. Benning formed his brigade with its right resting on a road (Benning identifies the road as the Manassas-Gainesville Road, but since it is well documented that Benning was north of the Manassas Gap railroad, this would be impossible. Benning probably misidentified the old Warrenton, Alexandria, & Washington Road.), with orders to "advance in line of battle, keeping my distance from General Kemper." Arranged, from right to left, with the 17th Georgia, 15th Georgia, 2d Georgia, and 20th Georgia, Benning's regiments pushed forward past the Compton House, absorbing their skirmish line. Anderson's brigade apparently followed Benning's, eventually taking place on its right. Benning's report, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 583; 2d Georgia report, *ibid.*, pp. 586-87; 15th Georgia report, *ibid.*, pp. 587-88; 17th Georgia report, *ibid.*, p. 590; Charles Williams' Testimony, *Porter Retrial*, Pt. 2, p. 258; Houghton, *Two Boys in the Civil War*, pp. 123, 160; G. T. Anderson's report, *op.cit.*, p. 595.

As the other two brigades advanced, Drayton's brigade was detained by Col. Thomas Rosser, commanding Stuart's artillery on the extreme right, and held back in anticipation of a threatened flank movement by Buford's Federal Cavalry. D. R. Jones' report, *ibid.*,p. 579.

C. Wilcox Pursues Porter's Retreating Columns

1. Wilcox's Brigade Supports Featherston's and Pryor's Brigades

With Porter's men falling back, General Wilcox finally succeeded in getting his division moving. He utilized his own brigade as support for the other two, following them forward into the Groveton Wood, where the entire command halted. Wilcox's report, *ibid.*, p. 599; Hilary A. Herbert, "History of the Eighth Alabama Volunteer Regiment, C.S.A.," Maurice S. Fortin, ed., *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 39 (1977), p.71.

2. Pryor Moves Forward on Featherston's Right: The 3rd Virginia Becomes Separated from the Brigade

Pryor recorded, "Disposing my troops in two lines, with the first consisting of the Third Virginia, Fourteenth Alabama, and the Eighth Florida Regiments, I pushed across the field to the end of intercepting the enemy in his retreat. Perceiving my design, the fleeing Federals turned to the left, sought shelter of a neighboring wood, and attempted to arrest our advance." Under a heavy artillery fire, Pryor's men overcame brief Federal resistence and pushed into the woods, "and with little delay dislodged the enemy from his cover. This accomplished, I changed front to the right, with a view of charging the batteries from whose fire my troops suffered so severely." While the brigade passed through the woods, recalled another man, it "became very much broken and a halt was called to rectify the alignment." While this was being done, the 3d Virginia, apparently on the left of the brigade, became separated from the command. Pryor's report, *ibid.*, pp. 601-602; John W. H. Porter, *A Record of Events*

Map 12, 3:45-4:30 p.m. August 30th, Confederate in Norfolk County, Virginia, From April 19th, 1861 to May 10th, 1862, With a History of the Soldiers and Sailors of Norfolk County, Norfolk City, and Portsmouth Who Served in the Confederate States Army or Navy (Portsmouth, 1892), pp. 64-65.

3. Featherston Moves on the Left

Holding the left of the division line, Featherston's brigade moved forward. He reported, "As soon as the [enemy's] retreat commenced our troops were ordered to advance. One of General Jackson's brigades advanced on our left, and my brigade, General Pryor's, and General Wilcox's moved forward in line of battle on its right. We reached the works in front and passed through the skirt of woods over 600 yards wide, when we came to another old field some half a mile or three-quarters in width. Here we found on the opposite side of the field the enemy drawn up in line of battle, with several pieces of artillery turned on our troops, and directing a rapid, heavy, and destructive fire both upon the right and left of our lines." Here the brigade halted. Featherston's report, ibid., p. 603.

4. Chapman's Battery (Dixie Artillery) Moves To Groveton and Reopens Fire

After assisting in the repulse of Porter, Chapman moved his four guns "toward Groveton and took position in an old apple orchard, from which we fired at the retreating infantry." Here Chapman remained for about a half hour. Chapman, "Dixie Artillery at the Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 34, p. 193.

D. Evans, With Hood's Two Brigades, Leads Longstreet's Advance

1. Hood's Advance: The 18th Georgia, Hampton's Legion, and 5th Texas Annihilate Warren's Brigade; the 4th Texas and 18th Georgia Capture Kerns' Battery; the 1st Texas Becomes Separated from the Brigade and Operates Alone

Being closest to Longstreet, Hood's brigade was probably the first of those units south of the turnpike to receive orders to attack. Earlier in the day it had been instructed to be "ready to advance and attack the enemy whenever ordered," and therefore was poised for its newly assigned task. Consequently, their advance preceded that of the rest of the wing by several minutes. Fully deployed, the gray clad troops moved forward. The left of Hood's line, held by the 1st Texas, rested on the turnpike. To its right was the 4th Texas, then the 18th Georgia, Hampton's Legion, and finally, on the right of the brigade, the 5th Texas.

Col. J. B. Robertson of the 5th Texas described the advance: "I was notified that General Kemper, with his brigade, was on my right, and that I need have no uneasiness about my right flank. As the brigade moved across the first field to the timber held by the enemy's skirmishers [the 10th New York], a change of front forward on the left battalion made it necessary to move my men at a run across the field. At the edge of the timber the enemy's skirmishers were encountered...and driven back to a point in the timber about 100 yards from the open field beyond." Here the 5th Texas ran into the skirmish line's reserve. "I ordered the regiment to fire on and charge them. They broke and were closely pressed to the open field, where we encountered a second line of the enemy in the Fifth New York Zouaves...."

The right wing of the 18th Georgia, Hampton's Legion, and the 5th Texas smashed into the New Yorkers. On the right, the 5th Texas received a brief but heavy fire from the left wing of the 5th New York, but on the left the 18th Georgia overcame the zouaves "so quickly that no halt was perceivable" in the line. Down the hill toward Young's Branch they continued, firing mercilessly into the fleeing Federals. 5th Texas report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 617; 18th Georgia report, ibid., p. 609; Hampton Legion report, ibid., p. 610; 1st Texas report, ibid., p. 613; Nicholas Pomeroy, "War Memoirs," Hill Junior College History Complex, p. 31.

As the brigade crossed the stream, orders were circulated to halt for a moment and reform lines. Few men, however, heard the order. On the left, the men of the 4th Texas, heretofore unengaged, saw Kerns' battery on the rise beyond the stream. They, like the rest of the brigade, were determined to capture it. As soon as the Federal fugitives cleared its front, however, the battery opened fire. A man of the 4th recalled, "The Federal infantry in our front, beyond the branch, fired two or three volleys at us while we plunged down the slope, and into and across the little stream, but it no sooner saw us moving up the hill toward it than it, too, took to precipitate flight. The battery, though, held its ground, and as we neared it, began to hurl at us grape and canister that tore great gaps in our ranks." Hood's men continued onward. On the way the 18th Georgia scooped up the flag of the 10th New York. On the right, the 5th Texas pushed slightly to the right into the woods and soon was able to open an enfilading fire that forced the Pennsylvania Reserves supporting Kerns' guns to change front. As the Confederates neared the battery, the gunners' infantry supports fled. The 4th Texas and 18th Georgia dashed ahead and captured the four Parrotts. 4th Texas report, op.cit., p. 615; Miles V. Smith, Reminiscences of the Civil War (n.p., n.d.), p. 17; 5th Texas report, op.cit.,

p. 618; 18th Georgia report, ibid., p. 609; Polley, Hood's Texas Brigade, pp. 87-88, 94; Giles, Rags and Hope, p. 129; Granville H. Crozier, "A Private With General Hood," Confederate Veteran, Vol. 25 (1917), p. 556.

After taking the battery the brigade found itself in a tight spot. It was well in advance of any other friendly troops and in its front was another battery (Wiedrich's), supported by another brigade of infantry, completely commanding its position. Consequently, there was little time to celebrate their success. Quickly, the four regiments pushed forward to the cover of a ravine between Kerns' guns and Chinn Ridge. On the left, the 4th Texas opened fire on a handful of Pennsylvania Reserves that had rallied in a pine thicket on the northwest shoulder of Chinn Ridge. The Pennsylvanians quickly gave way. Here the tired brigade remained for a few restful moments. 4th Texas report, op.cit., p. 615; Polley, Hood's Texas Brigade, p. 94; 18th Georgia report, op.cit., p. 609; Hampton's Legion report, ibid., p. 610; 5th Texas report, ibid., p. 618.

a. The 1st Texas Delays and Becomes Separated from the Brigade

The 1st Texas had advanced only 125 yards when, reported Lt. Col. P. A. Work, "I was informed...that the Fourth Texas Regiment had not moved." Work quickly stopped his advance and sent out a messenger to find the 4th. To his surprise, the 4th Texas had in fact moved and was already 150 yards ahead. Quickly Work rushed his regiment forward, "and soon came upon a line with the Fourth (just after moving out of the timber into a large open field....) As the regiment advanced a battery of the enemy [Hazlett's] fired into us repeatedly, but before either this or any other regiment of the brigade could charge upon it it limbered up and moved off at a rapid gait up the turnpike road until it reached an orchard upon an elevated, commanding position, where it halted and again opened fire upon us. This regiment continued to advance up the turnpike road, with its left resting thereon, until halted in a hollow.... From this hollow I received an order...to move forward to the second hollow beyond the one I was then in...." Work did so, only to find that once there, his regiment was alone. Again, the colonel sent messengers to find the 4th. Shortly they returned and said that the rest of the brigade had crossed Young's Branch and were on the ridge beyond it. Consequently, Work "moved by the right flank across the creek and upon the ridge designated." 1st Texas report, ibid., p. 613.

2. Law Moves To Groveton and Supports a Battery

From his position just north of the turnpike, Law moved his men forward about half a mile "to Groveton in support of a battery that was placed at that point. Here the brigade remained for half an hour under heavy Federal artillery fire. Law's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 624; R. T. Coles, "4th Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry," Vol. 6, p. 18.

3. Evans' Brigade Moves in Hood's Support

There was a considerable lapse of time between Hood's advance and Evans', who was directed to support the former. But at last—probably shortly after 4 PM—Evans' men moved. With the 23rd South Carolina on the left, the 18th and 17th South Carolina in the center, and Holcombe's Legion on the right, the brigade pushed forward under a heavy artillery fire. P. F. Stevens' report, op.cit., p. 631; Samuel Catawba Lowry, Diary, p. 12, University of South Carolina.

a. Boyce's Battery (MacBeth Artillery) Goes into Action

Captain Boyce reported, "I received [an] order to hasten to the front.... When I arrived on the field I was ordered into battery, and was in the act of doing so when an order came from General Longstreet to move forward to the next hill with my battery. When I arrived at the next hill...I opened fire immediately upon the enemy. The enemy were in large force in the valley of a creek which my position commanded...." Boyce's report, op.cit., p. 640.

4. Hood's Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding): Bachman's (German Artillery), Garden's (Palmetto Artillery), and Reilly's (Rowan Artillery) Batteries Move Forward and Engage the Federal Batteries Around the Dogan House

With the rest of the division, Frobel's batteries swung into action. Major Frobel reported, "I was ordered by General Longstreet to proceed down the turnpike with all the batteries and take position on the left of the road...." He did so, moving first Reilly's and Bachman's batteries, followed quickly by Garden's. The three batteries unlimbered in an orchard and opened fire "on the enemy's batteries posted in an orchard near Dogan's house." Frobel's report, op.cit., p. 607; Bushrod Frobel to James Longstreet, E. P. Alexander Papers, SHC, U.N.C.

E. Kemper Concentrates and Moves on Hood's Right

1. Corse's Brigade Rejoins Hunton and Jenkins

Soon after reconnoitering preparatory to the 5 PM diversion, Corse received an order "to move forward in haste to the support of Jenkins and Hunton." Quickly Corse marched his regiments by the left flank and "overtook the two brigades [already] advancing." Corse wrote, "I at once put my command in line about 250 yards in rear of the two advancing brigades, keeping my distance as we moved forward." Once formed, the 17th Virginia anchored the right of the brigade, the 24th Virginia the left. The 7th Virginia was on the 24th's right. Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 136; 17th Virginia report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 135; 24th Virginia report, ibid., p. 136.

2. Jenkins Advances on Hunton's Right

It was probably just after 4 PM that General Jenkins formed his men for their attack. Once deployed, the brigade moved forward on Hunton's right. [Norborne Berkeley], "The Eighth Virginia's Part in Second Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 37, p. 314.

3. Hunton Forms up Near "Folly Castle" and Pushes Toward the Front

After receiving orders to advance, Hunton deployed his five regiments near the Lewis House—"Folly Castle." As can best be determined, from left to right the regiments were the 56th Virginia, 28th Virginia, 19th Virginia, 18th Virginia, and 8th Virginia. The brigade then advanced. Hunton's report, James Lawson Kemper Papers, University of Virginia; Hunton, Autobiography, p. 77; H. T. Owen, "Reminiscences of the War," Virginia State Library; [Norborne Berkeley], "The Eighth Virginia's Part in Second Manassas," op.cit.

F. The Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery (Maj. J. B. Walton Commanding): Richardson Hurries to Join Benning's Brigade and Eshleman Fires in Support of Hunton's Advance; Squires and Miller Remain in Reserve

After receiving attack orders Richardson hurried his guns to Benning's brigade, already moving forward. At the same time, Eshleman's gunners, probably in position near the Lewis House, opened fire in support of Hunton's advance. Squires and Miller remained in reserve. Walton's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 571-572; Richardson's report, ibid., p. 575.

2. S. D. Lee's Battalion

Those of Lee's gunners that still had ammunition (probably only smoothbores) fired until the Federals were out of range. Subsequently there was no attempt made by the battalion to take part in the advance. Samuel Duffey, Diary, August 30, 1862; S. D. Lee's report, op.cit., p. 578.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries

1. Stribling's Battery (Fauquier Artillery) Follows Jenkins

After an afternoon of intermittent action, Stribling's gunners followed the advance of Jenkins' brigade toward the scene of conflict. Affidavit, E. P. Alexander Papers.

2. Rogers' Battery (Loudoun Artillery)

Rogers' battery advanced with Stribling's until ordered to the extreme right of the line by Rosser. Rosser's report, op.cit., p. 750.

III. Jackson's Wing

After watching his stubborn troops repel the Federal attack, Jackson rode triumphantly along the front of his old division. Though amidst a sickening carnage, his loyal men nonetheless roused up a mighty cheer for their old leader. Douglas, I Rode With Stonewall, p. 144; John S. Slater, An Address to the Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac... (Washington, 1880), p. 23; Haight, "Gainesville, Groveton, and Bull Run," MOLLUS-Wisconsin, Vol. 2, p. 365; McLendon, Recollections of War Times, p. 119.

Shortly after, it was back to the business at hand. From Lee came the directive, "General Longstreet is advancing; look out for and protect his left flank." This, however, would take preparation—in fact it was nearly two hours before Jackson was ready to move his wing forward in a concerted advance. The reasons for this delay are not entirely clear. Certainly the ostensible strength of Pope's position north of the turnpike was one of them—the impetuous advance by Archer's, Pender's, Early's, Featherston's, and Pryor's brigade immediately following Porter's repulse discovered the strong line of Federal artillery west of Sudley Road. Another was surely the fact that most of Jackson's troops were tired after two days of fighting. Beyond these facts the reasons for Jackson's delay can only be conjectured. The results of the delay, though, had a major impact on the outcome of the battle. J. L. Bartlett's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 563; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 189.

A. Starke's Division Catches Its Breath

After Porter's attack some scattered elements of Starke's division scrambled over the railroad excavation in pursuit of the Federals, but this chase was neither organized nor persistent. Shortly, General Starke passed orders recalling those men that had joined the chase. The rest of the division apparently simply rested and caught its collective breath. Letter of Robert Healy in Redwood, "Jackson's Foot Cavalry at the Second Bull Run," Battles and Leaders, Vol. II, p. 535; M. Shuler, Diary, August 30, 1862.

1. Division Artillery: Shumaker's Battalion

As near as can be told, the batteries of Shumaker's battalion retained their positions, doing what damage they could as the Federals fell back. The fire of the short range guns was inhibited by the appearance of friendly troops beyond the Groveton Wood. These, however, soon withdrew. Crutchfield's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 653.

B. A. P. Hill's Division

1. Branch's Brigade

Branch's North Carolinians remained in position without incident. Lane's report, ibid., p. 677.

2. Archer Makes a Dash Across the Unfinished Railroad, Then Returns

Upon repulsing the Federal advance in their front, Archer's men impetuously dashed across the railroad grade in pursuit, joined on the right by three regiments of Early's brigade. Archer's right regiment, the 1st Tennessee, returned with Early's men when they were recalled. The remaining three lingered, replenishing their cartridge boxes from those of the dead and wounded. Archer's report, ibid., p. 701; Early's report, ibid., p. 713.

3. Pender Advances Through the Woods and Finds an Imposing Sight

Pender arrived near the scene of Porter's assault too late to take part in the repulse, but not too late to pursue the Federals. Reported Pender, "I marched across the railroad embankment, moving obliquely to the left until I had reached the large field again in which the enemy were formed." The distant Federal batteries opened on the North Carolinians and Pender saw that his task was hopeless. He wrote, "Finding nothing special to do here unless it was to attack an overwhelming force of the enemy, supported very strongly by artillery, I withdrew...." Pender's report, ibid., p. 698.

4. Brockenbrough's Brigade

Elements of Brockenbrough's brigade rushed after the fleeing Unionists in their front, but for the most part the brigade remained in its position taken during the fight at the Deep Cut. Robert Healy in Redwood, op.cit., p. 535.

5. Gregg's Brigade

This brigade remained in position. 1st S.C. Rifles report, op.cit., p. 691.

6. Thomas' Brigade

These Georgians remained in place until the general advance of Jackson's command. Thomas's report, ibid., p. 703.

7. Division Artillery: Walker's Battalion

None of the batteries, including Crenshaw's and McIntosh's, changed position during the period. William E. Jones, Diary, August 30, 1862; Walker's report, op.cit., p. 674.

C. Lawton's Division: Brown's (Trimble's) and Lawton's Brigades Remain In Place: Three Regiments of Early's Brigade Follow up Christ's Brigade

Only three regiments of the division moved after the Federal attack. These were the 44th, 49th, and 52d Virginia of Early's brigade, who, against Early's orders, dashed across the railroad in pursuit of Christ's retreating regiments. Early quickly moved forward his remaining four regiments to fill the gap. The wayward regiments, however, soon returned and resumed their positions. Early's report, ibid., p. 613.

1. Division Artillery

The only movement known to have been made by any of Lawton's batteries was described by Colonel Crutchfield. He reported, "As soon as [the enemy] was observed to be giving way I ordered forward...Garber's [Balthis'] battery of four guns at a gallop to move down into the plain below, so as to get an enfilading position on their lines when they should be repulsed from the woods...and endeavor to convert the repulse into a rout. Just as the battery was getting into position and the enemy began to fall back from the woods...Early's brigade charged from the woods, and effecting a change of front perpendicularly forward to the left, formed a line between the battery and the enemy, so the former could not fire." Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 653.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

As Porter's attack melted away from Jackson's front, Longstreet directed his division to counterattack. Stuart was assigned to cover the extreme right of the attacking force. This he was to do with Robertson's brigade, but that brigade probably did not consolidate and begin riding forward until after 4:30 PM. Stuart's report, ibid., p. 737.

MAP 13

Map #13, 4:30-5:15 PM, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Having taken McDowell's hasty briefing on Henry Hill to heart, Pope finally realized the peril that faced his army and took steps to avert it. The left, he realized, needed support. Quickly he dispatched staff officer Colonel Strother. "I was ordered," Strother wrote, "to ride with all speed to General Heintzelman on our extreme right and bring over the two brigades of Ricketts [Duryee and Thoburn]. I found Heintzelman, who said that Ricketts could not move as he now occupied a most important position, but he said there was a whole division of Pennsylvania Reserves disengaged. So I took the discretionary power of ordering them over at double quick." Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, p. 95.

Later, probably about 5 PM, Pope came across a column of Regulars moving along the Warrenton Turnpike toward the crest of Henry Hill, heading to the rear. "What troops are these and where are you going?" he angrily asked. They were the Regulars of Chapman's brigade with orders to proceed to the rear and cook rations. Pope flew into a fury, "soundly berated" the officer commanding the regiment, and ordered him to stay just where he was until he received further orders. 17th U.S. report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 501; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 178A.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

Of all the Federal corps on the field, Sigel's was in the most propitious position to respond to the worsening crisis on the Federal left. General Sigel acted quickly, ordering first Milroy's, and then Koltes' brigade to McLean's support. Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 269; Schenck's report, ibid., p. 283; Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 311.

A. Schenck's Division Bears the Brunt of the Fighting

1. Stahel Holds the Heights Around the Dogan House with Three Regiments: The 41st New York is Dispatched to Chinn Ridge

The three regiments of Stahel's brigade north of the turnpike continued to hold their important position on Dogan Ridge. The fourth regiment, the 41st New York, received orders (probably shortly after 5 PM) to move to McLean's assistance in the fight for Chinn Ridge. The regiment, according to its commander, "was ordered to take possession of a high hill and had to cross...an open field, a deep ditch, and a high, steep, rocky side of the hill."

Once on the hill, "It was a difficult matter to form the regiment—there being a thick wood" and a very heavy Confederate fire. But shortly the regiment deployed and was ready. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 285; 41st New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

2. McLean's Men Fight for Control of Chinn Ridge: the Fight as Described by Colonel McLean

To historian John C. Ropes Colonel McLean recalled, "As soon as our retreating troops got out of the way, I opened upon the enemy with my artillery [Wiedrich's battery], and as they came nearer, with a heavy fire from my infantry, with the result that I drove them back more rapidly than they had advanced. During this time my attention was called to a body of troops in the rear of my left flank, and supposing them to be enemies I ordered two pieces of my artillery to be turned upon them, but countermanded this order when assured that they were our own troops coming to my assistance.... This proved to be a mistake, as I very soon discovered. Very shortly after this a heavy force of the enemy came out of the woods across the position formerly occupied by Genl Reynolds, and furiously attacked the front and rear of my left flank, and at the same time the troops supposed to be coming to my aid joined in the attack on my left flank. Overpowered by this attack two of my regiments were driven back over the crest of the hill, and my battery also retreated. I immediately changed front with my two regiments on my right flank so as to front the enemy, my men...delivering their fire when formed so steadily and with such terrible effect that the advance of the enemy was checked at once.... At this time the fighting was severe, but my men not only maintained their ground, but their firing was so heavy and well directed that the enemy began to fall back, and my men to advance with cheers, driving the enemy rapidly, and would have driven them from the hill but for the force which had by this time reached such a position on my flank and rear as to be able to give deadly aid to those in front. In spite of these troops, however, we still slowly advanced. But at this time I saw what appeared to be a heavy force advancing on my right flank. I felt if they reached me as I was then situated it would result in my defeat with great loss. Under these circumstances I gave the order to fall back slowly." McLean to Ropes, October 6, 1897, Ropes Papers.

a. The Fight on the Left Flank: the 73rd Ohio Fights Against Overwhelming Odds

The 73rd Ohio, according to Pvt. Erskine Carson, "was right upon the crest of the hill, in our rear not a great distance back was a run in the edge of the woods.... On our immediate left and rear was a two story white frame house.... The right of our brigade swept the open field, whilst the extreme left (the 73rd) faced within about 90 or 100 yards a piece of woods." In these woods, running parallel to the regiment's front, "was a deep ravine." Erskine Carson to T. C. H. Smith, January 6, 1868, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Samuel B. Hurst, Journal History of the Seventy-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry (Chillicothe, 1866), p. 40.

The fields in front were now silent and deathful. The storm closed on the Ohioans. Wrote Maj. Samuel Hurst, "Up [the] ravine, and into the woods the enemy were now seen marching by the flank; and the right of our brigade, from their more advantageous position, began to pour into them a most effective fire. We watched and waited with terrible anxiety.... Just then emerged from the woods, half mile out on our left flank, a brigade of men massed in column, and they bore down steadily toward us.... The enemy in our front, moving in concert with those on our flank, now came out of the woods—their line masking and overlapping our own. The moment they emerged from the timber, our regiment and the whole left of the brigade, poured into them such a murderous volley that they retreated to the covert of the woods again; and now, from their partial culvert [sic], they opened fire on us, and the combat grew fierce indeed."

The situation was now critical. The Confederate flags of the column bearing down on the left were plainly visible. Too, a battery "from our left front opened upon us, and the shot and shell came plowing down our lines." The Confederates now loosed a deadly fire from both front and left flank. For a few moments the 73rd tried to stand, but were soon overpowered. There was, reported Colonel Orland Smith, "no alternative...but a retirement." The regiment fell back in a disordered manner, but reformed in the woods "in our right rear." Hurst, Seventy-third Ohio, p. 41; 73rd Ohio report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 293; E. Allen to T. C. H. Smith (n.d.), T. C. H. Smith Papers.

b. The 25th Ohio Attempts to Succor the 73rd, but is Also Driven Back

Col. William Richardson wrote in his report that the Federal line opened fire on the Confederates "as soon as they came within range," first "with grape and canister, and the infantry soon after. They were driven back by our fire in considerable confusion and unquestionably heavy loss. They then made their appearance directly in front of the seventy-third [which was on the left of the 25th] in the edge of the woods, but were again driven back by our fire. Our men were in high spirits...when a large force of the enemy were perceived on our left and rear, with artillery, advancing rapidly. They opened upon us at the same time with grape, canister and infantry. In a short time the regiments on my left, under a most terrific fire, gave way. Shortly after an order was given to change front, which I attempted to execute, but the fire was so terrible and the noise of battle so great that it was impossible to be heard or do anything without confusion. We were forced from our position, and retired to the woods in our rear in disorder." 25th Ohio report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 290.

c. The 75th Ohio Changes Front in a Vain Attempt to Halt the Rebel Advance

After the scattering of the Pennsylvania Reserves and the fall of Kerns' battery 400 yards in their front, the men of the 75th could see the Confederate advancing toward them. They readied for the task. "Now was our game," wrote Pvt. George Fox. "A few vollies and they just were...scattered, but just as we were about to charge after them we were flanked on the left and rear.... [The Rebels] advanced in column by division, and before we could change our line to the left and rear they scattered our brigade most terribly. In changing our front the regiments became very much mixed, especially the 73d and the 25th being on the left. Our regt doubled up like a hinge so that the right and left companies came right together." The retreating limbers and caissons of Wiedrich's battery passing through the regiment only increased confusion. "At this point the 55th came up on the 'double quick' and faced to left and rear." George B. Fox to his Father, August 31, 1862, George B. Fox Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society; McLean's report, op.cit., p. 287.

The 75th pushed forward. "As we were advancing with every confidence of victory," reported Maj. Robert Reily, "we were hailed, stunned, surprised by a terrible crash of musketry, grape-shot, and shell from a large force of rebels who had marched upon us.... This stopped our progress immediately. From our present position we were compelled to fall back." 75th Ohio report, op.cit., p. 295.

d. The 55th Ohio is Thrown in, Fights Gamely, and Retreats

Taking position on the right of the 75th Ohio, the Buckeyes of the 55th opened fire on the advancing Confederates, driving them away from the immediate front. Soon the focus of the fight shifted to the left of the brigade; it became apparent it was being outflanked. Colonel Lee quickly ordered the 55th to left wheel and moved it up on the left of the 75th. Luther

Mesnard of the 55th recalled, "The rebs in solid ranks with colors flying advanced on us, while the shell and cannon shot were whizzing all about us.... They poured into our ranks as terrible musket fire as was ever faced." Here General Schenck fell greviously wounded in the right arm. Colonel Lee urged his men on, "stand to it boys. Stand your ground." Luther B. Mesnard, Memoirs, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I., p. 13; 55th Ohio report, op.cit., p. 291; George B. Fox to his Father, op.cit.

The 55th and the 75th gained some shortlived success. Pvt. John Rumpel wrote, "[The Confederates] came from the woods into a large field and about the middle of the field was a house. There were a column of rebels on each side of it. We broke the column to the right of the house [probably Evans'] & cut them all to pieces, but to the left they were five columns deep [Probably Corse's men, though they were not "five columns deep."] Then they pored[sic] the grape and cannister into us with a cross fire and cut our brigade up pretty badly." Letter of John Rumpel, September 12, 1862, in Rosenburg, ed., "Ohiowa Soldier," p. 117.

3. Blume (2d, New York Light) Continues to Fire from Dogan Ridge

Blume's battery continued to fire from the top of Dogan Ridge. Stahel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 285; S. F. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

B. Schurz's Division Endures Heavy Artillery Fire

The three brigades of Schurz's division (Schimmelfennig's, Krzyzanowski's, and Koltes') for most of the period endured a scathing Confederate artillery fire. Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 301; 73rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 307.

1. Koltes is Ordered into the Fight on Chinn Ridge

It was probably about 5 PM when, according to Col. Gustavas Muhleck of the 73rd Pennsylvania, "Major-General Sigel, Brigadier-General Schurz, commanding division, with staff, came up at full speed in front of [our] brigade, and ordered its three regiments up at once to the assistance of General Stahel [the 41st New York]. I marched my regiment by the left flank, followed by the Twenty-ninth New York in the center and Sixty-eighth New York on the right. We reached the top of the hill under" a tremendous fire. "I deployed at once." The 68th New York was on the left, the 29th New York in the center, and the 73d Pennsylvania on the right. 73rd Pennsylvania report, op.cit., p. 307; New York Monuments Commission, Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg (Albany, 1902), Vol. 2, p. 567.

2. Division Artillery

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

Captain Hampton's guns remained in a reserve position during this period. Schurz's report, ibid., p. 300.

b. Roemer (L, 2d New York Light) Duels Witht the Foe

Under an intense counterbattery fire, Captain Roemer's gunners continued to fire on enemy batteries from near the Dogan House. Roemer, Reminiscences, p. 78.

c. Dilger (I, 1st Ohio Light) Tries to Silence an Enemy Battery

General Schurz, spying a Confederate battery wheel into position "on the high ground abandoned" by Reynolds' troops, ordered Captain Dilger to shift position and engage this battery (probably Reilly's). Thus, reported Dilger, "I took the only two guns that had not been brought into position, on account of the want of room...and engaged with them the battery that was in the act of flanking us from the corner of the woods." This duel continued for a half hour. Schurz's report, op.cit., p. 301; Dilger's report, ibid., p. 305.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery (Capt. Louis Schirmer Commanding)

1. Wiedrich's Men (I, 1st New York Light) Fight at Close Range, Then Retreat

His front finally cleared of retreating troops, Wiedrich ordered his gunners to open fire. For several minutes his men fired canister at the Confederates in front, but then the left of McLean's brigade crumbled, and Wiedrich retired in haste. Lumbering rearward, the battery crashed first through the ranks of the 75th Ohio and then through the 26th New York and 88th Pennsylvania of Tower's brigade. The battery reformed "on another hill in our rear." Wiedrich's report, O.R. Ser I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 304-305; McLean's report, ibid., pp. 286-87; Nathaniel McLean to John C. Ropes, October 6, 1867, Ropes Papers; Zealous B. Tower to T. C. H. Smith, June 6, 1865, T. C. H. Smith Papers; 26th New York report, op.cit., p. 389; 88th Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 391; Charles McClenthen to "Friend Scott," September 5, 1862, Charles McClenthen Papers, Cornell University.

2. Buell (C, West Virginia Light) Remains in Reserve

There is nothing in the source material to indicate that Buell changed his position during this period. Wiedrich's report, op.cit., p. 304.

3. Dieckmann's Battery (13th, New York Light) Holds Position

It can only be guessed that Dieckmann held his position throughout this era.

D. Milroy Receives Conflicting Orders; The 5th West Virginia Heads for Chinn Ridge; the Rest of the Regiments Move into Position on Henry Hill

Milroy recalled in a letter to his wife that just after his attempt to corral the fugitives from Porter's attack, "I received an order from Gen. Sigel to move my Bgd. quickly to support our forces on the left.... I ordered my Bgd to be put in motion in the direction indicated and dashed off ahead to learn from Gen. Sigel where he wished me to form my battle line. I found him and he pointed out a position on a hill to the right of the point of timber." Sigel intended was to send Milroy into the fight on Chinn Ridge. Milroy returned to his brigade and ordered the leading regiment, the 5th West Virginia, to move to the designated position on the "double quick."

Milroy continued, "Just then one of my aids dashed up to me and told me that Colonel Ruggles (Gen. Pope's Adjt Genl) was looking for me to give me an order from Gen. Pope. I ordered the Col of the 5th to dash on with his Regt. and I would gallop back to see what Pope's order was." Milroy soon found Ruggles who told him that his brigade should instead go "up to a position to the left of the point of woods" (Henry Hill). Milroy returned to his column in time to divert the march of his second regiment toward the designated point. The 5th West Virginia continued toward Chinn Ridge. Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 91-92; Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 269; Schenck's report, ibid., p. 282.

1. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light)

No source material is available that helps locate this battery.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

McDowell worked frantically to secure the Federal position on Chinn Ridge. His primary task was the placement of Tower's command. Also, he oversaw the placement of troops on Henry Hill. He was, according of a man of Stiles' brigade, in "the thick of the fight" throughout. McDowell's report, ibid., p. 341; Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library.

A. Hatch's Division Regroups

1. Sullivan's Brigade

Sullivan's brigade was reformed in the vicinity of the Stone House.

2. Doubleday Holds his Position

Despite some contradiction in the source material, the movement outlined by Doubleday in both his report (O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 370) and his Journal (p. 48), given existing circumstances, could not have occurred prior to 5:15. Therefore, it is concluded that Doubleday remained in position until that time.

3. Patrick Remains in Place

Patrick's brigade remained in the position taken by it immediately after Porter's attack, just north of the Stone House. Patrick, Journal, August 30, 1862.

4. Gibbon Continues to Support Campbell's Guns

Under a very heavy artillery fire, Gibbon's westerners continued to act as support to Company B, 4th U.S. Artillery near the Dogan House. Gibbon, Recollections, p. 64.

5. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

It can be assumed that Gerrish remained in postion with the rest of the division artillery at this time.

b. Monroe (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Receives Orders to Move to Henry Hill

It was nearly 5:15 when one of McDowell's staff officers galloped up to Battery D's position near the Dogan house. Gesticulating earnestly toward "the Lewis [Henry?] House," he ordered Captain Monroe to move his battery there. "For God's sake, hurry up, for they are massing in our front there," he urged. According to the battery's historian, "the order 'Forward, trot, march,' was given. The battery was countermarched, and back we went, bearing off to the south of the pike, and making for a hill perhaps eight hundred yards distant. Monroe, "Battery D," p. 23; Sumner, Battery D, pp. 20-21.

c. Reynolds' (L, 1st New York Light) and Campbell's (B, 4th U.S.) Batteries Endure a Heavy Fire on Dogan Ridge

These two batteries remained in place on Dogan Ridge under a very heavy artillery fire. A man of Reynolds' battery wrote, "The rebels threw a tempest of shot and shell at us which fell among the infantry in front and rear of us, making terrible havoc. They struck all around us, and the house in our rear was literally torn to pieces." Letter from an unknown member of Reynolds' battery, Rochester Democrat and American, September 12, 1862; Gibbon, Recollections, p. 64.

B. Ricketts' Division

1. Duryee and Thoburn, with Matthews (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light) and Thompson (C, Pennsylvania Light) Keep a Watchful Eye on the Right Flank

These units could do little to effect the flow of the battle, and therefore had to be content with tense inaction. Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384.

2. Tower Enters the Fight for Chinn Ridge

Upon being ordered into the fight by McDowell, Tower rode rapidly ahead of his column to the crest of Chinn Ridge. There he saw McLean's men severely pressed, and he hastened back and brought up his own brigade, leaving Stiles "on the hill slope in column ready to deploy." As his men moved into position, the battery on the ridge, Wiedrich's, limbered up and retreated in haste, breaking through "some of my troops furthest to the right." Amidst the confusion and under heavy fire, the regimental commanders did their best to deploy their troops, and in a few moments the brigade had hurled itself into the fray. During the fight Tower fell wounded and command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Richard Coulter of the 11th Pennsylvania. Tower to T. C. H. Smith, June 6, 1865, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. I, p. 251.

a. The 26th New York Fights Briefly, Then Disintegrates

Bringing up the rear of the brigade, the 26th New York was the last unit to deploy. On reaching the top of the hill the regiment filed left in support of Wiedrich's battery. Lt. Col. Richard H. Richardson reported, "[We] halted and came to the front, [and] opened from the two companies on the left, at that time the only ones unmasked. [I] Received an order from General Tower to again face to the left and march on the double quick to the relief of the extreme left, then hard pressed by the enemy. [We] again halted and came to the front, and opened fire on the left, advancing the fight of the battalion to the rise of the hill." At this point Wiedrich's men hastily limbered their pieces and galloped off. Followed by a large portion of McLean's brigade, the battery broke through the center of the 26th, "creating considerable confusion." "The battalion was rallied as far as possible, continuing to fire. Those in retreat were rallied on the flank at the edge of the timber," Colonel Richardson wrote. 26th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 389-90; 94th New York Account, Unpublished, Manassas NBP Library.

Those that remained did so under a tremendous fusilade. "We were," wrote Sgt. Charles McClenthen, "under as heavy and galling a fire as has been poured upon any body of troops during this war; shot, shell, grape, and canister with a heavy enfilading fire of musketry." The right of the regiment, though, remained fairly firm, and made a vain attempt to save Leppien's guns from capture. But, insisted McClenthen, "no troops in the world could stand [that fire], and we commenced falling back." Charles McClenthen to "Friend Scott," September` 5, 1862, Charles McClenthen Papers, Cornell University; William J. Bacon, Memorial of William Kirkland Bacon (Utica, 1863), p. 27.

b. The 94th New York Supports Wiedrich's Guns, Then Moves to the Left of the Brigade and is Engaged

The combat already begun, General Tower initially placed the 94th New York on the right of the brigade line in support of Wiedrich's guns. Here, "the regiment lay for a short time under cover of a low hill or ridge in rear of the battery." Shortly, however, the emergency on the left became apparent. Reported Lt. Col. Calvin Littlefield, "We were ordered to move by the left flank to the left of the brigade. Having passed two regiments we were then ordered to change the direction of our line by filing to the left, and while in the act of forming our line in the new direction we were ordered by General Tower to fire upon the enemy, who had now made an appearance in a cornfield [sic] directly in our front.

"The eighty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers in the meantime changed their front [and] prevented our firing, as but three companies of our regiment had passed from their rear. General Tower then ordered that these three companies should advance to the brow of the hill on our right.... While these companies were engaging the enemy at that point the remaining seven advanced in the original direction, and engaged the enemy on the extreme left of the brigade." 94th New York Account, Unpublished, Manassas NBP Library; 94th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 390.

c. The 88th Pennsylvania Joins the Fray and Vainly Tries to Save Leppien's Battery

Leading the brigade, the 88th Pennsylvania left Sudley Road just south of the Warrenton Turnpike and, according to John Vautier, "double-quicked down the slope, over a little stream of water, and up the hill on the farther side." Vautier continued, "Upon ascending the opposite hill the brigade came in view of the Confederate cannoneers and received a withering fire.... Upon reaching the top the companies deployed as best they could, facing the enemy's line near the [Chinn] house, some two or three hundred yards distant, around which were the Confederate cannon [Richardson's Company of the Washington Artillery]."

"The confusion among the troops on the hill was great; officers and men shouting, shells tearing through and exploding, the incessant rattle of muskets, the cries of the wounded,—all combined made up a scene that was anything but encouraging.... Some semblance of line was soon formed, and the Confederate infantry being discovered at the foot of the hill, a rapid fusillade[sic] was at once opened, causing them to retreat in disorder."

At this point Leppien's four guns charged up the hill, broke through the ranks of the 88th, and went into battery in front of the regiment. "Very soon," Vautier went on, "the Confederates advanced past the farm-house in many lines of battle, extending as far as could be seen; they came by the thousands, with battle flags well to the front and their officers urging them on." Tower's men opened with a scorching fire that staggered the Confederate line. The men at Leppien's pieces worked frantically, pumping canister into the gray lines. But the Confederates continued on, pushing toward the Federal battery. The fight rose to a climax. "The infantry fire was...very destructive, and came from so many directions that our men were at a loss how to return it effectively." John D. Vautier, History of the 88th Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War for the Union, 1861-1865, (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 55; 88th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 391; John Vautier, Diary, August 30, 1862, John D. Vautier Papers, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Harry Hunterson, "As to Gen. McDowell," National Tribune, November 12, 1891.

In the melee officers struggled to hold their men in line. Lt. Col. Joseph McLean spurred his horse forward in front of the battery, exhorting his men to follow, only to fall, an artery severed in his thigh. As the Confederates closed in on him he ordered the small handful of men that had come to his aid to "drop me and save yourselves, for I must die." He did, leaving a spoken epitaph: "I die for my country and the old flag." W. J. Hannells to Mrs. Joseph McLean, October 3, 1862, Joseph McLean Papers, U.S.A.M.H.I.

But order could not be restored. "The yells of the combatants, the noise of the bursting shells, and the agonizing screams of the wounded and the dying made the place perfect bedlam." The guns, after about a fifteen minute struggle, fell into Confederate hands. Vautier, op.cit., p. 56; Hannells to Mrs McLean, op.cit.

d. The 90th Pennsylvania in the Fight for Chinn Ridge

Col. Peter Lyle chronicled, "Our brigade entered the field, left in front, on the double quick, and was formed in line of battle behind a battery on the brow of a hill. Here the men were ordered to lie down, but were scarcely on the ground before Major-General McDowell ordered us to move by the left. This was promptly done, the regiment at this time third in line. When we came upon the brow of the hill we found it already full of troops and the firing very hot. In consequence of the crowded state of the ground we were ordered to occupy the troops immediately in our front were thrown into a momentary confusion, preventing me from at once forming line.

Quickly, Lyle ordered the regiment to left wheel, and the left of the regiment was able to open fire. But the right of the regiment was still obstructed by one of McLean's Ohio units, and was forced to wait until this regiment retreated before opening fire. Colonel Lyle continued, "We engaged the enemy along the whole line under a most murderous fire until ordered to fall back out of the way of a battery...now brought into action behind us. In the meantime the enemy was steadily advancing in front and on our right and left, subjecting us to a most galling crossfire. We moved to the right of the battery, and continued to engage the enemy with diminished ranks until ordered to withdraw." 90th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 392; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. III, p. 152; Letter of Frank Jennings, January 7, 1867, Frank Jennings Papers, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.

3. Three Regiments of Stiles' Brigade Move onto Chinn Ridge; The 83rd New York is Left to Guard Against a Flank Movement

Stiles' regiments followed Tower's brigade onto the field. Before crossing Chinn Branch, General Tower ordered the brigade to remain behind and await orders. This it did, waiting "on the hill slope in column ready to deploy." At this point, according to a man of the 11th Pennsylvania, "McDowell came up, swearing like a pirate, wanting to know who placed them in that position, and ordered them out...finally permitting the 83rd New York to remain. The brigade took position a little farther to the right on the hill," on the right of Tower's line. Zealous B. Tower to T. C. H. Smith, June 6, 1865, Smith Papers; Robert Shearer, "Was McDowell a Traitor?" National Tribune, April 21, 1892; Robert Shearer, "McDowell at Bull Run," National Tribune, January 23, 1908.

a. The 12th Massachusetts Enters the Fight and Loses its Colonel

The 12th Massachusetts entered the fight on the right of the brigade line, its left resting on the 11th Pennsylvania. During the battle for Leppien's guns, Colonel Fletcher Webster fell wounded in the right arm and side, "within a short distance of the...guns." Benjamin F. Cook, History of the Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers (Boston, 1882), pp. 63, 159-161; Letter of C. D. Hardy, Rochester Democrat and American, September 24, 1862; Letter of Thomas P. Haviland, Springfield [Mass.] Daily Republican, September 13, 1862.

b. The 13th Massachusetts Fights on the Left of the Brigade

Deploying on the left of the line, the 13th Massachusetts initially took position on top of the ridge, "facing a little south of west, the Stone House diagonally behind" it. Unable to fire because of friendly troops in their front, the regiment was ordered to fix bayonets and kneel to prevent the retreating troops from passing over it. Shortly, a Rebel battery opened from the left, enfilading the line. Hurriedly the Bay Staters were ordered to change front to the left. This was successfully done, except for the right wing of the regiment which was "separated from the rest of us by a rise in the ground."

"Everything to our hasty glance seemed confusion," wrote one man. In front of them the 13th found, remembered Samuel Webster, "three lines of Confederates. They were coming on at a good pace, with a line of skirmishers in advance." According to one regimental historian, the 13th made three charges on this column, but "on each occasion [we] were successfully driven back." "The terrible fire from flank and front soon destroyed all order," recalled another man, and "the remaining men fought on for a while in a disordered way." Cook, Twelfth Massachusetts, p. 63; Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; Eben W. Fiske, Scrapbook, Fiske Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; S[amuel] D. Webster, "Gen. Irvin McDowell," National Tribune, May 5, 1892; B. Spooner, "Second Bull Run: The Story of McDowell; or, 'Where Did You Get That Hat?" National Tribune, July 28, 1892; Letter of Warren, Quincy [Mass.] Patriot Ledger, September 20, 1862; Austin C. Stearns, Three Years in Company K (Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, n.d.), p. 106.

c. The 11th Pennsylvania in the Fight for the Chinn Plateau

The 11th Pennsylvania advanced in the center of Stiles' brigade. Phil Faulk of the regiment remembered, "Instantly forming, the brigade advanced under fire to the crest of Bald Hill [Chinn Ridge]. Here a most murderous fire of musketry swept the hill.... In our front long gray lines en echelon formation bristling with steel and fringed with sheeted flame, were moving magnificently and steadily through the storm. We were upon the open, naked fields. Instantly our fire opened, and in as many minutes our flag went down five times." Phil K. Faulk, "A Fighting Regiment: The Part Taken by the 11th Pennsylvania on the Plains of Manassas," National Tribune, February 19, 1891; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. I, p. 251; William Henry Locke, The Story of the Regiment (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 109.

4. The 83rd New York Watches the Left of the Chinn Ridge Line

Ordered by General McDowell to remain behind while the rest of the brigade pitched into the fight on Chinn Ridge, the 83rd New York found itself guarding the left flank of the line of battle. The regimental historian recorded, "The men stood within the woods, three or four yards from the cleared field, for some ten or fifteen minutes, before anything appeared in our front; then a line of men was seen advancing, but whether friends or foes could not be determined.... Soon, however, the line was near enough to distinguish the gray uniforms and slouched hats of the enemy. They were permitted to approach within fifty yards before the order to fire was given, and then such a well directed volley was poured into their ranks that the line halted. Several more deliberate volleys were fired, the enemy returning the fire with spirit, but not attempting to advance further." George W. Hussey, History of the Ninth Regiment New York State Militia, William Todd, ed., (New York, 1889), pp. 175-76; John W. Jaques, Three Years Campaign of the Ninth, N.Y.S.M. During the Southern Rebellion (New York, 1865), p. 100; Thomas L. Hanna, "From Manassas to Antietam," National Tribune, March 2, 1909.

5. Hall (2d, Maine Light) Goes into Action on Henry Hill

One of two batteries with Tower's command, Hall's gunners did not enter directly the fight on Chinn Ridge, but fired from Henry Hill. Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384.

6. Leppien's Guns (5th, Maine Light) are Wheeled into the Fight on Chinn Ridge and Quickly Captured

Pvt. E. N. Whittier of Leppien's battery recalled, "The order was received to change position and go in[to] battery across the left of our lines and to check...the rebels. Limbering up, with the horses at top speed, the battery passed along the top of the ridge and passing through a regiment on the left as they gave way before the enemy, the fire was opened on [the enemy's] column then not 150 yards from the muzzles of the guns. The murderous fire of canister only checked them for an instant, and as they saw the battery without support they charged...and in the short space of seven minutes the conflict was over, the horses being killed, the guns were taken, and the enemy advancing drove everything before them." Letter of E. N. Whittier, September 5, 1862, Portland Daily Advertiser, September 10, 1862; Unknown letter, Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, September 10, 1862.

a. The Position of Leppien's Battery as Outlined By Corse's Virginians

Col. Joseph Hambrick of the 24th Virginia, one of the regiments that captured Leppien's guns, reported that the battery was in position some 200 or 300 yards in front of them as they moved along the top of the ridge past the Chinn House. 24th Virginia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 136; Hunter, Johnny Reb, pp. 250-51; Johnston, Four Years a Soldier, p. 180.

C. Reynolds' Division

1. Meade and Seymour Move to Henry Hill

Not long after they had become situated north of the turnpike, Colonel David Strother of Pope's staff, who had been trying to hunt up a disengaged unit to move to the threatened left, rode up to Reynolds' two brigades and ordered them to move to Henry Hill. Quickly, the two brigades, along with Ransom's battery, moved and "took position on a hill to the right of the Henry house, not far from our first position in the morning." Here Reynolds' formed his men in columns of brigades (Meade in front, Seymour in rear) behind Ransom's battery. "There we remained under a shower of shells," watching events unfold in front of them. Reynolds' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 395; Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserve, p. 161.

2. Anderson (Hardin) Falls Back in Disorder

This brigade, now commanded by Colonel Robert Anderson of the 9th Pennsylvania Reserves, was effectively finished as a fighting force for the day. In this scattered condition, it is impossible to document the brigade's position with any degree of confidence, though it is assumed they fell back with the main stream of the army.

3. Division Artillery (Dunbar Ransom Commanding): Simpson's (A, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Cooper's (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light), and Ransom's (C, 5th U.S.) Batteries

The only one of these batteries that can be at all documented for the remainder of the day is Ransom's, which moved from the north side of the turnpike to a position near the ruins of the Henry House and from there opened fire. Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserve, p. 161; Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 395.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

The wholesale shifting of the corps had not yet begun; the units remained in their previously assumed positions. Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 413; Kearny's report, ibid., p. 416; Carr's report, ibid., p. 455.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Morell's Division: Roberts and Butterfield Remain in Place

These two brigades remained in place east of the Stone House, on the top of "Bull Run Hill." Letter of Charley Champis, E. B. Quiner, "Correspondence..." Vol. 7, p. 83; Waterman's report, op.cit., p. 467.

a. Waterman (C, 1st Rhode Island Light) Withdraws From Dogan Ridge

Captain Waterman recorded, "Having exhausted the ammunition of my limbers I, in accordance with a previous command of General Butterfield, withdrew to the top of Bull Run hill, to join the rest of the division." Waterman's report, ibid., p. 467.

b. Hazlett's Battery (D, 5th U.S) Maintains Position, but Does Not Fire

After falling back from near Groveton, Hazlett put his guns in position north of the Warrenton Turnpike, east of the Dogan House. He did not open fire. Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 148.

B. Sykes' Regulars Move Toward Henry Hill: Chapman's Brigade is Diverted by Pope

1. Buchanan is Ordered to Henry Hill

After falling back from the Groveton Wood and remaining in the neighborhood of John Dogan's house for a short time, Buchanan received orders to move "across the turnpike to a position on the" Henry House plateau. By 5:15 he was in the process of carrying out this order. Buchanan's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 488.

2. Chapman's Brigade is Met By Pope and Ordered to the Support of the Left

From the Stone House intersection, Chapman's Regulars continued eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike up the north shoulder of Henry Hill. In the rear they were supposed to find rations. But as it neared the top of the hill, the leading regiment, the 17th U.S., was met by an angry John Pope. Pope berated the brigade for the poor example they were setting for the rest of the army, and instructed it to remain where it was until it received further orders. 17th U.S. report, ibid., p. 501; Chapman's report, ibid., p. 496; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 178A.

3. Warren Tries to Regroup His Shattered Brigade

With little more than a dazed crowd of survivors to work with, Colonel Warren did his best to reform his command. He set up a command post "near the little stream...near the pike." Frederick T. Locke to Porter, September 15, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Sykes' report, op.cit., p. 482.

4. Division Artillery (Stephen Weed Commanding)

a. Weed's Battery (I, 5th U.S.) Holds Fast Near Dogan's

Under Sykes' watchful eye, Weed's gunners continued to work their pieces from in front of the Dogan House. Weed's report, ibid., p. 485; Sykes' report, ibid., p. 482.

b. Smead Goes into Battery Near the Stone House

Extricating itself from the sea of men in the valley of Young's Branch, Smead's battery, now commanded by Lt. William E. Van Reed, went into position "on the hill close to a stone house." Van Reed's report, ibid., p. 487.

c. Randol (E & G, 1st U.S.) is on Dogan Ridge

Randol's battery remained on Dogan Ridge, adjusting its position only slightly by moving from in front of the house to the right of it. Randol's testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 147.

C. Piatt's Command Remains in Place

After resting for about a half hour, Piatt "received orders to enter the field on the left of our line." He did so, "and formed in rear of a battery." Piatt's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 401.

VI. Ninth Corps

So far as can be told, the Ninth Corps units on the field remained in their positions taken earlier. Stevens, Stevens, p. 467; Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 146.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

Like Bayard, Beardsley received orders to deploy his command to stop stragglers. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272; 6th Ohio Cavalry report, ibid., pp. 277-78; Thomas M. Covert to his Wife, September 12, 1862, Thomas M. Covert Papers, U.S.A.M.H.I.

At the same time, the 4th New York Cavalry was still operating on the left of the army. 4th New York report, ibid., p. 274.

B. Buford's Brigade

Buford continued to operate on the left of the army with three regiments. S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard's regiments continued to stop fugitives from the front. Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91.

Map #13, 4:30-5:15 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

After ensuring that Longstreet's wing was moving forward, General Lee left orders with R. H. Anderson to join in the attack and rode to the front to join Longstreet. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 188.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Once his columns were in motion, Longstreet left the direction of the fighting to his division commanders. For his own part, he busied himself with funneling support units to the front (R. H. Anderson's Division and Wilcox's Brigade) and with attempting the neutralization of the Federal batteries on Dogan Ridge, which enfiladed his line of advance with a heavy fire. Both he and Lee had hoped that Jackson could push quickly forward with his infantry and drive off these guns, but it would be some time before Jackson got his troops in motion. In the meantime, Longstreet tried to combat the Federal fire with that of his own batteries. Reilly's, Garden's, Chapman's, Bachman's, and Boyce's batteries were all brought forward to and east of Groveton and opened fire. But the Rebel guns were no match for the Federal batteries; the Yankee fire continued unabated. Longstreet, ibid., p. 189.

A. R. H. Anderson Starts to Move Toward the Scene of Conflict

At 4:50 PM Anderson received orders from Lee to move his troops forward along the south side of the turnpike and relieve some of Longstreet's troops. Quickly the three brigades formed south of the road, with Wright's Georgians on the left, Mahone on the right, and Armistead following behind the interval. Knapsacks were unslung. The division moved forward. (The dispositions of the brigades relative to each other are gleaned from descriptions of subsequent fighting.) John Bowie Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, Magruder Papers; Bernard, "The Maryland Campaign of 1862," pp. 17, 100; Westwood A. Todd, Reminiscences, p. 40.

B. D. R. Jones Continues His Advance

With well over a mile to cover, Benning's and G. T. Anderson's advance was arduous. The two brigades pushed on, passing Reverend Compton's house, bearing down on Chinn Ridge. Drayton's brigade continued to be detained on the extreme right. Houghton, Two Boys in the Civil War, p. 123; Charles Williams' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 128; Letter of "A. S. E." to Willie, September 14, 1862, [Athens, Ga.] Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862.

C. Wilcox's Division

1. Wilcox Moves His Brigade South of the Turnpike

While his division rested preparatory to an advance on Dogan Ridge, General Wilcox received orders, as he said, "to move my brigade to the right of the turnpike to the support of General Hood." (Wilcox, however, apparently misunderstood his orders. According to Longstreet, the order called for Wilcox to move his entire division to the right. In his memoirs Longstreet attributed, at least in part, his inability to take the Henry plateau before dark to Wilcox's failure to bring Featherston and Pryor with him.) Wilcox reported, "I now directed General Pryor, who was near me, to confer with General Featherston and to indicate to him my plans for the further pursuit of the enemy." Meanwhile, Wilcox's brigade moved out, crossing the Warrenton Turnpike at Groveton. Wilcox's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 600; Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 191; Wilcox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 263.

2. Featherston and Pryor Remain in Place

Throughout the period both Featherston's and Pryor's brigades remained along the eastern edge of the Groveton Wood, planning their advance on Dogan Ridge and awaiting reinforcements. The 3rd Virginia remained separated from the rest of Pryor's regiments. Pryor's report, op.cit., p. 602; Featherston's report, ibid., p. 603; John W. H. Porter, Norfolk County, p. 65.

3. Chapman [Dixie Artillery] Moves Forward Beyond Groveton

After firing from near Groveton for thirty minutes, Chapman limbered up, moved beyond the crossroads to an unspecified position, and once again opened fire. Chapman, "Dixie Battery at the Second Battle of Manassas," SHSP, Vol. 39, p. 193.

D. Evans' (Hood's) Division Fights South of the Turnpike

1. Hood's Brigade Becomes Scattered: The 18th Georgia Fights Briefly on Chinn Ridge, then Falls Back; Hampton's Legion and the 5th Texas Join Evans' Brigade Near the Chinn House; The 1st Texas Falls Back Without Firing a Shot; The 4th Texas Retreats to the Cover of Young's Branch

a. The 18th Georgia

After taking Kerns' battery, the 18th Georgia, like the rest of the brigade (except the 1st Texas), halted in the ravine just west of the Chinn plateau. Shortly word came of a threatening enemy force on the left (probably the Federal troops near the Dogan House). So, in conjunction with the 5th Texas and Hampton's Legion, the 18th Georgia moved "by the right flank up the ravine to the woods." Colonel Wofford reported, "I halted my regiment as soon as my left was covered by the woods, and moved in line to the second battery [Wiedrich's] through the woods and over a slight declivity to within forty yards of the enemy's guns and their lines of support.... At this [point] I had no support except a mere fragment of a regiment (supposed to be the Holcombe Legion [Evans' Brigade]), which fought with much spirit and gallantry.... Seeing my men falling rapidly... and no re-enforcements arriving, I withdrew my regiment...." Passing back through the woods until he reached the cover of Young's Branch, Colonel Wofford reformed his regiment on the right of the 1st Texas. Wofford's report, op.cit., pp. 609-10.

b. Hampton's Legion

Like the 18th Georgia and the 5th Texas, after stopping in the hollow east of Kerns' battery Hampton's Legion moved quickly by their right flank to the cover of the woods just west of the Chinn House. After a short respite, the South Carolinians moved out to meet McLean's men. Apparently without coordination with the rest of the brigade, the regiment was "hotly engaged around the Chinn House," until relieved by some of Evans' men. Hampton's Legion's report, ibid., pp. 610-11.

c. The 5th Texas

Col. J. B. Robertson recalled, "As I passed down the hill beyond the battery taken [Kerns'] I observed the enemy in still heavier force than any we had encountered" up to this time. To the right Robertson eyed a block of woods; if the enemy gained it, the Texans' flank would be turned. He quickly conferred with Colonels Gary (of Hampton's Legion) and Wofford, informing them, as Gary wrote, of "my determination to move by the right flank to the timber. They assented to the move, and I moved by my right flank up the hollow as rapidly as the exhausted condition of my men would permit me.... After getting distance sufficient to cover the command I ordered a halt, intending to collect my men and give them a few moments' rest...and await our re-enforcements."

"Before my lines were well formed," Robertson continued, "a regiment of our forces came up through the woods from the rear. As it passed my lines the command forward was given. My command, mistaking it for them, moved forward and thus became considerably scattered by intermixing with that regiment. We rallied and advanced to their right through the orchard and passed the house, driving the enemy from his position there, and gained the hollow beyond. Near the gate beyond the garden I was struck down." Command of the regiment fell to Capt. K. Bryan. 5th Texas (Robertson's) report, ibid., p. 617-18.

In the quick advance past the house, the 5th captured two caissons, probably from Wiedrich's battery. At this point, reported Captain Bryan, a fresh Confederate brigade came up on the Texans' right. With it, the regiment continued past the Chinn House to the valley of Chinn Branch. Suddenly, the two lines were raked by a tremendous enfilading fire from a newly formed Federal line astride the crest of the ridge. Many of the 5th scurried for cover "in a deep wash in the side of the ridge." Despite heavy casualties, the regiment soon rallied near the woods east of Chinn Branch. Bryan went on, "We were not allowed to remain long in our then secure position." Soon a "small brigade" came up and the 5th joined it in its advance. "Our flag dashed up the slope to the center of the brigade, and then led on in the direction of the enemy." 5th Texas (Bryan's) report, ibid., pp. 619-20; Nicholas Pomeroy, MS "War Memoirs," p. 34; Alexander Hunter, MS "Four Years in the Ranks," p. 242.

d. The 1st Texas

In search of the rest of the brigade, the 1st Texas crossed Young's Branch and moved to the hill on which rested Kerns' captured guns. Col. P. A. Work recalled that once there he tried to shelter his men from not only the Federal batteries near the Dogan House, but also Wiedrich's in his front. Work then rode ahead in search of the 4th Texas. "I heard a heavy firing of musketry or rifles down in the hollow in front of where I was standing," he wrote, "but, owing to a swell or second ridge...not a man could I discover." A staff officer then rode up and reported "that all of the regiments of the brigade were down in the hollow, were hard pressed, and needed assistance. Selecting a place where I could pass the ridge with as little loss as possible, I fronted the regiment and moved forward some 35 yards to a depression crossing the ridge." At this point another staff officer rode up with "an order to take my regiment under cover." Work moved his regiment back under a heavy artillery fire to the cover of Young's Branch. There, they were shortly joined by the 4th Texas. 1st Texas report, op.cit., pp. 613-614; 4th Texas report, ibid., p. 616.

e. The 4th Texas

After moving into the hollow west of Kerns' position, the 4th Texas soon found itself alone; the 18th Georgia was moving by the flank away from the 4th's right. Colonel Work reported, "About the same time the enemy commenced firing on me from a wooded ridge to my left and in rear of my left flank." The fire increased. "To meet the fire of the enemy around my left I changed front perpendicularly to the left across the ravine we occupied...and fell back about 50 yards to the dry bed of a shallow cross ravine, where for some minutes we maintained a steady fire on the enemy.... Seeing no prospects of supports...I ordered the regiment to march by the left flank." The 4th moved back past Kerns' guns to the cover of Young's Branch, joining the left of the 1st Texas. 4th Texas report, ibid.; Polley, Texas Brigade, p. 94.

2. Law Moves South of the Warrenton Turnpike and Prepares to Attack The Federals on Dogan Ridge

After spending 30 minutes supporting a battery near Groveton, Colonel Law received orders to move south of the turnpike and connect with Hood's left. Law moved his men forward through Groveton, and then south of the road, but Hood's men were nowhere to be found. After "reaching an eminence a few hundred yards to the right of the road," Law wrote, he could see "that the enemy was pushing a heavy force into the ravine and pine thickets directly in front of me...just below Dogan's house, apparently for the purpose of securing their formidable battery posted there." Law immediately prepared to attack. Law's report, op.cit., p. 624; Law, "The Virginia Campaign of 1862," Philadelphia Weekly Press, November 2, 1887.

3. Evans' Brigade Enters the Fight

Evans' Brigade, commanded by Col. P. F. Stevens of Holcombe's Legion, moved forward in Hood's wake and was among the first Southern units engaged on Chinn Ridge. Colonel Stevens described the advance: "Reaching a wood some mile from our starting point, the right of the brigade passed over the left of a Texas regiment [either the 1st or 4th Texas] lying down. The enemy's fire now became annoying and on reaching the edge of the wood it was very severe. The Twenty-third South Carolina, on the left flank, emerged at once and entire; but the skirt of woods then ran obliquely to my line of battle, so that the Eighteenth and Seventeenth regiments were gradually uncovered from left to right, while the Holcombe Legion was still in the wood. Upon the appearance of the Twenty-third the enemy's fire was redoubled, and the Eighteenth and Seventeenth, instead of moving straight forward, almost instinctively inclined to the right...to keep under cover. This caused my line to become gradually broken and confused until, when the right flank was finally uncovered, the men of these two regiments were mingled with the [Holcombe] Legion some ten or twelve deep."

A man of Holcombe's Legion admitted, "We were a mere mob. There stood the enemy in beautiful line, and had they only advanced they would have routed and captured us." But fortune was with the South Carolinians. Not only did the Federals not advance, but by inadvertantly inclining to the right while advancing, the Confederates found themselves in a commanding position opposite the Federal left flank. Colonel Stevens struggled to get the tangled lines to attack: "Here I found the line halted and staggering under a murderous fire of...canister [and] musketry.... Giving the command to charge, I found it impossible for the officers to make themselves be obeyed, owing to the comingling of regiments. At this moment I caught site of a regiment [probably the 5th Texas] moving in splendid order on my right and rear, but going obliquely to my right instead of to my support. Galloping toward it, I turned it to my relief, but unfortunately the direction brought the line against some outhouses about the Chinn house, and it became broken...." Stevens' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 631; Unknown letter from a member of Holcombe's Legion, Charleston Courier, September 24, 1862.

By now, rather than operating as a cohesive unit, the regiments of the brigade were doing their best individually. Both the 17th and 18th South Carolina advanced, but were forced back. The 17th, (without its slain colonel, John H. Means), "after faltering a few moments...rushed forward." "The Yankees," wrote Samuel Lowry of the 17th, "did not wait to lock bayonets with us, but turned and fled precipitently, still keeping up a desultory fire." While the South Carolinians focused their attention on the retreating foe, "a regiment of Yankees suddenly drew up in line, only a few yards from us on our left, and poured in a destructive fire." Stung and alone, the regiment fell back "beyond the brow of the hill to form a new line of battle." Samuel Catawba Lowry, Diary, August 30, 1862, p. 16, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; 17th South Carolina report, op.cit., p. 633.

The 18th suffered similarly. Its colonel wrote, "As we rose to the crest of a slight ridge a line of the enemy was suddenly discovered, who poured a volley into our thinned ranks.... The fire of the enemy was promptly and vigorously returned by the troops and the enemy broke and fled in the utmost disorder. In the meantime a heavy battery of the enemy [he probably refers to Wiedrich's] was playing from the left upon our flank. Toward this our attention was then directed, and with a handful of men we advanced upon it, and when close upon it...another line of the enemy advanced from behind the hill upon which the battery was placed...and being without support we were compelled to retire." 18th South Carolina report, ibid., p. 636.

The 23rd South Carolina and Holcombe's Legion also lept into the fray; Holcombe's Legion fighting initially in conjunction with the 18th Georgia of Hood's brigade. 18th Georgia report, ibid., p. 609; W. J. Andrews, Sketch of Company K, Twenty-third South Carolina Volunteers (Richmond, n.d.), p. 12.

a. Boyce's Battery (MacBeth Artillery) Continues to Fire

Boyce's gunners continued to work their guns from the position taken by them previously. Boyce's report, op.cit., p. 640.

4. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding)

a. Bachman's Battery (German Artillery) Moves South of the Turnpike and Opens Fire

After firing with the other two divisional batteries near Groveton, Bachman received orders to move to south of the road to attempt to get an enfilading fire on the Federal batteries on Dogan Ridge. In addition to his own guns, the howitzer section of Reilly's Battery was assigned to his command. Captain Bachman recorded, "As we entered a field on the left of the road, a battery opened a fearful fire. We had to pass through it and crossed the road to the right to a piece of wood.... I went into the field where the Texas Brigade and Hampton Legion engaged the Zouaves. The ground was covered with the dead red-breeched fellows so that I had actually to pilot the driver through the bodies, sometimes stopping to move them out of the way...." While the battery moved, a Federal shell struck and disabled one of the rifles, leaving Bachman with five guns (including Reilly's section). "We then got into position, engaging a battery which was silenced by ours and another battery" (probably Reilly's). Letter of W. K. Bachman, no date, Charleston Courier, September 17, 1862; Frobel's report, op.cit., p. 607.

b. Garden's Battery (Palmetto Artillery) Advances North of the Road

While Bachman and Reilly advanced south of the turnpike, Garden was ordered to move "in the field north of the road" and reopen on the Federal batteries near the Dogan House. This fire was continued until Law's brigade, preparing to assault the heights, forced the Confederates to cease their fire. Frobel's report, ibid.

c. Reilly's Battery (Rowan Artillery) Fires From South of the Road

After firing north of the Warrenton Turnpike, Reilly was ordered to move south of the road. He did so, taking position with one section "on the hill in front of the Groveton House, engaging the batteries in front under a terrific fire." Frobel's report, ibid.

E. The Tactical Situation as Kemper's Men Enter the Fray

The situation that faced Kemper's three brigades as they entered the fields south of the Chinn House was opportune. It was probably about 5 P.M. Federal reinforcements—Tower's and Stiles' brigades—were just beginning to move up the northern slope of the ridge; those Yankees that were already on the ridge were hard-pressed. Three regiments of Hood's brigade had opened the fight, but with little success. They had soon been joined by Evans' South Carolinians. This force had launched a viscious attack against McLean's left that threw the Federals into disarray. McLean struggled to change front, shifting the 75th and 55th Ohio to the left. The fire from these regiments halted Evans' advance after it had nearly captured Wiedrich's battery. That battery in turn limbered up and dashed off, leaving the Federals momentarily without artillery support. A quick change of front by Kemper's men might win the day.

But, unfortunately, Kemper's two leading brigade commanders, Hunton and Jenkins, were not aware of the nature of the situation that faced them. Advancing easterly, Hunton and Jenkins ascended Chinn Ridge well south of the Federal position. Hunton tried to wheel his men to the left to strike the Federal flank, but in vain. Before he could stop his advance, both he and Jenkins had descended the ridge to the valley of Chinn Branch. Corse, though, following about 250 yards in rear of the other two brigades, was able to change front. Thus it was Corse that led the division into the battle.

1. Corse Follows Hunton and Jenkins and Seizes an Opportunity

Following Hunton and Jenkins, Corse entered the open fields about 500 yards south of the Chinn House. The fight, Corse found, had already begun. Quickly he spurred his horse to a slight elevation and surveyed the situation. To the left was the Chinn House; beyond that Corse could see Leppien's newly positioned battery. Riding back to his brigade, Corse ordered it to left wheel, "so as to cover the ground just before occupied by Hunton's...brigade." Now under fire, the five Virginia regiments obeyed. Corse rode to the front. "Boys," he hollered, "there is a battery over there I want you to take."

"Almost directly in our front," recalled David Johnston of the 7th Virginia, was the Chinn House, "around which was a picket fence, and just beyond, between us and the enemy, was a common rail fence running across the

Map 13, 4:30-5:15 p.m. August 30th, Confederate

ridge at right angles to it." Beyond the fence some 200-300 yards was Leppien's battery, supported by infantry. David E. Johnston, Four Years a Soldier (Princeton, W. Va., 1887), p. 180; Corse's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 626.

The regiments moved forward. To pass the Chinn House the 7th and 24th Virginia, on the left, where forced to separate from the brigade. In doing so, "the right of the 24th and left of the 7th became intermingled." The obstacle passed, the two regiments readjusted their lines and reconnected with the rest of the brigade. 24th Virginia report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 136.

What happened next was narrated by Pvt. Alexander Hunter of the 17th Virginia, on the right of the brigade: "On we advanced until we nearly reached a small outbuilding—when suddenly a regiment of the enemy sprang up from behind a wall [actually the fence mentioned by Johnston] and let us have a withering volley at point blank pistol range. We were not expecting it, and it came upon us with the suddeness of a thunderbolt. Colonel [Morton] Marye fell, his leg fractured by a bullet, and many were killed by that volley. All discipline now was at an end, and individual bravery fully made up for the deficiency. We all sprang forward with one ringing yell—the officers waving their swords and the men standing still only long enough to fire off their guns.... Every man took aim before his finger pressed the trigger—and the ground in our front was literally lined with blue. Still they stood their ground." "Our foes were a western regiment from Ohio who gave and received and asked no odds." [Alexander Hunter], MS "Four Years in the Ranks," Virginia Historical Society, pp. 242-43; Alexander Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank (New York & Washington, 1905), pp. 248-49.

The left of the brigade, the 7th and 24th Virginia, received little resistence until it neared the fence. "Up to the fence and give them hell!" yelled the colonel of the 7th. With a rush the Virginians reached the fence and poured in a withering volley that caused the right of the Ohioans' line to shudder and fall apart. The brigade clambered over the fence and continued on. Now in their front were the northeasterners of Tower's and Stiles' brigades. The Federal resistence stiffened. Leppien's guns let loose with canister that tore through the Virginians. Returning the fire, the Virginians locked in a deadly struggle for the guns. Johnston, Four Years, p. 180; 1st Virginia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 133; 17th Virginia report, ibid., p. 135.

2. Jenkins' Brigade

Jenkins' men moved on Hunton's right. Entering the fields south of Hazel Plain, the brigade continued forward until it found itself in the Chinn Branch valley. The fight, Jenkins discovered, was going on far to the left. The brigade hurried to change front. Once properly aligned, part of the 6th South Carolina and all of the 1st South Carolina were to the left of the stream, the remainder of the brigade resting to the right of it. Jenkins passed orders to Colonel Glover, commanding the 1st South Carolina, to commence the attack. James L. Coker, History of Company G, Ninth S.C. Regiment Infantry, C.S. Army and of Company E, Sixth S.C. Regiment Infantry, C.S. Army (Charleston, 1899), pp. 97-98; Hagood, MS "First South Carolina Regiment," p. 69; Fauquier Artillery Affidavit, E. P. Alexander Papers.

3. Hunton Misses a Chance to Crush the Union Left

From near the Lewis house, Hunton's five regiments pushed forward into the fields around the Chinn house, their left passing very near the house. They quickly dispersed the token resistence given them. Then Hunton realized the main Federal force was to his left. He wrote, "There was a most admirable place for a change of front of my brigade, and to attack the enemy a little in the flank and a little in the rear. I had reached a ravine down which flowed a little stream of water [Chinn Branch].... I determined I would change front and make an attack...." He continued in his report, "I ordered a march by the left flank and by file left so as to front...the enemy from whom we were receiving a very heavy fire of musketry and shell...." Hunton placed himself at the front of his left regiment, the 56th Virginia, and ordered it to move. They did, but the next regiment, the 28th Virginia commanded by Col. R. C. Allen, failed to do so. Colonel Allen, it seemed, would not obey unless the order was in writing. "This," complained Hunton, "caused a separation of the brigade and created some confusion in the ranks of all the regiments." By the time the brigade was in order once again, Corse's men had already taken up the fight. Allen's recalcitrance foiled what Hunton thought would have been "the most brilliant effort of my military career." Hunton, Autobiography, p. 77; Hunton's report, James Lawson Kemper Papers, University of Virginia; H. T. Owen, MS "Reminiscences of the War," Virginia State Library; Jordan, ed., The Papers of Richard Irby, p. 78; Wood, Big I, p. 31; Norborne Berkeley, MS "Only What I Saw at Second Manassas," John Warwick Daniel Papers, University of Virginia.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery (Maj. J. B. Walton Commanding): Squires and Miller Act as Reserve; Richardson Follows Benning Toward the Action While Eshleman Deflects to the Right

a. Squires' and Millers' Companies

These two companies were ordered to follow Longstreet's advancing columns to the front, but as the regimental historian noted, the infantry's advance was too rapid and neither battery was able to get into the action. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 120.

b. Richardson's Company

Richardson's four smoothbores were hauled along in concert with Benning's advance. They, like the brigade, did not arrive at the scene of action until after Corse's brigade had captured Leppien's battery. Richardson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 575.

c. Eshleman's Company

Eshleman began his advance with Hunton's brigade. Shortly, though, "finding it would be impracticable to follow the brigade, owing to the broken nature of the ground," Eshleman moved toward the right front, "going into battery and firing from every elevated position from which he could enfilade the enemy...." Walton's report, ibid., p. 572.

2. S. D. Lee's Battalion

There is no evidence to indicate that any batteries of this battalion took part in the advance of Longstreet's Wing. S. D. Lee's report, ibid., p. 578; Samuel Duffey, Diary, August 30, 1862.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries

1. Stribling's Battery (Fauquier Artillery)

Stribling followed Jenkins' brigade to the front. One man of the battery recalled, "As the line approached Chinn's Hill, it was ascertained that Jenkins' brigade extended beyond the line of battle of the enemy and the right of the [brigade] was thrown rapidly forward, changing the front of the brigade obliquely to the left, so as to come upon the flank of the enemy on Chinn's Hill. Whilst Jenkins' Brigade were changing front, the battery went into position on the hill to the right of Chinn's hill and 300 yards distant and opened fire upon Chinns Hill, taking the enemy in flank and somewhat in reverse...." Fauquier Artillery Affidavit, E. P. Alexander Papers.

2. Rogers' Battery (Loudoun Artillery)

Rogers' advance succeeded Stribling's, the battery not going into action until the Federal guns on Chinn Ridge had already been captured. ibid.

III. Jackson's Wing

Unfortunately, little is known of Jackson's activities subsequent to Porter's attack. He had apparently received two sets of orders from Lee. The first, already cited, was to "look out for and protect" Longstreet's right. The second, mentioned only by Longstreet, was to attempt to drive off the batteries that were enfilading the advance south of the Warrenton Turnpike. Jackson's alacrity in carrying out these orders was decidedly un-Jacksonian. Porter's attack ended at approximately 3:45; Jackson's forward movement did not commence until after the Federal left had collapsed on Chinn Ridge—about 6 PM. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 189.

A. Starke Remains in Place

The only unit of this division to move was Stafford's brigade, which was sent rearward to replenish ammunition. They had not gone far, however, before they were recalled by Jackson himself: "Louisianans I need you once more." They returned to the unfinished railroad and replenished cartridge boxes as best they could from those of the dead and wounded. Bartlett, Military Record of Louisiana, p. 31.

1. Division Artillery (Shumaker's Battalion)

Most of Shumaker's battalion remained in place, playing no part in Longstreet's advance. Poague, Gunner With Stonewall, p. 38; Crutchfield's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 653.

B. A. P. Hill and Lawton Remain in Position

Both of these divisions, with their artillery, made only insignificant adjustments to their positions during the period. Hill's report, ibid., p. 671; Early's report, ibid., p. 713.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

General Stuart accompanied the right of Longstreet's line in its advance against the Union left. Stuart's report, ibid., p. 737.

A. Fitz Lee's Brigade

There is a lack of source material regarding the activities of Lee's brigade during this period. It can only be assumed that it continued to hover opposite Jackson's left.

B. Robertson's Brigade Moves Forward

The enemy falling back in front of Longstreet, Robertson was ordered to take his brigade, press the enemy's flank, "and, if possible...intercept his retreat in the direction of Centreville by way of the stone bridge." Robertson's troopers moved out, the 2d Virginia Cavalry in front, followed by the 12th Virginia, 7th Virginia, and 6th Virginia. The location of the 17th Virginia Battalion is unknown. Robertson's advance, however, was late in getting started and did not keep up with the advance of Longstreet's right. "Consequently," wrote Stuart, "our right flank was at one time somewhat threatened by the enemy's cavalry." Stuart's report, ibid.; Robertson's report, ibid., p. 746; 7th Virgninia Cavalry report, ibid., pp. 751-52.

MAP 14

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

The climax building, Pope moved his command post to Henry Hill, where he watched the battle progress. T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoirs," p. 193; Frederick T. Locke to Fitz John Porter, September 15, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

Just before 6 PM he dispatched a number of staff officers to various parts of the field carrying orders to the several commands to begin a withdrawal; the left had been turned. Franklin Haven to John C. Ropes, January 24, 1897, Ropes Papers.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

Sigel reported that not long after ordering Krzyzanowski's brigade into the Chinn Ridge fight, it became "evident that to avoid the destruction of our troops from the sweep of the enemy's batteries, and as the main attack was now on our left, I ordered General Schurz to withdraw his division from the low ground, under cover of our artillery, and take position on the hills near the stone house, one brigade to face toward the left. The brigade of General Stahel followed this movement, and formed line of battle on our right. Immediately in front of this position, on a hill to the right [north] of the stone house, I placed a battery...." Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 269.

A. Schenck's Division Falls Back From Separate Points

1. Stahel's Brigade is Dispersed

a. The 8th and 27th New York Leave Dogan Ridge

General Stahel reported, "While the enemy had taken possession of the heights opposite Dogan's farm I received orders...to take position farther" to the rear. Consequently, Stahel marched the 8th and 27th New York back to a position behind the Stone House, on Schimmelfennig's right. The 45th New York remained on Dogan Ridge to cover the batteries there. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 285; 8th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Sigel's report, op.cit., p. 269.

b. The 45th New York Engages Law's Confederates on Dogan Ridge

The commander of the 45th, Lt. Col. Edward C. Wratislaw, reported that the rest of the brigade having been sent elsewhere, "the regiment took position in an orchard on the left...to meet an advancing force of rebel infantry which was coming out of the woods and pushing up the hill. Two regiments of infantry had been brought up by General Hooker and drew up to our left--the only support [we had] on this part of the field." The advancing foe "was received with a well aimed fire which was followed by a determined charge of the regiment." The Confederates fell back. But the 45th, unsupported except by Hooker's units, withdrew to their former position in the orchard, according to Captain Dilger, in disarray. The officers of Gibbon's brigade tried to rally the Germans, but to no avail. 45th New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol XII, Pt. 2, p. 306; Quiner, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers," Vol. 2, p. 298, Vol. 4, p. 14.

c. The 41st New York in the Fight for Chinn Ridge

After deploying under fire on top of the plateau, the 41st New York waited until Koltes' brigade came up, and joined it. The regiment then "advanced to a charge on the Rebel force under a most galling fire—and having reached a deserted battery [Leppien's], tried vainly to save it." The New Yorkers then came under "friendly fire." This, combined with the overwhelming Confederate force on the ridge, made its postion untenable. The DeKalb regiment broke and fell back. Efforts were made to rally the unit "at the foot of the hill," but those efforts proved fruitless, and the New Yorkers continued rearward. 41st New York report, T. C. H. Smith Papers; 73rd Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol XII, Pt. 2, p. 307.

2. McLean Withdraws from Chinn Ridge

Livid at what he considered to be the criminal lack of support his men had received during the fighting on the ridge, Colonel McLean reluctantly ordered his battered brigade to fall back. They did so, in considerable disorder, eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike. McLean to John C. Ropes, October 6, 1897, Ropes Papers; Luther B. Mesnard, Recollections, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I., p. 14; Schenck's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 282.

3. Blume (2d, New York Light) Redeploys and Enfilades the Confederate Advance

Seeing the Confederates advancing against the Union left, General Stahel ordered Blume to redeploy his guns and open fire on the Confederate columns. Blume "took position on the east side of Dogan's farm" and drove the Confederate column (Law's Brigade) under cover of woods. This was done in conjunction with Dilger's battery. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 285; S. F. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

B. Schurz's Division: Koltes and Krzyzanowski Fight on Chinn Ridge; Schimmelfennig Falls Back to Buck Hill

1. Schimmelfennig Pulls Back

The contest on the extreme left going badly, General Schurz received orders to redeploy his remaining brigade, Schimmelfennig's, on "the next range of low hills near the 'stone house.'" This was done "slowly and in good order." Dilger's battery followed closely behind. Sigel's report, op.cit., p. 269; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 301; Schurz, Reminiscences, Vol. 2, p. 374. McDowell's report, op.cit., p. 342.

2. Krzyzanowski Moves to Support Koltes

Colonel Krzyzanowski wrote, "I received orders to move my infantry to the right of Colonel Koltes' brigade and then to advance, which had scarcely been done when we became engaged with the enemy and kept up a brisk fire until, after the lapse of about half an hour, one of the enemy's batteries compelled us to retire toward a deep ravine just in rear of our lines. Seeing however, that the enemy moved toward our left I again ordered my men up, changing my front a little toward the left.... After some fifteen minutes of constant firing...I gave orders to my regiments to cease firing, still holding the same position. I then consulted with the brigade commander on my left, asking him to advance farther in company with me, which he, however, refused to do.

"My forces being too weak to advance alone I remained inactive for a few minutes, until General Schurz sent orders to retire across the run and remain in reserve." Krzyzanowski's report, op.cit., p. 312; 54th New York report, ibid., p. 314; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, pp. 917-18.

3. Koltes Fails to Stop the Rebel Advance

Colonel Muhlkeck of the 73rd Pennsylvania remembered that after deploying atop Chinn Ridge, Colonel Koltes found that "the enemy was right in front, advancing slowly but in deep, dense masses. To our left, where we found the DeKalb regiment [41st New York] isolated from their brigade, a battery...had been abandoned. The last named regiment...endeavored to save the cannons, but in vain. The enemy by this time had brought up and posted near the border of the woods two sections of artillery, which, from a distance of scarcely 200 yards, covered" the brigade "with a perfect shower of projectiles."

The right of the brigade (the 73rd Pennsylvania) was soon imperiled, so Koltes "gave the order to fall back a little on the right and make a stand again." At this point Koltes rode to the front of his line, waving his sword, and ordered the brigade to charge the battery. No sooner had the words passed his lips than a shell exploded over his head, killing him instantly. Nonetheless, "a rush was made toward the rebel cannons. Some of [the] men...reached the pieces, but were unsupported, surrounded, and...made prisoner."

For one-half hour the brigade stood in the storm until finally, "exhausted, decimated, and unsupported," the brigade fell back. Some of the brigade briefly formed "in line with a regiment of regulars," but they too soon took up the retreat, Colonel Muhleck overseeing the withdrawal. 73rd Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 309-310; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. 2, p. 863; Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, September 4, 1862; New York Monuments Commission, Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg (Albany, 1902) Vol. 2, p. 567; Letter of Numa Barned, September 30, 1862, Numa Barned, Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

4. Division Artillery (Louis Schirmer Commanding)

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

With the wholesale shifting of units that occurred during this period, it becomes impossible to track the location of this battery.

b. Roemer (L, 2d New York Light) Takes Position With McGilvery's Battery

After having held his position on Dogan Ridge for almost two hours, Captain Roemer received an order from General Schurz to "limber to the rear, then to proceed left into a hollow"; the enemy was closing in on the left flank. Eventually, Roemer's gunners unlimbered their pieces to the left of McGilvery's 6th Maine Battery. Here, with only 56 rounds in their limber chests, they opened fire on the Confederate line, only 700 yards distant. Roemer, Reminiscences, pp. 78-79.

c. Dilger (I, 1st Ohio Light) Covers the Withdrawal of the Division

Dilger recalled that after dueling with an enemy battery for 30 minutes, "I perceived one of our infantry regiments [probably the 45th New York of Stahel's brigade], being in full range of the enemy's guns, falling back upon the battery. I tried to bring this regiment to a stand and to make it advance again, but the bursting of the enemy's shells in the midst of them" made it impossible. Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 305-306.

C. Corps Reserve Artillery

1. Wiedrich's Battery (I, 1st New York Light)

Presumably Wiedrich maintained the position taken by him after his retreat from the fight on Chinn Ridge—probably on Buck Hill. Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 305.

2. Buell's Battery (C, West Virginia Light)

It can be assumed that this battery participated in the withdrawal of the corps during this period.

3. Dieckmann (13th, New York Light) Falls Back to Buck Hill

Dieckmann's gunners were ordered to haul their guns back a few hundred yards to the corps' new position on Buck Hill. There they took position on the left. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 269.

D. Milroy Assumes a Defensive Position in Sudley Road

After receiving orders from army headquarters to move to Henry Hill, Milroy asked Chief of Staff Ruggles to show him exactly where he should place his brigade. Milroy wrote, "When we got up on the hill he found that the position intended for me was already occupied by another Bgd. Ruggles then told me I might place my Bgd. in any position I thought best.... I observed the track of the old road a short distance in front of the forest which had been worn...and was from 3 to 6 feet deep." Milroy quickly put his four regiments into the road, and "ordered them to wait till our men were all out of the woods in front of them and the rebles [sic] appeared." "My left," he reported, "rest[ed] near the edge of the woods in which the battle was raging." Milroy to his Wife, September 5, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. I, p. 92; Milroy's report, op.cit., p. 321; Letter of F. S. Jacobs, September 10, 1862, Ashland [Ohio] Union, September 17, 1862.

The 5th West Virginia, which had earlier become separated from the brigade and marched toward Chinn Ridge, rejoined the three other regiments, taking position on the right of the line. 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 130.

1. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light)

When Milroy moved to Henry Hill, Johnson was detached from the brigade by Captain Schirmer and sent to an unspecified part of the field. Milroy to his Wife, op.cit., p. 92.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

The fight for Chinn Ridge resulting in disaster, McDowell moved along the Warrenton Turnpike, passing Schurz's division on the shoulder of Henry Hill north of the Robinson House (north of the turnpike). There he consulted briefly with General Schurz, then continued on to the top of Henry Hill where he remained throughout the period, overseeing the placement of troops there. McDowell's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 341.

A. Hatch's Division (Now Commanded by Doubleday)

1. Sullivan and Patrick Remain North of the Stone House

Both of these brigades held their positions taken earlier, resting and refitting. Patrick, Journal, August 30, 1862; T. C. H. Smith, Memoir, p. 195.

2. Doubleday Covers Schurz's Withdrawal

When General Schurz received orders to pull back from the slope of Dogan Ridge to Buck Hill, he requested that General Doubleday cover his retrograde. Doubleday did so. Shortly, as Doubleday recalled, General Hooker "rode up to me, pointed to a depression several hundred yards in front of me on the turnpike...and said briefly, 'Genl Doubleday go into that ravine and hold it.' I immediately formed my brigade across the turnpike facing west." Chinn Ridge was "on my immediate left." "The broken fragments of regiments came out of the strife all cut to pieces and rallied around me...." Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, pp. 49-50; Doubleday's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 370.

3. Gibbon's Brigade Remains on Dogan Ridge: the Consolidated 2d and 7th Wisconsin Briefly Engage the Enemy

It was shortly before 6 PM when, recalled a man of the 2d Wisconsin, "the 45th New York [Stahel's brigade] came running from an orchard; we could not stop them, until Gen. Gibbon ordered us to charge bayonets.... He order[ed] them back, but the frightened men dare[d] not go. He turn[ed] to the shattered Second and says, 'Men, will you go?'" The men responded with cheers, and an officer dashed to the front yelling "Come on Boys, God damn them we can keep them back!" Into the orchard they dashed, grappled briefly, and drove the Confederates back. Quiner, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers," Vol. 2, p.

298; William Roby Moore, MS Reminiscences, p. 114; George Fairfield, Diary, August 30, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Robert Hughes, Journal, August 30, 1862, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

As Gibbon's men drove their attackers away, Gibbon recalled, "an officer who announced himself as on the staff of General Hooker brought me an order to 'retreat.'" Gibbon protested, obeying the order only when the staff officer returned with positive word that the order for retreat had emanated from Pope's headquarters, not Hooker's. Gibbon, Recollections, p. 64.

4. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

As before, it can only be assumed that this battery remained with the artillery of the division.

b. Monroe (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) Goes into Battery on Henry Hill

Continuing on across the turnpike, Monroe's gunners passed up the slope of Henry Hill and unlimbered behind Milroy's brigade, which was "in a sunken road in our front." Here the batterymen could do nothing but wait until their front was cleared of friendly troops. (It should be noted the two battery historians disagree markedly on the battery's position during the fight for Henry Hill. Sumner locates the guns as being in front of Milroy's line, directly overlooking Chinn Branch. Monroe stipulates the position quoted here. Based on the testimony of other participants in the fight, it is clear that the latter position is correct. Sumner's description of the position is so detailed that it must have been based on a personal visit to the field shortly before he wrote his passage on the battle.) Monroe, "Battery D," pp. 23-24; Sumner, Battery D, p. 21; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 92-93.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light)

Lt. George Breck recorded that though the left of the line had been turned, "we kept our ground, receiving a hot fire from the rebel guns; and not until the batteries about us had abandoned their positions, and we were in imminent danger of being flanked, did we seek a new place to plant our battery...." Letter of George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862; Unknown Letter, Rochester Democrat and American, September 12, 1862.

d. Campbell's Battery (B, 4th U.S.)

As the Confederate infantry neared the Federal positions on Dogan Ridge, the battery fired a few last rounds before it was ordered away in conjunction with Gibbon's brigade. Gibbon, *Recollections*, p. 65.

B. Ricketts' Division

1. Duryee and Thoburn Sense the Coming Attack: the Order to Fall Back Arrives

As the hour progressed toward 6 PM, Duryee's and Thoburn's men could sense that `a storm was building in front of them. Since 4 PM the firing had been coming nearer, and at 6 was growing just opposite Duryee's left flank as the Confederates prepared for their assault. Still the two brigades held their positions. Hall, *Ninety-seventh New York*, p. 73; Hough, *Duryee's Brigade*, p. 98; Thomson, *Seventh Indiana*, p. 119.

At 6 PM, as Ricketts stood watching developments with General Stevens, a staff officer rode up with orders to fall back. The left has been turned, he said, and if a retreat was not carried out the right wing may be cut off and captured. Promptly both Ricketts and Stevens returned to their commands and passed the order for withdrawal. Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders*, p. 203.

2. Tower's Brigade is Pushed Off Chinn Ridge

a. The 26th New York Vainly Tries to Resist the Confederate Advance

The 26th New York had had a tough time of it. Deployment under such heavy fire was difficult enough, but their ranks had been pierced by not only Wiedrich's retreating guns, but also some of McLean's fleeing men. The right of the regiment had stood fairly firm, but was unable to save Leppien's guns; the left had retreated in confusion to the edge of the woods bordering Chinn Branch.

Colonel Richardson reported, "Those in retreat were rallied on the flank at the edge of the timber to oppose the flanking party of the enemy, at that time within 200 yards of our flank." The remnant of the regiment allowed the Confederates to advance to within a short distance when, according to another man of the regiment, "we fired two or three volleys and again fell back," where they came upon the 83rd New York, inside the edge of the woods. The 83d, "unseen by the advancing rebels...delivered one of the most deadly fires almost in their faces. This seemed to stagger them for a moment, but they soon recovered, advancing and returning the fire with interest." Coincident with the 83d, the 26th fell back, eventually picking up the Warrenton Turnpike and moving eastward to the rear. 26th New York report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 390; Charles McClenthen to "Friend Scott," September 5, 1862, McClenthen Papers.

b. The 94th New York Attempts to Prevent a Confederate Flank Attack but is Forced Back

With the 26th New York unable to hold the left and the 88th Pennsylvania wavering, the 94th New York was thrown into the fray on the left of the brigade. While seven companies were engaged there, the remaining three advanced "to the brow of the hill on our right." The Federal line could not be sustained, however, and with Confederates pushing down on both flanks, it soon fell back down the ridge to Sudley Road, thence to Henry Hill, where the brigade reformed. 94th New York report, op.cit., pp. 390-91; 94th New York Account, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Vautier, Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania, pp. 57-58.

c. The 88th Pennsylvania Falls Back

After vainly trying to save Leppien's guns, the Pennsylvanians doggedly carried on the fight. John Vautier wrote, "The Federal troops, notwithstanding their desperate resistence, were being slowly but surely forced back. The men in the front rank would fire, then fall to the rear to force another cartridge down their heated and befouled rifles, by the time they were loaded would be in the front again, the rear rank having performed the same movement.... But this unequal contest could not last long.... [The Confederates] swept on, up the hill, by the guns [Leppien's], and as their converging lines closed in, the Union troops scattered and retreated to Sudley Road.... While falling back, re-enforcements from Sigel's corps [Koltes' and Krzyzanowski's brigades] were met coming up, massed in column of division and stepping as quietly as if on parade; these men checked the foe long enough to allow the shattered remnants of Tower's brigade to rally on the Henry House Hill...." Vautier, 88th Pennsylvania, pp. 57-58; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. III, p. 69; John Vautier, Diary, August 30, 1862, John Vautier Papers, U.S.A.M.H.I.

d. The 90th Pennsylvania Fights on the Right of the Brigade

After moving to the right of Leppien's battery, the 90th Pennsylvania continued to engage the Confederates until "our brigade being flanked we were obliged to retire." Presumably the regiment then reunited with the rest of the brigade on Henry Hill. Letter of Frank Jennings, January 7, 1867, Frank Jennings Papers, U.S.A.M.H.I.; 90th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 392; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. III, p. 152.

3. Stiles' Brigade is Driven Back: The 83rd New York Retires to Henry Hill

For several minutes the men of the 12th and 13th Massachusetts and the 11th Pennsylvania locked in a furious struggle with the Southerners on top of the ridge. Scores fell. The flag of the 11th Pennsylvania was snatched up by the 17th Virginia of Corse's Brigade. Eben Fiske of the 13th Massachusetts recalled, "On our then left was a thick wood which had originally formed our left rear; this was occupied by one small regiment [the 83rd New York] which being driven out by a brigade of rebels we were fairly turned.... The horrible fire from front and flank soon destroyed all order—the remaining men fought on for a while in a disordered sort of way, then wavered at several points, broke and were soon going to the rear...." Corse's report, op.cit., p. 626; Eben W. Fiske, Scrapbook, Fiske Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Samuel D. Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; Stearns, Three Years in Company K, pp. 108-109; Warren Hapgood Freeman, Letters From Two Brothers Serving in the War for the Union (Cambridge, Mass., 1871), p. 49; George F. D. Paine, "How I Left the Bull Run Battlefield," Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment, Circular No. 24 (1911), p. 30-31; Robert Shearer, "McDowell at Bull Run," National Tribune, January 23, 1862.

a. The 83rd New York Fights Briefly and Then Joins the Regulars on Henry Hill

After stopping the initial Confederate advance in their front, "It was soon discovered," recalled the regimental historian, "that other bodies of troops were working round to the left and rear of the brigade, while shot and shell were being poured into the woods from batteries in front, and in order to prevent being turned on the left by the greatly superior numbers of enemy at that point, orders were given to fall back. The movement was quietly and successfully executed," the regiment forming on the extreme left of the Regulars in position in Sudley Road. Todd, Ninth N.Y.S.M., p. 176; Jaques, Three Years Campaign, pp. 100-101; Theodore Waldeman Ryding, MS "The Campaign of the 9th Regt. N.Y.S.M.," p. 66, New York State Library.

Map 14, 5:15-6 p.m. August 30th, Union

4. Division Artillery

a. Hall's Battery (2d, Maine Light)

It can be assumed that Captain Hall kept his 20-pounder Parrotts working from Henry Hill throughout the period. Ricketts' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 384.

b. Leppien's Battery (5th, Maine Light)

Their guns captured, the survivors of the battery took their remaining caissons and limbers eastward along the turnpike. Thomas T. Cooney, "Sykes' Regulars," National Tribune, February 9, 1893.

c. Thompson's (C, Pennsylvania Light) and Matthew's (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light) Batteries

The peril in their front becoming more apparent by the minute, these batteries nonetheless maintained their positions on the right flank, facing the wood. William A. Williams, "Gen. McDowell Again," National Tribune, November 3, 1892; Ricketts' report, op.cit., p. 385.

C. Reynolds' Division: Meade and Seymour Watch Events Unfold from Henry Hill

Formed in column of brigades behind Ransom's battery, Meade and Seymour watched the fight on Chinn Ridge from their positions just north of the Henry House ruins. Shortly before 6 PM it became apparent that Federal resistence on Chinn Ridge was crumbling. The Confederate path to the all important Sudley Road-Warrenton Turnpike intersection was open. The Pennsylvania Reserves readied for battle. Reynolds' report, ibid., p. 395; Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserve, p. 161.

As before, Hardin's position can only be guessed as being among the retreating masses along or near the Warrenton Turnpike.

1. Division Artillery (Dunbar Ransom Commanding): Simpson's (A, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Cooper's (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light), and Ransom's (C, 5th U.S.) Batteries

Only Ransom's battery can be documented with any degree of certainty during this period. It continued to fire from in front of Meade's and Seymour's brigades, near the Henry House. Woodward, Third Pennsylvania Reserve, p. 161; Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 395.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Kearny's Division Continues to Hold the Right

The three brigades of Kearny's division continued to hold the right of the Union army until 6 PM when, it being apparent to all that the left of the army had been driven back. They then received orders to withdraw. (There is considerable conflict in the source material over the exact time these orders reached the Third Corps—in fact most indicate that it was somewhat earlier than the time stated here. Yet one thing is clear: the majority of the right wing of the army was ordered to fall back—it was not driven back. The only unit driven back before receiving retreat orders was Duryee's brigade. The order to fall back came as a consequence of the poor results of the fighting on the left flank. Those poor results were not confirmed until almost 6 PM.) Kearny's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 416; Poe's report, ibid., p. 435; Robinson's report, ibid., p. 421; Hazard Stevens to John C. Ropes, January 21, 1897, Ropes Papers; Letter of "E. M. B. H.," August 30, 1862, Cincinnati Daily Gazette, September 11, 1862.

1. Division Artillery: Randolph's (E, 1st Rhode Island Light) and Graham's (K, 1st U.S.) Batteries

These two batteries remained in reserve until the order for retreat arrived. Graham's report, op.cit., p. 420.

B. Hooker's Division Begins to Move to the Support of the Left

Though Hooker left no account of his actions during the late afternoon hours, he was, according to others, active in the neighborhood of the Dogan House. Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, p. 49; Gibbon, Recollections, p. 64.

1. Grover's Brigade

Pvt. Charles Perkins recorded in his diary that during this period the brigade "formed line behind some of the batteries and the enemy got a crossfire on us.... Then we double-quicked further to [the] left and lay some time (15 Minutes) in a gully." The brigade then continued "further to the left along in a valley by a run of water [Young's Branch]." Then Grover's men "went up [the] hill at double quick to reinforce" the troops there. Charles Perkins, Diary, August 30, 1862, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Haynes, Sixth New Hampshire, pp. 139; Blake, Three Years...,p. 134; Cudworth, First Massachusetts, p. 274.

2. Taylor Shifts Toward the Left

General Taylor vaguely indicated in his report that his brigade was "ordered to support a battery on the left of our line." Taylor's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 445.

3. Carr Moves to Dogan Ridge: The 6th New Jersey is Inadvertantly Left Behind

It was probably about 5:30 that Colonel Carr received orders to move to the left of the line, where he apparently acted as a support for the 45th New York of Stahel's brigade as it engaged Law's Confederates near the Dogan House. Pvt. Alfred Bellard of the 5th New Jersey wrote, "Running along a narrow road [probably Sudley Road] as fast as we could, we were saluted with a shower of shot and shell.... When we got to the left of our army, we formed line in rear of our men, but could see nothing but a sheet of fire, as they were pegging away at each other at short range." Carr's report, ibid., p. 455; Bellard, Gone For a Soldier, p. 143.

In his haste to move Carr, failed to pass the orders to the 6th New Jersey, which was on the right of the brigade supporting a battery. Therefore, reported Col. George C. Burling of the 6th, "the other regiments composing the brigade were withdrawn without my knowledge, leaving me in a very critical position." 6th New Jersey report, op.cit., p. 459.

a. McGilvery's Battery (6th, Maine Light)

McGilvery's guns maintained their position, facing the woods. McGilvery's report, ibid., p. 419.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

A. Morell's Division Rests in the Rear

The two brigades of this division continued to rest on the top of "Bull Run Hill," probably near the Robinson House. Waterman's report, ibid., p. 467; E. A. Wilson, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, October 19, 1905.

1. Division Artillery

a. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island Light)

Waterman's battery, out of ammunition, remained with the rest of the division. Waterman's report, ibid., p. 467.

b. Hazlett (D, 5th U.S.) Remains in Place

Resting east of the Dogan House, Hazlett was shortly joined by Randol's battery, which went into position on his right. Here the two batteries remained. Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 148.

B. Sykes' Division: Chapman's Brigade Takes Position on the Front Line; Buchanan is Husbanded in Reserve

1. Buchanan Takes Position Next to the Ruins of the Henry House

Responding to the deepening crisis on the left, Buchanan took his brigade to Henry Hill, where he was held in reserve (in line of battle), "immediately in rear of the plateau," his right resting near the "Henry House." Sykes' report, op.cit., p. 482; Buchanan's report, ibid., p. 488; 4th U.S. report, ibid., p. 491.

2. Chapman Moves into Sudley Road and Awaits the Appearance of the Enemy

Colonel Chapman reported, "My brigade was ordered by Generals Pope, McDowell, and others to advance to our proper front; then toward the left of the position occupied by the Federal forces." The brigade moved across the fields on the double quick, the 17th U.S. leading, followed in order by the 11th, 6th, and the 2d and 10th U.S. (consolidated). "My arrival was most opportune," Chapman continued. "Not a regiment or brigade of the immense reserve held on that field was in effective proximity to repel the advance of the enemy" in that area. Chapman's report, ibid., pp. 496-97.

a. The 6th U.S. Files into Place

Moving across Henry Hill on the double quick, the 6th U.S. filed into position along Sudley Road between the consolidated 2d and 10th U.S.(on their left) and the 11th U.S (on their right), "near the open ground in front of the farmhouse." 6th U.S. report, ibid., p. 498; Dougherty, "Eyewitness Account," p. 42.

b. The Consolidated 2d and 10th U.S. Assume the Left-Center of the Brigade Line

Capt. Charles Lovell formed his battalion "in the timber, near the crest of the ridge... After getting into position behind the fence," he wrote, "I found...the Seventeenth Infantry on my left and the Sixth Infantry in the woods on my right." 10th U.S. report, op.cit., p. 499.

c. The 11th U.S. Anchors the Right of the Brigade

Dashing across the fields "till we panted like dogs," the men of the 11th U.S. took position on the right of the brigade, in the bed of Sudley

Road, "just at the border of" the woods. John Worthington Ames, "The Second Bull Run," Overland Monthly, Vol. 8 (1872), pp. 402-403; 11th U.S. report, op.cit., p. 500.

d. The 17th U.S. Takes Position on the Extreme Left

Shortly after having their rearward march stopped by General Pope, Major Andrews of the 17th U.S. received orders to move his command "toward the timber" to the south of the Henry House. The major reported, "I filed to the right and advanced toward the timber, and followed a road which brought me on the extreme left of the woods. I here entered the woods, and feeling my way along finally came out on the other side in an open plain. We had not advanced more than a hundred paces in the plain before a battery which flanked us opened, and I retired to the shelter of the woods again. I now halted the battalion and proceeded in person in search of the enemy's infantry. In this I did not succeed only so far as to hear musketry some distance on my right, which appeared to be slowly advancing toward me. Finding the Second [and Tenth] U.S. Infantry...posted on the line of the road by which I advanced, I marched my battalion out to support [its] left." 17th U.S. report, ibid., p. 501.

3. Warren's Brigade Reforms as a Unit

Following Buchanan's brigade, Warren placed the remnants of his brigade "immediately in rear of the [Henry] plateau." Sykes' report, ibid., p. 482; 10th New York report, ibid., p. 505.

4. Division Artillery (Captain Stephen Weed Commanding)

a. Weed (I, 5th U.S.) Redeploys East of the Dogan House

It was about 5:30 PM that "the battery took up a second position behind the house [Dogan's] it had been in front of, and remained there engaged until nearly all the ammunition of the pieces was exhausted." Weed's report, ibid., p. 485.

b. Smead (K, 5th U.S.) Remains Near the Stone House

Smead's battery remained in its position taken earlier near the Stone House. Lt. Van Reed's report, ibid., p. 487.

c. Randol (E & G, 1st U.S.) Ascends Chinn Ridge, Then Joins Hazlett's Battery East of Dogan's

Shortly after moving to the right of the Dogan House, Lieutenant Randol recorded, "I was ordered by General Porter to move to a hill on the left of the field, if practicable. Owing to the confusion among the ambulances, infantry, batteries, etc., which blocked the road, I was obliged to move very slowly, and on examining the hill designated [Chinn Ridge] found that while moving to take position on it I would be exposed to a direct and crossfire from several of the enemy's batteries, and the infantry and batteries which already covered the hill were retiring in confusion, so I moved to a hill directly in our rear, and took position on the right of Hazlett's battery, where I remained until the final falling back of the whole army to Centreville." Randol's report. ibid., p. 486; Randol's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 148.

D. Piatt Receives Orders to Move to the Front

Just after Chapman's Regulars took position on the Union left, the 86th New York of Piatt's now-rested brigade received orders to move to their assistance. Preparations were promptly begun. Rathbun, "Diary..." p. 338.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens Holds Position: at 6 PM He Receives Orders to Retire

Stevens' three small brigades continued to hold their assigned positions on the army's right-center. At 6 PM orders reached Stevens from army headquarters to begin a withdrawal. Quickly, Stevens complied. Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, p. 203; Stevens, Stevens, p. 471; Hazard Stevens to John C. Ropes, January 21, 1897, Ropes Papers.

B. Reno Evacuates His Forward Position

1. Nagle Moves Toward the Left

According to the regimental historian of the 48th Pennsylvania, during the late afternoon the position of the brigade was changed "somewhat further to the left, in rear of two other brigades." Here the three regiments were ordered to lay down. Bosbyshell, 48th Pennsylvania, p. 67.

2. Ferrero Falls Back

Suffering from a scathing Confederate crossfire, Ferrero brought his brigade back "to a commanding position a few hundred yards in the rear." Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 147; James Madison Stone, Personal Recollections of the Civil War (Boston, 1918), p. 67; Letter of W. G., August [sic] 5, 1862, Fitchburg [Mass.] Sentinel, September 12, 1862.

3. Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light) Finds Itself Alone

Just before dusk, the Confederates opened a nasty crossfire on

Durell's gunners. Wrote one, "All the infantry that [was] to support us had left." The battery prepared to fall back. Letter of C. C., September 3, 1862, [Doylestown, Pa.] Bucks County Intelligencer, September 9, 1862; Cuffell, Durell's Battery, p. 66.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Command

Beardsley kept most of his command deployed to halt stragglers. Beardsley's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 272.

The 4th New York, meanwhile, was busy on the left. According to Lt. Col. Ferries Nazer, the 4th remained as watchdog on the left "until the left wing of our army gave way and a number of shells had been thrown amongst us, when, observing a large body of the enemy's cavalry emerging from a wood with the evident intention of cutting off my command, I marched to rejoin the army." 4th New York Cavalry report, ibid., p. 274.

B. Buford's Brigade

After "finding nothing" during their reconnaissance on the left, Buford apparently pulled his three regiments back to the Lewis Farm, not far from Portici, and overlooking Lewis and Ball's Fords. 4th New York report, Ibid; S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard continued to try and stop the flood of Federal stragglers to the rear. Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91.

Map #14, 5:15-6:00 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

General Lee observed his counterattack in company with Longstreet. He made no known attempt to directly supervise any of the tactical operations of the period. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 188; Longstreet's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 566.

II. Longstreet's Wing

Longstreet rode forward with Lee and spent most of his time bringing up batteries to dislodge the Federal guns near the Dogan House. The tactical details of the infantry fight were left to the line commanders. Longstreet's report, ibid.; Longstreet, From Manassas..., pp. 188-89.

A. R. H. Anderson's Men Double Quick Forward

It was shortly after 5 PM that Anderson's men commenced their advance of more than two miles. Passing from north to south of the Warrenton Turnpike, the three brigades soon came to the scene of past conflict. Wrote George Bernard of the 12th Virginia, "As we emerge from a body of woods our eyes are met by the sight of scores of dead and wounded Federal Zouaves, whose blood-red pants mark them out conspicuously wherever they lay in the sloping field and little meadow before us. Over these we rush at a double quick and on the opposite hill we see a battery of artillery which our men have just captured [Kerns' battery]. The pieces are still pointing toward us, but around them are strewn numbers of the enemy, dead and wounded." Here the line came under enfilading fire from the Federals near Dogan's, but after a short halt the advance continued. By the time the line reached Chinn Ridge the fighting there was over. Henry Hill, just to the east, was now the scene of combat. To there Anderson's men advanced. George S. Bernard, "The Maryland Campaign of 1862," p. 18; Westwood A. Todd, Reminiscences, p. 41; John W. H. Porter, Norfolk County, p. 107; John Bowie Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, Magruder Papers; Philip Francis Brown, Remiscences of the War (Roanoke, c1912), p. 22; Letter of W. G., September 8, 1862, Augusta [Ga.] Daily Constitutionalist, September 20, 1862; C. R. Fontaine, A Complete Roster of the Field and Staff Officers of the 57th Virginia Regiment of Infantry During the Civil War Including Commissioned and Noncommissioned Officers (n.p.,n.d.), pp. 10-11.

B. D. R. Jones' Division

After a long advance, Jones reported, "I took position near the Chinn House with the brigades of Toombs and Anderson, and anticipating what my orders would be (General Longstreet not being then near me), and seeing the great results within reach, I pushed them forward upon the enemy, designing with Drayton's brigade to turn and completely sweep the right of the field." Jones' report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 579.

1. Benning's Brigade Arrives at the Scene of Action: the 20th Georgia Becomes Separated from the Brigade

Benning's arrival on Chinn Ridge found the Confederate advance making slow but steady progress. Like Kemper's division, the Georgians were forced to execute a left wheel and move past the Chinn House. In so doing the 20th Georgia became separated from the brigade. The remaining three regiments, from right to left the 17th, 15th, and 2d Georgia, then inclined to the right. A private in the 2d Georgia recalled, "Our line of advance carried us to the right of the Chinn house, down a little ravine with a hill to our left and a piece of scattering woods to our right.... On the hill was a New York brigade, which had just come up in splendid line as a reinforcement[.] Our line, exhausted by the long run, halted and commenced firing." Shortly the Federals on the ridge fell back in disorder. The Georgians took up the pursuit "in the direction of the turnpike to within 200 or 300 yards of the stone house." Benning's report, ibid., p. 583; Houghton, Two Brothers, p. 124; 2d Georgia report, op.cit., pp. 586-87.

a. The 20th Georgia

Colonel Benning reported, "When the line reached the Chinn house its position was such that the Twentieth Georgia regiment had to go to the left of that house and the other regiments...to its right. This caused a wide separation of the Twentieth from them. As the Twentieth was passing the house some officers of other commands met them by crying, 'come this way; your aid is needed; the enemy are close by.' This drew me to the Twentieth, and when the regiment had passed the house I discovered the enemy a few hundred yards distant...a little to our left in a pine thicket. To the thicket I carried the regiment, and on reaching it ordered them to charge it.... The regiment obeyed the order with alacrity, and advanced with as much rapidity as the thicket would admit of, receiving a heavy fire from the enemy and returning it without halting. The thicket proved to be one of considerable length, with its left resting on the dry bed of a small stream or branch [Chinn Branch]. The enemy fell back as we advanced until we reached its lower end...." As the regiment passed through the thicket it came across "two or three" enemy cannons. "When or why these were abandoned I do not know," Benning wrote, but he claimed the capture of the guns for the 20th. He continued, "on emerging into the open ground we also discovered a battery on the opposite side of the dry branch...not more than 400 yards off, which...opened its whole fire on us. I reflected a moment on what was best to be done." Benning's report, ibid., p. 583; 20th Georgia report, ibid., p. 592.

2. Drayton Remains Separated from the Division

Drayton's brigade remained separated from the rest of the division, performing no useful function on the extreme right of the Confederate line. A. S. E. to Willie, September 14, 1862, [Athens, Ga.] Weekly Banner,

3. G. T. Anderson Arrives on Chinn Ridge

Colonel Anderson reported, "Arriving in front of the Chinn house and perpendicular to it, I found that I must change my front, which I did, making the left the pivot, and then continued my advance.... I soon marched to the position to which I was ordered—to the right of Colonel Benning...." Anderson's report, op.cit., p. 595; Berrien Zettler, War Stories and School-Day Incidents for the Children (New York, 1912), p. 107.

C. Wilcox's Division

1. Wilcox's Alabamans Push Forward

Wilcox's orders were to move south of the turnpike to the support of General Hood. Crossing the road at Groveton, Wilcox's men passed over the ground where the Texans had slaughtered Warren's brigade, but Hood's men were nowhere to be found. Wilcox instinctively moved toward the sound of battle near the Chinn House, deflecting to the right as he went, but still, Hood was not to be found. How long General Wilcox continued his search for Hood is difficult to determine; undoubtedly his entrance into the fight was delayed at least one-half hour. Hilary A. Herbert, "History of the Eighth Alabama Volunteer Regiment, C.S.A.," Maurice S. Fortin, ed., Alabama Historical Quarterly, Vol. 39 (1977), p. 71; Wilcox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 263; Wilcox's report, op.cit., p. 600.

2. Pryor Prepares to Move Against Dogan Ridge

As the preparations for the advance north of the turnpike progressed, Pryor found himself anchoring the right of the column. The general wrote, "It was agreed that while General Featherston turned the enemy's flank I should assail him in front." Pryor's report, ibid., p. 602.

3. Featherston Moves to the Left and Prepares to Cooperate With Pender and Archer

Featherston reported, "Very soon after General Wilcox left with his brigade Major [Thomas] Walton, of General Longstreet's staff, announced to me that Colonel Thomas...had been sent to re-enforce me, and that other troops were coming for the same purpose. Generals Pender and Archer very soon arrived with their brigades, and I immediately directed my brigade to be moved to the left, so as to extend beyond the enemy's right, and Generals Pender and Archer formed on the right of my brigade. This was promptly done. Colonel Thomas' brigade was held in reserve with one regiment of Pryor's [the 5th Florida?]. As soon as our line was formed an advance was ordered. The whole line moved forward in a rapid and gallant style." The wayward 3rd Virginia, earlier separated from the brigade, formed on Pender's right. Featherston's report, ibid., p. 603; John W. H. Porter, Norfolk County, p. 65.

4. Chapman's Battery (Dixie Artillery)

Chapman continued to fire from a position east of Groveton. Chapman, "Dixie Artillery," SHSP, Vol. 39, p. 193.

D. Evans' (Hood's) Division

1. Hood's Brigade: While the 18th Georgia, Hampton's Legion, and 1st and 4th Texas Lick Their Wounds, the 5th Texas Continues to Fight on Chinn Ridge

Exhausted by hard marching and fighting, most of the brigade remained out of action. The 18th Georgia, and 1st and 4th Texas continued to rest under the cover of Young's Branch, while Hampton's Legion recouped in an unspecified position. The 5th Texas, meanwhile, was caught in the swirl of battle on Chinn Ridge. 18th Georgia, Hampton's Legion, 1st Texas, and 4th Texas reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 610, 611, 614, & 616.

After linking up with a newly arrived brigade, the 5th Texas advanced on the bluecoats in front of it. Captain Bryan wrote, "On arriving within 70 yards of the enemy I found that we had not more than 200 men in line supporting the flag." Bryan halted the colors to allow the scattered men to catch up. He continued, "By the time the line had closed upon the flag, which had halted immediately in front of the colors of [the enemy's] left regiment, the commander of that regiment dashed through his lines to the front and commanded his men to charge, the left of which had gotten in motion, when some well-directed shots from our side brought the officer and his horse both down. This was followed by a yell and a rush from our side, which, together with our well-directed fire, completed the work. They broke by the left flank and fled behind the batteries at the head of the hollow.... On discovering this we halted and poured our fire upon them as they passed.

"We pursued, keeping up our fire until the last one had taken shelter behind their guns. Our attention was now attracted to the open field north of the timber." Advancing across the field was "the heaviest [Federal] line of the day," firing rapidly on Jenkins' brigade. The 5th Texas quickly turned its fire "upon the flank of this advancing line," but its fire was ineffective. The Texans continued to advance until they came under fire from Federal batteries on Henry Hill. "It was determined," Bryan wrote, "to move down to the timber by the right flank to a point opposite General Jenkins' line, and there file out and form on his left. In this movement I was wounded and had to quit the field...." 5th Texas report, ibid., pp. 620-21; Nicholas Pomeroy, MS "War Memoirs," pp. 33-34.

2. Law Moves into Position to Assault Dogan Ridge: the 11th Mississippi Becomes Separated from the Brigade and Joins the Fight for Chinn Ridge

Colonel Law reported, "Unable to distinguish the locality of the Texas Brigade, and seeing the enemy was pushing a heavy force into the ravine and pine thickets directly in front of me...just below Dogan's house, apparently for the purpose of securing their formidable battery posted there, I carried forward three regiments to that point. Placing the Sixth North Carolina and Fourth Alabama in the pines and the Second Mississippi on their left and at the foot of the hill on which the house is situated, I waited a short time for the Eleventh Mississippi, which had been directed to move upon the battery from the left of the turnpike, intending to attack at the same time from the right with the Second Mississippi."

The 11th Mississippi, however, failed to come up and the Federals took the initiative. The 45th New York of Stahel's brigade made a lunge at Law's troops at the base of the hill. Passing to the right of the house, the New Yorkers were met by the 4th Alabama and 6th North Carolina and were driven back in confusion. At this point Law united the three regiments at the base of the ridge and prepared to move on the batteries. Law's report, op.cit., p. 624.

a. The 11th Mississippi

While Law prepared for his assault on Dogan Ridge, the 11th Mississippi fell victim to faulty staff work. Law wrote, "A mistake in the delivery of my order to the Eleventh Mississippi Regiment to advance on the left of the Warrenton turnpike caused it to move to the right, near Chinn's House, and by this means it was detached from the rest of my command. It advanced with the troops in that part of the field, fighting gallantly and incurring heavy loss...." A man of the 11th recalled of their role in the fight, "We...gained position in an apple-orchard and in front of a Federal battery." The 11th charged and assisted capturing the battery. Colonel Fletcher Webster of the 12th Massachusetts fell in front of Company H. Law's report, ibid., p. 624; William H. Griffin, Memoirs, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

3. Evans' Brigade: Holcombe's Legion and the 23rd South Carolina Assist in Capturing Leppien's Guns; the 17th and 18th South Carolina Try to Reform

After their initial contact with McLean's lines, the regiments of Evans' brigade continued to operate individually. The 17th and 18th were effectively eliminated as fighting units; both were apparently reconstituting behind the western crest of Chinn Ridge. Holcombe's Legion and the 23rd South Carolina, meanwhile, participated at least indirectly in the attack and capture of Leppien's guns, moving apparently on Corse's left. They then became so scattered as to become useless. 17th, 18th South Carolina reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 633, 636; Stevens's report, ibid., p. 631; Unknown letter from a member of Holcombe's Legion, Charleston Courier, September 24, 1862; W. J. Andrews, Sketch of Company K, Twenty-third South Carolina Volunteers (Richmond, n.d.), p. 12; George A. Blackburn, The Life Work of John L. Girardeau, D.D., LL.D. (Columbia, S.C., 1916), p. 113.

a. Boyce's Battery (MacBeth Artillery)

Boyce's gunners continued to fire. Their captain reported, "The essential service rendered by my battery here was in forcing back a large column of the enemy, which was attempting to cross from a skirt of woods to re-enforce this part of the enemy's line, and in baffling the repeated attempts of a battery to get position in the valley near the creek about 800 yards distant." Boyce's report, op.cit., p. 640.

4. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding): Bachman's (German Artillery), Garden's (Palmetto Artillery), and Reilly's (Rowan Artillery) Batteries

All three batteries continued to engage the enemy from the positions taken by them earlier. Frobel's report, ibid., p. 607; Letter of W. K. Bachman, no date, Charleston Courier, September 17, 1862.

E. Kemper's Division Bears the Brunt of the Fighting on Chinn Ridge

1. Col. Frederick Skinner Leads the 7th and 24th Virginia Into Leppien's Guns

The fight along the fence just north of the Chinn House, though decisive, had thrown Corse's brigade into some disorder. Nonetheless, the advance continued. As the Virginians approached Leppien's battery, Federal resistence stiffened, but then collapsed. The guns were in reach. Col. Frederick Skinner of the 1st Virginia dashed ahead toward the guns, waving his sword and urging the 7th and 24th Virginia forward. Into the guns the colonel dashed, slashing and cutting with his big, heavy sword. With a powerful swipe he nearly decapitated the first gunner he reached. Another bluecoat seized the bridle of Skinner's horse, checked him up, and fired a pistol round in his face. Skinner dodged, and answered with a swipe of his sword. The Federal gunner died instantly. But soon a Federal bullet found its mark, tearing through Skinner's arm and side. Reluctantly, he rode to the rear. Hunter, MS "Four Years in the Ranks," p. 243; 17th Virginia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 135; Joshua Brown in Confederate Veteran, Vol. 2 (1894), p. 184; 1st Virginia report, op.cit., p. 133; Joseph T. Durkin, ed., John Dooley, Confederate Soldier; His War Journal (South Bend, Ind., 1963), p. 21-22; Fayetteville [N.C.] Observer, October 2, 1862.

The 24th and 7th Virginia followed Skinner into the battery. The fight over the guns was brief; the Federals soon yielded. The brigade continued past the pieces, but met stubborn resistence. The 17th Virginia clashed with the 11th Pennsylvania—the Pennsylvanians losing their flag. About 100 yards past the guns the advance halted and the brigade was relieved. 7th Virginia report, op.cit., p. 134; 24th Virginia report, ibid., p. 136; Corse's report, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 626; 11th Virginia report, ibid., p. 134; Hunter, op.cit., p. 244; George Wise, Seventeenth Virginia, p. 96.

2. Jenkins' Brigade: The 1st and 6th South Carolina Drive the Enemy

After adjusting alignments abreast of Chinn Branch, Jenkins' brigade moved forward. The advance was spearheaded by the 1st and 6th South Carolina; it was these two units that did most of the fighting. James Hagood of the 1st recalled, "The 1st Regiment found itself opposite to some field artillery supported by infantry. At the base of the rising ground upon which the artillery was posted was a ravine or gulley washed there by late heavy rains. The men crossed the ravine and ascended the rising ground to a point within forty yards of the enemy's position when, appalled by the havoc in their ranks, they broke and fled down the hill." Officers hurried to the front to "urge another effort." The brigade reformed and "rushed from the ravine up the hill." "So resistless was the onset that the infantry supports fled and the artillery fell into our possession." The two regiments, though, were entirely alone. The men took cover as best they could in the washes and gullies cutting the ridge until shortly, the line "was withdrawn from the exposed place it occupied...to one where more protection was afforded. It was marched to the ravine below...." Hagood, MS "First South Carolina Regiment," pp. 70-71; Coker, Sixth South Carolina, p. 98; William Choice, TS "Memoirs of My Four Years in the War Between the States," Manassas NBP Library.

3. Hunton Joins the Fight

After much difficulty and considerable confusion, Colonel Hunton finally achieved a change of front to the left. He ordered his brigade forward. It moved up the ridge, arriving at Leppien's battery after Corse's men had already captured it and moved beyond the guns, where they tangled with Federal infantry. Ultimately, the bluecoats were driven back, the Confederates pursuing down the slope to Chinn Branch. At the base of the ridge, Hunton's men discovered "several pieces" of abandoned artillery. These were promptly turned on the enemy. (To what Federal battery these guns belonged is a mystery. They are also mentioned by Colonel Benning and Maj. J. D. Waddell of the 20th Georgia.) Hunton, Autobiography, p. 77; Hunton's report, James Lawson Kemper Papers; Wood, Big I, p. 31; Jordan, ed., The Captain Remembers, p. 78; Affidavit of E. B. Coleman, December 14, 1878, H. T. Owen Papers, Virginia State Library.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery (Maj. J. B. Walton)

a. Squires' and Miller's Companies Remain in Reserve

Both Squires and Miller remained in reserve. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 120.

b. Richardson's Company Goes into Action Near the Chinn House

Captain Richardson was directed by Col. Thomas Rosser to deflect from the main body of advancing artillery to the left "to take position near the Chinn House." Richardson reported, "I moved forward with my battery until arriving at the Chinn House, when I was informed that our infantry had charged and taken a battery [Leppien's] near that position, but owing to heavy re-enforcements being thrown forward by the enemy were unable to hold it without the assistance of a battery. I immediately went into position to the left of the house and commenced firing on the enemy; afterward, advancing some 400 yards, succeeded in holding the battery and turning it against the enemy, driving them back, together with the battery posted in our front, to the woods on our right, when they were pursued by the infantry." Richardson fired 178 rounds—44 per gun. Rosser's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 750; Richardson's report, ibid., p. 575.

c. Eshleman Enfilades the Federal Lines

Eshleman moved his guns to the extreme right of the Confederate line—beyond Jones' division—where he held "a most desirable position (overlooking nearly the whole space in front of the Chinn House), from which his shells fell into the ranks of the enemy with great execution." As the Federals fell back from Chinn Ridge, Eshleman was ordered to shell the wood and the [Warrenton] road. Walton's report, ibid., p. 572.

2. S. D. Lee's Battalion

Apparently out of ammunition, Lee's battalion remained in place. Lee's report, ibid., p. 578; Duffey, Diary, August 30, 1862.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries

a. Stribling's Battery (Fauquier Artillery)

Stribling's gunners continued to fire from their position taken earlier. Fauquier Artillery, Affidavit, Alexander Papers.

b. Rogers' Battery (Loudoun Artillery)

Rogers went into position somewhere on the extreme right of the Confederate advance. He arrived at Stribling's position after Chinn Ridge had fallen into Confederate hands. Rosser's report, op.cit., p. 750; Fauquier Artillery, Affidavit, Alexander Papers.

III. Jackson's Wing

It was just before 6 PM when Jackson finally got his columns in motion. His personal whereabaouts and doings during the period are unknown.

A. Starke's Division Readies to Support the Advance

Starke's division was nearly fought out; consequently, it was ordered to assume a supporting role in Jackson's advance. The Stonewall Brigade was ordered to cooperate with A. G. Taliaferro's. It can be assumed that the remaining brigades, Johnson's and Stafford's, advanced in the same relative position assumed prior to the battle. Special Order No.—, August 30, 1862, Thomas Gordon Pollock Papers, University of Virginia; Stafford's report, op.cit., p. 669; Johnson's report, ibid., p. 667; 2d Virginia report, ibid., p. 660.

1. Division Artillery (Shumaker's Battalion)

What role the batteries of Shumaker's battalion took in the advance of Jackson's wing is questionable. Capt. William Poague remembered that Major Shumaker took four guns from the various batteries, placed Poague in command of the rest, and "went thundering down the pike, pitching into every body of Yankees he could come up with...." Chief of Artillery Crutchfield reported that Brockenbrough's battery, with Latimer's and D'Aquin's, was ordered to move "round to the range of hills to the right of the Groveton and Centreville Road, where the enemy were concentrating a heavy fire on General Longstreet's line," where it engaged the enemy. (This seems to defy logic, since Brockenbrough's gunners had seen the roughest service during the course of Porter's attack. The short-range guns of the battalion were not engaged.) Poague, Gunner With Stonewall, p. 38; Crutchfield's report, op.cit., p. 653.

B. A. P. Hill's Division: Pender, Archer, and Thomas Get Set to Lead the Advance

Hill reported, "Later in the evening I sent a message to General Jackson that I had ordered my whole line to advance and it was approved, and he directed me to advance en echelon of brigades, refusing my left. This order was promptly carried out, Pender, Archer, Thomas and Branch steadily advancing...." Hill's report, ibid., p. 671.

1. Branch's Brigade

General Branch placed his men on the extreme left of Jackson's advancing line. The brigade was, wrote Hill, "thrown considerably back." Hill's report, ibid.

2. Archer's Brigade

Archer formed his brigade on Pender's left. The advance commenced, and Archer's men moved "through the wood into the open field beyond, where the enemy's battalions were posted. One battery of six guns was posted about 300 yards distant from the point where we entered the open field and a little to the left of the direction of advance." Archer's report, ibid., p. 701.

3. Pender's Brigade

Pender moved forward on Archer's right, en echelon, through the woods and into the open field. Federal batteries crowned the ridge on the opposite side of the field. Pender's report, ibid., p. 698.

4. Brockenbrough's Brigade

According to General Hill, Brockenbrough, "on the extreme right, being separated from his own division by one or two of Taliaferro's brigades, advanced in conjunction with them." Hill's report, ibid., p. 671.

5. Gregg's Brigade

Gregg's brigade was earmarked to cover the left of the advancing line. This task required no substantive change of position. Hill's report, ibid., 1st South Carolina Rifles report, ibid., p. 691.

6. Thomas' Brigade

Thomas was ordered to advance with Pender and Archer. The Georgians were, according to General Featherston of Wilcox's division, held in reserve just behind the front-line brigades. Thomas' report, ibid., p. 703; Featherston's report, ibid., p. 603.

7. Division Artillery (R. L. Walker's Battalion)

A dearth of information prevents the accurate tracking of the batteries of the battalion for this period; apparently they were little involved with events. Walker's report, ibid., p. 674.

C. Lawton's Division

It was about 6 PM that General Lawton received orders to advance. Douglass', Trimble's, and Early's brigades commenced to move forward through the woods. Strong's brigade, newly returned from the ammunition trains, was placed on the left of A. P. Hill's division near Gregg's brigade to guard the left of the advance. Early's report, ibid., p. 711; Hill's report, ibid., 671.

1. Division Artillery

Of the divisional artillery, apparently only D'Aquin's (Louisiana Guard) and Latimer's (Courtney Artillery) batteries went into action—these south of the turnpike in support of Longstreet's attack. The rest remained in place. Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 653; D'Aquin's Battery report, (by Charles Thompson, February 3, 1863), Huntington Library.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

The major activity among Stuart's men continued to be on the right, where Robertson's brigade was poised to lash into retreating Federal infantry. After a march of about two miles, most of it undoubtedly on the Ball's Ford Road, Robertson finally moved abreast of Longstreet's advance. The 2d Virginia Cavalry, under Col. Thomas Munford, led the advance. Stuart's report, op.cit., p. 737; 2d Virginia Cavalry report, ibid., p. 748.

Division Artillery

Cavalry

MAP 15

Map #15, 6:00-7:00 PM, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

By 6 PM it was clear in Pope's mind that the battle was lost. The left wing had been pushed off Chinn Ridge, the right wing had been ordered to fall back. At 6:30 he sent orders to General Banks to "destroy all the public property at Bristoe and fall back upon Centreville at once." To Maj. Gen. William B. Franklin, now in the vicinity of Centreville, he sent orders to "post your command and whatever other troops you can collect and post them in the strong positions around Centreville, and hold them to the last extremity." Ruggles [Pope] to Banks, 6:30 PM August 30, 1862 and Ruggles to Franklin, 6:45 PM August 30, 1862, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 78.

Not all of Pope's subordinates agreed with his decision to give up the field. One who did not was General Sigel, who maintained that the army should hold on to its current position west of Bull Run, but, wrote Colonel Strother of Pope's staff, "Pope curtly checked [Sigel] and said that he had not sent for him to receive suggestions but to give him orders, as his mind was made up what to do." Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, pp. 96-97; Ruggles' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 311; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 202.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

From Buck Hill Sigel moved his brigades, except Schimmelfennig's, "across Young's Branch," forming "on the hilly ground between Young's Branch and Bull Run." Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 269; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 302.

A. Schenck's Division (now Commanded by General Stahel)

1. Stahel's Brigade: The 41st and 45th New York Rejoin the 8th and 27th New York on Buck Hill, Then Withdraw

Stahel reported, "Toward 6 o'clock the batteries left their position, while the enemy was fired upon by a battery on the heights behind the stone house. Now I ordered the Forty-fifth Regiment back, taking the road across the heights behind the stone house, where the Forty-fifth Regiment, as also the Forty-first Regiment, joined the brigade, where the brigade made another stand and was shortly after joined by Colonel McLean's brigade." Subsequently the brigade retreated along the Warrenton Turnpike to near the Van Pelt House where it remained until it crossed Bull Run. Stahel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 285.

2. McLean's Brigade Halts Its Retreat and Reorganizes

After rejoining Stahel's brigade, McLean's men moved eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike "and halted at a white house on the left of the road a half mile from the stone house, where they commenced to reorganize." Subsequently they crossed Bull Run at the Stone Bridge. Schenck's report, ibid., pp. 282-83; Luther B. Mesnard, Recollections, U.S.A.M.H.I., p.14; 73rd Ohio report, op.cit., p. 293.

3. Blume's Battery (2d, New York Light) Goes into Battery for the Third Time

Leaving their position east of the Dogan House, Blume's gunners "returned to the Centreville Pike Road and took position on the hill in front of the hospital, engaging a battery of the enemy, which ceased firing by nightfall." S. F. Blume's report, T. C. H. Smith Papers.

B. Schurz's Division

1. Schimmelfennig is Ordered to Henry Hill as a Support

After 6 PM General Schurz received orders from Sigel to send a brigade to Milroy's support on Henry Hill. Schimmelfennig was promptly dispatched. Not finding Milroy's brigade, the colonel placed his brigade behind Ferrero's. The brigade remained in support of Reno's troops on Henry Hill, unengaged, until 8 PM. Schurz's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 302; 61st Ohio report, ibid., p. 309.

2. Krzyzanowski's Brigade Withdraws Slowly: the 54th New York Supports Dilger's Battery

After engaging the enemy for a short time on Chinn Ridge, Krzyzanowski's brigade was ordered to retire, taking up a position in reserve—probably in the neighborhood of Buck Hill. There the 54th Pennsylvania was detailed to support Dilger's battery, acting as rearguard, while the rest of the division moved east. Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 313; 54th New York report, ibid., p. 314; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 302.

3. Koltes in Reserve

The brigade, now commanded by Colonel Muhleck of the 73d Pennsylvania, was, like Krzyzanowski's brigade, ordered to a reserve position and followed the corps from the field. Schurz's report, ibid.; 73rd Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 308.

4. Division Artillery (Capt. Louis Schirmer Commanding)

a. Hampton's Battery (F, Pennsylvania Light)

As before, amidst the confusion of the period, it is impossible to track the movements of this battery.

b. Roemer (L, 2d New York Light) Escapes Capture

In battery on the left of McGilvery's guns, Roemer's gunners soon witnessed the emergence of Jackson's columns from the woods in their front. Captain Roemer recalled, "Bullets, shot and shell flew like hail in a heavy storm.... Men were tumbling, and horses falling, and it certainly looked as though 'de kingdom was a coming.' Our ammunition was getting very low.... [Soon] the order came 'Artillery to the rear, infantry to the front.' I ordered Battery L, 'Limber to the rear, march.' I think it was the quickest limber to the rear the Battery ever made.... Thus we were the first to get away," but the 6th Maine was not so alacritous, and two of its guns fell into enemy hands.

Roemer's guns fell back "about seventy-five or eighty yards," unlimbered, but did not open fire because of a lack of ammunition. Here the battery remained until about 7 PM.

c. Dilger (I, 1st Ohio Light) Effects a Spectacular Withdrawal

Dilger recounted that about ten minutes after the retreat of the 45th New York from the Dogan's orchard, "two columns of the enemy's infantry appeared in our front, which notwithstanding the steady firing upon them with our artillery, advanced with sharpshooters in front toward the battery, compelling me to leave this position [near the Dogan House]. Falling back about 100 yards, I again brought my pieces to bear upon the enemy until they withdrew. During my withdrawal, which was executed at a gallop, the enemy poured two volleys into me, but totally without effect.

"As soon as the enemy's infantry had retired beyond the reach of my shells I again engaged the battery until one of my guns became disabled by the demolition of an axle. As by this time all the batteries that were near me had withdrawn, I thought it my duty to do the same. At sunset, having secured the dismounted piece below the caisson in the prescribed manner, I arrived upon the hill in rear from whence General Sigel directed the retreat...." Dilger's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 302.

C. Corps Artillery: Wiedrich's (I, 1st New York Light), Buell's (C, W. Virginia Light), and Dieckmann's (13th, New York Light) Batteries

The source material regarding these batteries during this period is scant. It is assumed they were with the rest of the corps near Buck Hill and then retreated with it. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 269; Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 305.

D. Milroy's Brigade Fights to Hold Sudley Road, Then Falls Back

With the Pennsylvania Reserves sliding into position on their right and the Regulars of Chapman's brigade on their left, the men of Milroy's brigade stood resolutely as the Confederate counterattack swept up the western slopes of Henry Hill. Theodore Lang of the 3rd West Virginia recalled, "Soon our troops came rushing, panic stricken, out of the woods, leaving Milroy's brigade [as well as Chapman's, Meade's, and Seymour's] to face the enemy, who had followed the retreating masses to the edge of the woods. The road...in which our brigade was formed, was an old abandoned road through fields, worn and washed from three to five feet deep, affording a splendid cover for the men; we opened fire on the enemy at short range, driving them back into the woods. But the enemy being reinforced from the masses in their rear, came on again and again, pouring in their advance a perfect hurricane of balls, which had little effect on our men.... But the steady fire of our brigade, together with that of a splendid brass battery [Monroe's] on higher ground in our rear, which Milroy had ordered to fire rapidly with canister over the heads of his men, had a most withering effect upon the enemy, whose columns melted away...."

Soon, however, the Rebels redoubled their fire. On the left some of the Regulars began to waver, and shortly, Lang remembered, "our own line began to show mistrust and started by two's and three's to leave the line. Adjutant Goff and myself...made haste to check the break, and tried to rally them just over and behind a small rise in the ground. It was now after sunset, and the brigade having exhausted their ammunition...we withdrew in fairly good order, and soon joined a bewildering mass of artillery, infantry, and cavalry" along the Warrenton Turnpike. Theodore F. Lang, "Personal Reminiscences," in his Loyal West Virginia From 1861-1865 (Baltimore, 1865), pp. 101-102; Milroy's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 321; Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War... (Cincinnati, 1872), Vol. 2, p. 473; Milroy to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Paulus, ed., Milroy Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 92-94.

1. Milroy Makes a Spectacle of Himself

Throughout the fight for Henry Hill General Milroy was in a state of excitement that bordered on loss of control. He continuously dashed to and fro among his men, waving his sword wildly and urging them to their task. At one point he stood atop a dead horse, yelling madly at the gunners of Monroe's battery. His frenzy reached a peak as his men and the Regulars began to waver from their position in the road cut. As he wrote so dramatically, "I felt that the crises [sic] of the nation was on hand, and that the happiness of unborn millions and the progress of the world depended upon our success." Sumner, *Battery D*, p. 22; Milroy to his Wife, September 5, 1862, Paulus, ed., *Milroy Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 93.

Inspired thus, Milroy dashed frantically back to McDowell's command post, a few hundred yards east of the road. Colonel Buchanan, present at the headquarters, recalled, "General Milroy's manner was very excited, so much so as to attract the special attention of those present, and induced many to inquire 'who that was rushing about so wildly and what he wanted.'" Milroy rode up to McDowell and hollered above the din, "For God's sake, general, send a few regiments into these woods; my poor men are being cut to pieces. If you send me reinforcements we will be able to drive the enemy back again." One of Porter's staff officers wrote, "His manner was so much like an insane man that McDowell paid no attention to him." Despite—not because of—this demonstration Buchanan's brigade was ordered forward to the firing line. Milroy's "crisis" passed. Robert C. Buchanan to Irvin McDowell, October 20, 1862, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 365-66; Frederick T. Locke to Fitz John Porter, September 15, 1877, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Francis Wister, *Recollections of the 12th U.S. Infantry* (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 12; Milroy's report, *op.cit.*, p. 321; Washington Roebling's Testimony, McDowell Court of Inquiry, *O.R.* Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 268-69; McDowell's report, *ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

2. Johnson's Battery (12th, Ohio Light)

A dearth of source material makes it impossible to locate this battery.

III. McDowell's Third Corps (Army of Virginia)

McDowell continued to monitor the progress of the fight on the left from his position near the Henry House. About 6 PM he received word that Pope intended to yield the battlefield. McDowell's report, *ibid.*, pp. 342-43; Franklin Haven to John C. Ropes, January 24, 1897, Ropes Papers.

A. Hatch's Division (Now Commanded by Doubleday)

1. Sullivan and Patrick Retreat to the East

Though there is little documentation, Sullivan's and Patrick's brigades were ordered to withdraw in conjunction with the other Federal units north of the turnpike. While doing this they passed through the fields and woods north of the Stone House. T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 195; Patrick, Journal, August 30, 1862.

2. Doubleday Comes Under Fire From Two Directions

After continuing to hold position across the turnpike at the northeastern base of Chinn Ridge for a half hour, Doubleday's brigade came under fire from both Union and Confederate batteries. Doubleday remembered, "Sigel's troops in my rear [on Buck Hill] seeing me so far out on the turnpike took it for granted we were the enemy and opened fire upon us. I then had a flag waved to let them know who we were, but they took this as defiance and redoubled their firing. Finding they were getting my exact range, I...fell back a short distance to let the balls pass over us." Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, pp. 50, 53; 56th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 373; A. P. Smith, Seventy-sixth New York, p. 137.

3. Gibbon Falls Back and is Ordered to Act as the Army's Rearguard

Upon receiving orders to withdraw, Gibbon, with Campbell's battery, "fell back across a valley and up on a hill." Gibbon himself then rode over to Henry Hill where he met General McDowell. McDowell ordered him to deploy his troops to act as the rearguard for the army. Gibbon then placed his brigade "in position on the ridge alongside the Pike where it climbed the hill near the Robinson House, the pieces of Battery "B" being unlimbered, were prepared for action." The brigade remained here until nearly 9 o'clock. Gibbon, Recollections, pp. 65-68.

4. Division Artillery

a. Gerrish's Battery (1st, New Hampshire Light)

Given the lack of source material, no attempt has been made to locate this battery on the map.

b. Monroe's Battery (D, 1st Rhode Island Light) in the Fight for Henry Hill

George Sumner, the battery's historian, recorded that as soon as the battery came under fire of artillery, it received orders to open fire. "It became certain," he wrote, "that the rebel infantry [was] moving through the woods in our front, and we began to throw shell and solid shot in their direction. Soon the line of battle in our front [Milroy's brigade] open[ed] upon the rebel line coming through the woods." The firefight raged for several minutes, the Rhode Islanders pouring canister into the rebels in front. Shortly, the Confederates fell "back to the brook" (Chinn Branch).

But again, the roar of musketry built and again the Confederates pushed up the slope. The withering fire staggered Milroy's line in the road. The line wavered, and within minutes the Ohioans and West Virginians, as well as some of the Regulars on the left, began to fall back. The Georgians in front pushed forward and riddled the battery with musketry. One regiment (the 15th Georgia of Benning's Brigade) reached the cover of the road. The gunners, though, stuck to their pieces and continued to fire. Finally, his guns almost out of ammunition, Captain Monroe ordered his guns to limber to the rear. Historian Sumner recorded, "After limbering...the battery moved down the hill, and, following the edge of the woods, soon reached the Warrenton Pike, near the Stone Bridge," and eventually crossed there. Sumner, Battery D, pp. 21-23, 25; Monroe, "Battery D," pp. 24-26; 15th Georgia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 588.

c. Reynolds' Battery (L, 1st New York Light) Retreats and Reopens Fire

With the battery under heavy artillery fire and "in imminent danger of being flanked by rebel infantry," Captain Reynolds passed the order to limber to the rear. Lt. George Breck wrote, "We retired with our battery a little to our right, and in rear of our first position, taking our place on a hill, where we again opened a brisk fire.... While here an attempt was made by a regiment to charge our battery. They came down through the woods in line and good order, and were within 250 yards of us when we opened upon them with canister.... Our captain was on his horse telling the boys to 'give them canister, give them canister, and stick by the guns....' Well, every gun was soon shotted with canister, the command to fire was given, and when the smoke drifted away, all that remained of the rebel regiment were scampering up the hill as fast as their legs could carry them."

Shortly Reynolds' gunners came under a terrific Confederate artillery fire. At this point, the battery, unsupported by infantry, received orders to retreat. Presumably the line of retreat followed that of the rest of the division. Unknown Letter from Reynolds' Battery, Rochester Democrat and American, September 12, 1862; Letter of Lt. George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862.

d. Campbell (B, 4th U.S.) Falls Back with Gibbon's Brigade and Unlimbers

According to General Gibbon, Campbell's battery withdrew from its position on Dogan Ridge in conjunction with his brigade. The battery's new position was "on the ridge alongside the pike where it climbed the hill near the Robinson House...." Here the battery remained until withdrawn in conjunction with Gibbon's men. Gibbon, Recollections, p. 65.

B. Ricketts' Division: Duryee and Thoburn Retreat in Haste on the Right Flank; Tower and Stiles Reform

1. Duryee is Driven Back on the Right Flank

The orders to retreat had not yet reached the officers of Duryee's brigade when suddenly in their front, only 200 yards away, appeared a Confederate line. Isaac Hall of the 97th New York recalled, "[As] soon as they appeared in our front, Lieut. Col. [John P.] Spofford...said, 'Boys, I think they are rebs, fire on them." Three companies of the 97th and most of the 105th New York opened fire, but the call "Cease firing, cease firing, you are firing on our own men," passed up the line. The infantry fire stopped, but the artillery continued to roar. As the Confederates neared Thompson's battery, the artillerymen let loose with a scorching fire, but it was too late. Three of his guns fell captive. Continuing on, the Confederate advance took the 104th and 105th New York, fronting south, in flank, and soon closed in on the left rear of the remaining two regiments. Quickly orders were passed to retreat.

But the 107th Pennsylvania, on the extreme right of the line, failed to get that order [for the second time that day!]. Thus separated and in danger of being captured en masse, the regiment hastily fell back "in the direction of our supporting regiments." Meanwhile, the rest of the brigade had begun a rather ungraceful retreat. Isaac Hall wrote, "The brigade fell back obliquely through the strip of woods to the field north of it, where it encountered another force from the west" while a Confederate battery, apparently near Sudley Church, "kept up a ceaseless fire of shells upon the retreating forces." Hurrying onward, the brigade finally reformed near "Mrs. Carter's house" (Pittsylvania), filing into position behind Thoburn's brigade. Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, pp. 74-75; Letter of Frank Faville, September 5, 1862, Herkimer [N.Y.] County Journal, September 11, 1862; Hough, Duryee's Brigade, pp. 98-99; 104th New York Account, Unpublished, Manassas NBP Library; Lone Cavalryman (pseud.), "He Wants to Know," National Tribune, May 5, 1887; 107th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 387; Ricketts' report, ibid., p. 385; Henry Besancon, Diary, August 30, 1862, Duke University.

2. Tower Regroups on Henry Hill

According to John Vautier, the regimental historian of the 88th Pennsylvania, Tower's battered regiments attempted to reform on Henry Hill and then crossed Bull Run at the Stone Bridge. Vautier, 88th Pennsylvania, p. 58.

3. Three Regiments of Stiles' Brigade are Broken: the 83d New York Fights for Henry Hill

The source material relating to the plight of Stiles' brigade after their retreat from Chinn Ridge is sparse. It appears that three of the regiments joined the morass of broken regiments along the Warrenton Turnpike. Samuel Webster, Diary, August 30, 1862, Huntington Library; Stearns, Three Years in Company K, p. 109.

a. The 83rd New York Fights on the Left of the Regulars

The 83rd New York, separated from the rest of the brigade, held its position on the left of Chapman's brigade along Sudley Road. A man of the regiment recalled, "In a short time, the rebel troops, cautiously advanced through the cluster of woods, that we had left, as they came in range we advanced to the fence and poured in a deadly volley upon them, and withdrawing from the fence, and loading while laying on our backs, and so on until we compelled them to fall back."

Soon, however, the Confederates opened fire with a battery from the extreme left, enfilading the New Yorkers. Too, Confederate infantry lapped around the regiment's flank. Colonel Stiles ordered the left of the regiment refused, but no sooner was this done than the Rebel infantry loosed a deadly volley from the left. The position was hopeless. The 83rd fell back through "a heavy underbrush" for nearly one-half mile, when it reformed and apparently crossed Bull Run with the rest of the brigade. Jaques, Three Years Campaign, p. 101; 83d New York Account, T. C. H. Smith Papers; Hussey, 9th N.Y.S.M., p. 176; Ryding, MS "The Campaign of the 9th Regt N.Y.S.M.," pp. 66-67; Chapman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vo. XII, Pt. 2, p. 497.

4. Thoburn Falls Back to Pittsylvania

Thoburn's brigade had been resting quietly most of the day when suddenly the enemy appeared in front. The artillery opened ferociously, but soon the foe was bearing down on the right flank of the brigade. The four regiments quickly gave ground, making a stand along the strip of woods in their rear. For a few moments the brigade stood firm, but soon received orders to fall back to "a stone house on the hill." While doing so, the 7th Indiana was temporarily cut off from the brigade, but by a roundabout route, was soon able to rejoin it on the "high ground at a Union hospital." James C. Hamilton, MS "History of the 110th Pennsylvania Regiment of Infantry," pp. 57-58, MOLLUS War Library, Philadelphia; William Davis, MS "Record of Movements, Camps, Campaigns Skirmishes and Battles of the 7th Indiana Infantry, 1861-1863," Indiana State Library; Orville Thomson, From Philippi to Appomattox, Narratives of the Service of the Seventh Indiana Infantry in the War For the Union, (n.p, 190-), p. 120; E. T. Baker to His Wife, September 4, 1862, E. T. Baker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, September 5, 1862; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. II, p. 1309.

5. Division Artillery

a. Hall's Battery (2d, Maine Light)

According to the accounts of participants, there were several batteries engaged in the fight for Henry Hill. While no specific reference is made to Hall's role in the fight, it is assumed that his was one of the batteries fighting there. Ricketts' report, ibid., p. 384.

b. Leppien's Battery (5th, Maine Light)

The guns captured, no attempt has been made to locate battery on the map.

c. Thompson (C, Pennsylvania Light) Loses Three Guns

Thompson's gunners were in position on the left of Duryee's line when, just after 6 PM, the Confederate phalanxes appeared in their front. Capt. James Thompson ordered his men to open fire with canister, which they did, staggering the Southern lines. But the Confederates closed in nonetheless. The infantry supports in their rear began to waver and Captain Thompson ordered his guns limbered to the rear. Madly, the horses tugged at their traces, but before the guns had gone far the Rebels loosed a deadly fire that killed many of the horses and men. One of the guns got wedged in a tree. Three of the pieces (one Parrott and two howitzers) had to be abandoned and fell into Confederate hands. The fourth reached Sudley Road, passed quickly down it, and escaped. Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. V, p. 866; William A. Williams, "Gen. McDowell Again," National Tribune, November 3, 1892; Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 75.

d. Matthews' Battery (F, 1st Pennsylvania Light)

In the Confederate attack on the guns, Matthews lost four of his pieces. L. Van Loan Naisawald, Grape and Canister (New York, 1960), p. 564.

C. Reynolds' Division: Meade and Seymour Charge and Engage the Foe Along Sudley Road; Anderson (Hardin) Rests in Reserve

For nearly an hour the Pennsylvania Reserves of Reynolds' division had watched as their comrades had been pushed off Chinn Ridge. As the Federals fell back off the ridge, the Confederates' path to the Sudley Road-Warrenton Turnpike intersection opened. Disaster looked imminent. But to reach the intersection the Confederates had to pass across the front of Reynolds' position, exposing their right flank to him. Realizing this, Reynolds' rode hurriedly back to his troops, who rested just north of the Henry House ruins. He bellowed to his two brigades, "Now boys, give them the steel, charge bayonets, double quick," and across the field the two brigades went. Letter of J. H. Masten, September 5, 1862, The Warren [Pa.] Mail, September 20, 1862; Woodward, Our Campaigns, pp. 186-87.

With the 13th Reserves on the right and the 8th Reserves on the left, Meade's brigade led the rush. Seymour followed closely. The two brigades pushed forward and took cover in the bed of Sudley Road, to Milroy's right, driving those Confederates that had ventured across the road back into the woods on the other side. Immediately the Federals opened a heavy fire that enfiladed the Confederate advance and forced the Rebels to change front and move up the west slope of Henry Hill to meet it. Wrote the division historian, "The contest became hot and desperate. Greatly outnumbered by the rebels, [we] were only enabled to hold them in check by rapid and unceasing firing.... At one moment all seemed to be lost. The First and Second regiments were engaged in an almost hand to hand encounter; the left was pressed back...." Reynolds dashed forward and grabbed the shattered staff of one of the regiments and rode up and down the faltering line "waving the flag about his head and cheering on his men...." "The effect on the regiment was electrical," said one man, and the Reserves held. 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 130; 13th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., p. 132; Meade's report, ibid., Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 398; E. B. Cope to G. K. Warren, August 5, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; J. R. Sypher, History of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps (Lancaster, 1865), p. 347; Letter of "B", September 8, 1862, Lancaster [Pa.] Daily Express, September 10, 1862; Letter of "L", September 6, 1862, Lebanon [Pa.] Courier, September 18, 1862.

At the height of the conflict General Reynolds' sent a messenger to McDowell, a few hundred yards in the rear, asking for reinforcements. Within a few miniutes two regiments (the 3rd and 4th U.S.) of Buchanan's brigade arrived. The two regiments took position on the high bank immediately behind the road—the 4th U.S. immediately behind the 8th Reserves—and opened fire. But here a mix-up occurred. Testified Colonel Buchanan, "Reynolds, it seems, misunderstood the order under which I was acting, and supposed I had gone to relieve him, and withdrew his command." Frederick Locke to Porter, September 15, 1877, and S. M. Weld to Porter, September 28, 1867, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; 8th Pennsylvania Reserves report, ibid., Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 130; Buchanan's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 253; Buchanan's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 488; Meade's report, ibid., p. 398; E. B. Cope to G. K. Warren, August 5, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

1. Division Artillery (Dunbar Ransom Commanding): Simpson's (A, 1st Pennsylvania Light), Cooper's (B, 1st Pennsylvania Light), and Ransom's (C, 5th U.S.) Batteries

Ransom's guns assisted in the repulse of the Confederates on Henry Hill. Beyond this there is little available to document the location of the division's batteries. Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 395.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

General Heintzelman recorded, "Shortly before night...I was directed to retire and hold successive positions.... We fell back to the Wier house (I believe), used as a hospital, and there established a new line of battle. I sent General Kearny's division to the left to close a gap between my left and the main body of the army, keeping General Stevens' and Ricketts' troops to hold the right." Heintzelman's report, ibid., p. 414.

A. Kearny Falls Back

General Kearny reported, "On orders from General Pope I massed my troops at the indicated point, but soon reoccupied with Birney's brigade, supported by Robinson's, a very advanced block of woods. The key point of this new line rested on the brown house [probably Pittsylvania], toward [the] creek. This was held by regiments of other brigades [Thoburn and Duryee]. Soon however, themselves attacked, they ceded ground and retired without warning us." Kearny's report, ibid., p. 416.

1. Robinson's Brigade

General Robinson recorded that General Kearny directed him to "take position on the hill by the brown house." He continued, "I moved to this point in column and so remained, ready to take any position necessary, when on appearance of the enemy I deployed into line of battle, facing toward our original front. Soon after, by order of General Heintzelman, I moved in column of regiments to the hollow in front, ready to push forward to the support of Birney's brigade, which was now threatened...and my first position on the hill was occupied by troops of Ricketts' division." In the hollow the brigade formed three sides of a square, the 20th Indiana on the right, the 105th Pennsylvania in the center, and the 63rd Pennsylvania on the left. The tired troops were allowed to rest here unmolested until ordered to withdraw at 10 PM. Robinson's report, ibid., p. 422; Kate M. Scott, History of the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 59; 63rd Pennsylvania report, op.cit., p. 425; E. C. Gilbreath, TS History of the 20th Indiana, Indiana State Library, pp. 39-40; Letter of "E. M. B. H.," August 30, 1862, Cincinnati Daily Gazette, September 11, 1862.

2. Birney's Brigade

Under an intensifying artillery fire, Birney received the order to pull back. Quickly, he ordered the 38th New York forward to Sudley Road to cover the right of the brigade, then withdrew the remaining regiments several hundred yards. Once settled, the 101st New York moved to the front of the brigade as skirmishers, "in a small piece of woods." Robinson's brigade was positioned in their rear. The brigade remained here, within close proximity of the enemy, until ordered to withdraw via Farm Ford. 38th New York report, op.cit., p. 430; 101st New York report, ibid., p. 431; Henry E. Ford, History of the 101st Regiment (Syracuse, 1898), p. 36; Theodore M. Dodge, Journal, August 29 [sic], 1862, Library of Congress; Daniel Cooledge Fletcher, Reminiscences of California and the Civil War (Ayer, Mass., 1894), p. 173.

3. Poe's Brigade: the 2d Michigan Fights off Rebel Pursuers

Colonel Poe reported, "When it became evident that the forces on our left were giving way, the major general commanding the division [Kearny] directed this brigade to fall back to the crest of the ridge and form in line of battle facing the Leesburg [Sudley] road. This was done, our skirmishers as we retired exchanging shots with the enemy. When we had fairly gotten into position I looked to the left for General Robinson's brigade, which I understood was to form at the large brown house in that direction. I saw his troops apparently passing the house.... I at once ordered the brigade to the crest of the next ridge, 400 yards farther to the rear. Our right [the 2d Michigan, deployed as skirmishers] was still resting on Bull Run. At this time the enemy opened with one section of artillery upon our right and rear.

"At the same time I found the ridge enfiladed by a battery to our left.... I ordered the brigade farther to the rear, keeping our right all the time upon Bull Run, until we crossed [at Poplar Ford] at dusk.... After crossing the ford I ordered line of battle to be formed upon the crest of the ridge among the corn." Shortly thereafter, the brigade moved on to Centreville. Poe's report, op.cit., p. 435; Charles Haydon, Diary, August 30, 1862, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

a. The 2d Michigan

Capt. John Reuhle of the 2d recorded in his diary, "Our regiment was ordered to march to the rear—by the flank, and remain deployed. When the greater portion had crossed the Bull Run stream, we saw the enemy's cavalry dashing toward us on the full gallop. We rallied as quick as possible and promptly formed column against cavalry. We no sooner got into a condition for resistance when the cavalry were quite upon us shouting ["]Surrender you d-d yankee sons of b-s-,["] but our men demonstrated very different inclinations...." The Michiganders opened fire, staggered the horsemen, and sent them scurrying away. Shortly though, a section of artillery opened on the regiment. Orders came to retreat, and the 2d continued across the ford, finally catching up to the regiment along the Warrenton Turnpike. John Reuhle, Diary, August 30 (p. 80), Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; Charles Haydon Diary, op.cit.; Letter of Henry Howe, September 14, 1862, Acquired Collection, Western Michigan University.

4. Division Artillery

a. Randolph's Battery (E, 1st Rhode Island Light)

This battery fell back with the division. Heintzelman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 414.

b. Graham's Battery (K, 1st U.S.) Moves To Henry Hill

After laying in reserve all day Capt. William Graham received orders to move to the left of the line. Passing along Sudley Road, Graham's gunners moved quickly in rear of Ferrero's brigade to the Warrenton Turnpike, then eastward for a short distance, and then onto Henry Hill. Here, wrote a man of the battery, "We came into battery a little below the crest of the hill, in the space left between the regiments."

Shortly the Confederates made their appearance, emerging from the woods in front. Graham quickly ordered his pieces loaded with double canister, and with a thundering roar the six guns went off at once. Stunned, the Southerners hastened back to the woods. Graham's gunners continued to fire for a short time, but soon silence again took hold. It was shortlived, however, for after about 20 minutes the Confederates attempted again to storm the hill. Again the guns opened, and one more time the Confederates retreated to the cover of the timber. For the next two hours the battery kept up a rhythmic fire on the woods, but the Confederates advanced no more. Naisawald, Grape and Canister, p. 176; Thomas T. Cooney, "Sykes' Regulars," National Tribune, February 9, 1893; Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 148.

B. Hooker's Division

1. Grover's Brigade

After trying to support the troops on Dogan Ridge, Grover's brigade moved still farther to the left, taking a position "on the Sudley road, in front of the Henry house." Soon the brigade returned to the Warrenton Turnpike and moved eastward along it, crossing Bull Run near the Stone Bridge. Haynes, Second New Hampshire, p. 139; Gustavas Hutchinson, Narrative of the Formation and Services of the Eleventh Massachusetts Volunteers (Boston, 1893, p. 41.; Blake, Three Years..., p. 134.

2. Taylor's Brigade

Taylor's brigade, after performing indeterminable service supporting batteries, followed Carr's brigade eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike toward Centreville. Taylor's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 445.

3. Carr's Brigade: The 6th New Jersey Finds Itself in Trying Circumstances

After failing to find any batteries to support on Dogan Ridge, Carr's brigade moved to support one "in the rear and on the left." Subsequently, the brigade received orders to retreat via the turnpike to Centreville. Carr's report, ibid., p. 455; Bellard, Gone for a Soldier, p. 143.

The 6th New Jersey, meanwhile, found itself in a difficult situation. Earlier, the rest of the brigade had withdrawn without notifying the 6th. It was left to fend for itself. Reported its colonel, George Burling, "The enemy making a charge upon the batteries in front, compelling them to fall back, I determined to resist [the enemy's] advance, when to my utter astonishment I found we were flanked right and left. I then ordered the regiment to fall back in the woods, which was done in order, and thus checked the advance of the enemy in front. At this time, finding the flanks of the enemy rapidly closing around us, the only safety for my command was to retreat. In trying to extricate ourselves...my command suffered severely. I was enabled to rally my regiment on a hill in close proximity to the battle-field under the shell[s] of the enemy, where we remained in line of battle with several other regiments until ordered...to fall back to Centreville." 6th New Jersey Report, op.cit., pp. 459-60.

4. McGilvery (6th, Maine Light) Loses a Section

The sudden appearance of the Confederate lines in front brought McGilvery's gunners to their work. The smoke, though, obscured a Confederate force pushing down on the battery's right, and before anything could be done, the Southerners had dashed forward and captured a section of the battery. The remaining four guns hurried away, but became separated. Two of them rallied "about 500 yards to the rear behind a clump of trees near the brick hospital." Here, with Captain McGilvery himself helping to work one of the guns, the section continued to fire on the advancing Confederates for another half hour, until its ammunition had expired. At 8 PM Captain McGilvery received orders to proceed to Centreville. McGilvery's report, ibid., p. 419; Letter of E. B. Davis, September 6, 1862, Portland [Maine] Daily Advertiser, September 11, 1862; H. A. Vail, "McGilvery's Battery: A Recollection of the Second Battle of Bull Run," National Tribune, June 16, 1904.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

After overseeing the withdrawal of his troops subsequent to the attack on Jackson's line, Porter repaired to Henry Hill. There he took an active role in the placement of his troops in the fight for that eminence. Frederick T. Locke to Porter, September 15, 1877, and S. M. Weld to Porter, September 28, 1867, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

A. Morell's Division is Out of Action

Still in a somewhat scattered and disordered state, the two brigades of this division remained out of action along the Warrenton Turnpike. E. A. Wilson, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, October 19, 1905; E. B. Quiner, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers," Vol. 7, p. 84; Letter of William Breakey, September 5, 1862, Stevens Family Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

a. Waterman's Battery (C, 1st Rhode Island Light)

Waterman's guns remained with the division in the rear. Waterman's report, ibid., p. 467.

b. Hazlett's Battery (D, 5th U.S.)

It was shortly after 6 PM that Hazlett received orders from General Hooker to retire from his forward position toward Centreville. Hazlett's report, ibid., p. 469.

B. Sykes's Division in the Fight for Henry Hill

After retiring from Dogan Ridge, Sykes watched the fight for Henry Hill with Porter and McDowell from near the Henry House ruins. Locke to Porter, op.cit.

1. Buchanan Acts as a Mobile Reserve: His Regiments are Thrown in on Separate Parts of the Line

Designated as a reserve, Buchanan's brigade was, for much of the Henry Hill fight, the only force availabe to shore up the sagging firing line. It was soon apparent that the most vulnerable part of the line was the left, held by Chapman's and Milroy's brigades. Both these brigades showed signs of wavering and, after a vociferous request for reinforcements from Milroy, Buchanan was ordered into the battle.

a. The 12th and 14th U.S. Fight on the Left of the Line, Then Fall Back

Taking three-fifths of his force—the two battalions of the 14th U.S. and the 12th U.S.—Buchanan quickly marched to the left. As Buchanan approached, Chapman withdrew his lines. According to Capt. Matthew Blunt of the 12th U.S., Buchanan took the three battalions and "advanced to the left and took position along the edge of a piece of woods and across a road, and waited the advance of the enemy." The Regulars, however, did not stay long. Capt. McKibbin of the 14th U.S. recalled, "After receiving and returning fire several times, I ordered my men to cease firing, and sent the sergeant-major with two men to my left along the road to see if they were trying to flank us. He reported large numbers [of the enemy] moving up...." The three battalions about-faced and marched to the right, taking position behind the interval between the 3rd and 4th U.S. Shortly, the 3rd and 4th became heavily engaged and the 12th moved forward to the firing line. There they remained until "about sundown." Buchanan's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 488; 12th U.S. report, ibid., p. 493; 2d Bn., 14th U.S. report, ibid., p. 495; 1st Bn., 14th

U.S. report, ibid., p. 494; 3rd U.S. report, New York Herald, September 8, 1862.

b. The 3rd and 4th U.S. Bolster the Center

Returning to the rear after placing his three battalions on the left of the Henry Hill line, Buchanan was surprised to find his two remaining battalions being led into the fight by none other than General Milroy. Buchanan quickly rode up to Milroy and admonished him not to mettle with his command. Buchanan testified, "I told him I was responsible not only for the fighting of the men, but for the posting of them; that he was interfering with me, and I wished him to clear out and go away from there." Milroy did. Buchanan's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 253.

With the 4th U.S on the left and the 3rd U.S. on the right, the two regiments charged into the fight. "On arriving in rear of General Meade's line, which was lying down and firing from a ditch [Sudley Road], I halted the regiment and opened fire by battalion, firing six rounds," Capt. Hiram Dryer of the 4th U.S. reported. Soon, however, the enemy disappeared from in front and began to shift southward, around the Federal left, which was "in a dense forest." "I received," Captain Dryer continued, "an order from Colonel Buchanan to move the Fourth to the left. I immediately placed the regiment about its length to the left, on a road immediately in front of the woods.... We had not long to wait for them." The Confederates, covered by woods, suddenly appeared, "not 20 yards distant." "I immediately gave the command to fire by battalion, and we gave them three rounds before they could recover enough to reply. Their loss must have been terrible."

Shortly Buchanan passed orders for the brigade to fall back. The Regulars about-faced and obeyed, firing as they retreated. They continued rearward until they reached their "original position on the plateau." They remained there but a few moments. Orders then came to proceed to Centreville. 3rd U.S. report, New York Herald, September 8, 1862; 4th U.S. report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 491; Buchanan's report, ibid., p. 488.

2. Chapman's Regulars Fight on the Left

On the extreme left of the line, Chapman's brigade, supported on their left by the 83rd New York, was the last of the units holding the Sudley Road line to become engaged. Once engaged, though, the firefight was furious. The Regulars held for only a short time until, conceded one officer, "our loss urged withdrawal." From right to left the brigade fell back: the 11th and 6th U.S. first, followed by the consolidated 2d and 10th U.S., and finally the 17th

U.S. The line had withdrawn only a short distance before a Confederate battery on the left flank opened again, enfilading the line. The 2d and 10th, and the now scattered 17th quickly tried to reform in the timber east of the road. While doing so, their ranks were broken "by a regiment of volunteers" (probably the 83d New York). Regaining ranks, the regiments then continued their withdrawal "about 600 yards." Afterward, they were ordered to cross Bull Run. Chapman's report, ibid., p. 497; 17th U.S. report, ibid., p. 501; 10th U.S. report, ibid., p. 499; Dougherty, "Eyewitness Account," p. 43; Ames, "Second Bull Run," pp. 402-403.

3. Warren's Brigade

This brigade continued to rest "in rear of the [Henry] plateau," then moved to Centreville with the rest of the division. Sykes' report, op.cit., p. 482; 10th New York report, ibid., p. 505.

4. Division Artillery (Stephen Weed Commanding)

a. Weed's Battery (I, 5th U.S.) Withdraws

After expending all of his ammunition, Captain Weed ordered his guns to be withdrawn and returned to the division. While doing so, "under heavy fire two pieces broke down by the breaking right in two of their axles." These two pieces had later to be abandoned "in the road." Weed's report, ibid., p. 485.

b. Smead's Battery (K, 5th U.S.)

As dusk fell, Lieutenant Van Reed, now commanding the battery, received orders to proceed to Centreville, apparently in conjunction with the division. Van Reed's report, ibid., p. 487.

c. Randol (E & G, 1st U.S.) Withdraws

With Hazlett's battery, Lieutenant Randol withdrew his guns and proceded toward Centreville. Randol's report, ibid., p. 486.

C. Piatt Throws the Steuben Rangers Into the Fight for Henry Hill

After resting for nearly an hour, Piatt ordered his brigade into action. The three companies of the 63rd Indiana were dispatched to support a battery while the 86th New York was marched toward the firing line on Henry Hill. Capt. T. F. Shoemaker wrote, "On went the regiment over and down the hill, quickly closing up the ranks as fast as the men fell out.... The men expected to charge bayonets upon the rebels, who were massed in the edge of a piece of woods, but they were ordered to halt some six rods before reaching the woods." The Rangers found, "in a ditch a few feet in front," the Federal line already formed. The regiment promptly opened fire, and maintained its position for several minutes. Then, "we found that we were being flanked on our left," and received orders from McDowell to withdraw. The regiment fell back only a short distance before reforming behind the crest of the hill. From there the regiment moved on to Centreville. Letter of T. F. Shoemaker, Elmira Weekly Journal, September 6, 1862; Unknown Letter, Addison [N.Y.] Advertiser, September 10, 1862; Rathbun, "Diary," p. 339; Letter of Colonel B. F. Bailey, Corning Weekly Journal, October 9, 1862; Clearfield [N:Y] Republican, September 10, 1862.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division Follows Ricketts to the Rear

On receiving withdrawal orders, recalled Captain Stevens of General Stevens' staff, "very deliberately and quietly General Stevens gave the necessary orders, cautioning his colonels against haste or hurry. One by one the guns ceased firing, and were limbered up and taken to the rear. When the last one had gone, the infantry rose to their feet, and marched back in usual marching column. Out of the woods in front the enemy were swarming like angry bees...and beginning to push up the slope. By the time our troops had moved two hundred yards back from the little ridge...they had just left, the enemy came pouring over it in considerable numbers." Quickly Stevens deployed two regiments to the rear (apparently the 8th Michigan and 50th Pennsylvania of Christ's brigade), and with a well aimed volley they sent the Confederates scurrying for cover. Stevens, Stevens, p. 473; Wilbur P. Dickerson, "A Drummer Boy's Diary," National Tribune, December 8, 1904.

Passing a few yards farther, however, the Confederates again opened fire on Stevens' men. This time Farnsworth's brigade was deployed and opened fire. Again the Confederate pursuit desisted. Following Ricketts' hard-pressed men, Stevens division continued across the Sudley Road. The regimental historian of the 79th New York wrote, "we soon found Ricketts posted in line upon the crest of quite an eminence near the Carter House.... We filed behind them in close order and halted. It was now dusk." After remaining here a short while the division followed Poe's brigade across Red House Ford. Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, pp. 204-205; Stevens, Stevens, p. 473; Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 22, 1862, Andrew J. Morrison Papers, Huntington Library; William E. Christian to Sarah Christian, September 7, 1862, [Flint Mich.] Wolverine Citizen, September 20, 1862; H. Belcher, Diary, August

30, 1862, McCreery Family Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

1. Benjamin's Battery (E, 2d U.S.)

This battery, which had been supported by the division most of the day, withdrew with it. Andrew J. Morrison to his Brother and Sister, September 7, 1862, Morrison Papers.

B. Reno's Division

1. Nagle's Brigade Presents a Strong Front

After being ordered to support the left-center, Nagle's brigade was apparently ordered to fall back. Later, when Ferrero received orders to move to the left, Nagle shifted two of his regiments into a "thick low pine" thicket, not far from Pope's headquarters. Here the 6th New Hamshire and 2d Maryland were detailed to support a battery. The brigade remained until 9 PM. Unknown Letter, Pottsville [Pa.] Miner's Journal, September 6, 1862; Gould, Forty-eighth, p. 68; Bosbyshell, The 48th in the War, p. 67.

2. Ferrero Moves To Henry Hill

Shortly after falling back from the line of artillery, General Ferrero received orders to move his brigade to the extreme left. Hurriedly, the three regiments marched across the field until, just before dark, they reached Henry Hill. Gaining that place they were greeted by the irrepressible General Milroy. He was, recalled one man, "frantic with joy as he welcomed us; and, as we dressed our lines, rode along our front, shouting like a crazy man." Insisting on Milroy's non-interference, Reno set about deploying the command.

The brigade formed nearly on the crest of Henry Hill, only a few yards from the woods bordering the southern edge of the plateau. Charles Walcott of the 21st Massachusetts recalled, "The brigade was formed on a curved ridge, refusing their flanks a little; on the left was the 51st New York, with their left resting near a small stream, the banks of which were fringed with thick bushes; the 21st Massachusetts was in the centre, and the 51st Pennsylvania on the right. General Reno posted [Graham's] battery of smoothbores...on a line with the infantry, and in the short intervals between the regiments. In our front was an open space of a few hundred yards of gently sloping ground ending in a grove." Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, pp. 147-48; Ira B. Goodrich, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, May 4, 1893; Thomas H. Parker, Fifty-first Pennsylvania, p. 214; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. II, p. 4; Jerome M. Loving, ed., Civil War Letters of George

Washington Whitman (Durham, 1975), pp. 62, 145; Letter of I. B. G., September 6, 1862, Fitchburg [Mass.] Sentinel, September 19, 1862; George C. Parker to Mother Stone, October 15, 1862, George C. Parker Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Andrew L. Fowler, Memoirs of the Late Andrew L. Fowler of the 51st N.Y.V... (New York, 1863), p. 56; Ferrero's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 3, pp. 279-81, RG 94, National Archives; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. II, p. 4; Letter of G. W., August [sic] 5, 1862, Fitchburg [Mass.] Sentinel, September 12, 1862; James Madison Stone, Recollections, pp. 68-69.

3, Durell's Battery (D, Pennsylvania Light)

The battery, finding itself alone, was forced to spike one of its guns (because of a disabled axle—it was later recovered) and withdraw. The remaining guns reformed on "the first hill some 8 or 900 yards in rear of the first position." There it apparently remained until ordered to withdraw. Cuffell, Durell's Battery, p. 66.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade: The 4th New York Cavalry Goes into Action with Buford's Brigade

While most of Beardsley's command continued to stop stragglers from the front, the 4th New York Cavalry was busy on the left. After contacting the enemy, Colonel Nazer moved his regiment rearward along Ball's Ford Road. The colonel reported, "I had proceeded but a short distance when we came upon and passed two regiments of rebel cavalry, supported by infantry, and a battery drawn up in line, under cover of the crest of a hill, preparing to charge upon General Buford's brigade, stationed on the opposite side of the hill. I informed General Buford of the enemy's whereabouts and intentions, and at his request quickly formed my command into line behind the 1st Michigan Cavalry, and with that regiment charged upon the enemy, scattering them in every direction. Reforming our lines we engaged a fresh regiment hand to hand, but finding that we received no support from the rear and that we were greatly outnumbered by the enemy's cavalry, also being subject to heavy fire from their infantry, which was now advancing at double-quick, we were compelled to retire...." 4th New York Cavalry report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 274.

B. Buford Clashes With Robertson on the Union Left

After reconnoitering the Union left without results, Buford fell back to near Portici. He had been there but a short while when Colonel Nazer of the

4th New York Cavalry (Beardsley's brigade) rode up with his regiment. The enemy was just beyond the hill, Nazer said, and looked as though they were about to charge. Buford ordered Nazer to move his regiment into place behind the 1st Michigan, and the entire command braced itself for a fight. The brigade was in column of regiments, the 1st Michigan in front, then the 4th New York, 1st West Virginia, and 1st Vermont.

The men of the 1st Michigan were ordered, "By platoons, right about wheel; draw sabres." "Every blade flashed at the same instant," remembered one of the men. The regiment started forward. "The boys rode splendidly," he continued, "knee to knee, in perfect line.... The rebs drew their revolvers, the Federal line started an instant first, and they rushed right together, each line passing through the other, except those who went down in the shock of collision." "Men and horses went down and rolled over in the dust," recalled another man, but the Federal onslaught was too much for the Southerners, and they fell back. They soon reformed, however, and came on stronger than before. Again the lines crashed together; Col. Thornton F. Brodhead of the 1st fell mortally wounded. "The shooting and running, cursing and cutting that followed cannot be understood except by an eyewitness," wrote one participant. This time, though, the Confederates got the best of it, and Buford's command was sent reeling, falling back across Bull Run at Lewis Ford. 4th New York Cavalry report, op.cit., p. 274; 2d Virginia Cavalry report, ibid., p. 748; M. D. Steward, "Death of Colonel Broadhead," National Tribune, October 15, 1885; Unknown letter, September 6, 1862, Detroit Free Press, September 13, 1862; Letter of Charles N. Stone, no date, Rochester Democrat and American, September September 15, 1862; Wilkins to his Wife, September 7, 1862, Athens [Ohio] Messenger, September 18, 1862; S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888; Letter of A. McKim, September 12, 1862, ibid., September 25, 1862.

Meanwhile the 5th New York Cavalry, on duty at Pope's headquarters, was deployed to stop stragglers "on Van Pelt's Hill, west of the house." The line "reached from the turnpike to just south of the house." Charles B. Thomas, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, May 19, 1892.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard troopers continued the hopeless task of trying to stop stragglers. Bayard's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 91.

Map #15, 6:00-7:00 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

Lee's headquarters were mobile, somewhere along the Warrenton Turnpike. His activities during the period are unknown.

II. Longstreet's Wing

General Longstreet apparently travelled with Lee, funneling reinforcements to the front as quickly as possible. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 189.

A. R. H. Anderson Moves Forward on Jones's Right and Engages the Federals Along Sudley Road

1. Armistead Supports Mahone

After an exhausting advance of over two miles, General Armistead received orders to support Mahone's brigade. This proved to be unnecessary because, as one man noted, "Mahone's Brigade never faltered." As darkness came on, Armistead's men slid into position opposite the extreme Union left, "in a little ravine about 350 yards from [a] battery" (probably Graham's). "Upon halting," wrote John Magruder of the 53rd Virginia, "every man as far as I could see laid flat down from exhaustion." The Virginians remained here undetected for several minutes until a small explosion lit up the woods in front. This explosion spurred the Federal battery to action. Magruder related, "in an incredibly short time, our ears were greeted with a deafening roar and then with the shrill whistling of grape shot which fell like hail in front, behind and in our midst." Most of the iron passed harmlessly overhead. John W. H. Porter, Norfolk County, p. 107; John Bowie Magruder to his Father, December 4, 1862, Magruder Papers; C. R. Fontaine, 57th Virginia, pp. 10-11; Thomas J. Elliot to his Wife, September 4, 1862, Thomas J. Elliot Papers, Duke University.

2. Mahone Engages the Enemy on the Extreme Right of the Line

After passing Kerns' captured guns, Mahone's men continued their advance across battle-scarred Chinn Ridge until they finally came under fire, probably about 6:15 PM. George Bernard of the 12th Virginia recalled, "Our column, continuing to double quick and obliquing to the right, pushes rapidly forward until about sunset we are almost on the left flank of the enemy. One of their pieces of artillery, now not four hundred yards to our left and front, fires almost enfilading shots down our line.... About this time Gen. Mahone was wounded and the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. D. A. Weiseger of our regiment. We are now very near the enemy. Just in front of us is a burning rail fence, and in the woods to the right of the piece of artillery above mentioned and to our left and front some of our troops are hotly engaged. We cross the burning fence and public road [Sudley Road] near by, and swing around to our left, enter a body of woods and are at once brought face to face with the enemy, not seventy-five yards distant.

"They pour a deadly fire upon us, which we receive lying down on the slope of the hill.... Their fire is returned by our men, but not vigorously. We seem to be waiting as if for orders to move forward. The firing lasts about fifteen minutes, during which time sad havoc is made among our men." Soon the brigade marched "a short distance to a different portion of the battlefield, where we are halted and stack arms." Bernard, "The Maryland Campaign of 1862," pp. 18-19; Westwood A. Todd, MS Reminiscences, p. 42.

3. Wright Fights on Mahone's Left

On Mahone's left, Wright's Georgians pushed forward across Chinn Ridge and into the intensifying fight for Henry Hill. A man of the 48th Georgia wrote, "When within about 150 yards of the Yankee batteries, a destructive fire of musketry was opened upon us." The line was stung, but the Southerners quickly recovered and returned the fire. "The commands from the Yankee officers were distinctly heard, 'Fire! Fire low, boys!' Yet nothing daunted, though many of our comrades fell wounded and dead, onward went the brigade with a steady fire...through the woods. When near enough to the Yankee infantry to see them plainly, we found them behind a rail fence, which we charged, and soon drove them back in double quick, when their batteries limbered and left the field."

It was nearly dark when the Georgians, after severely punishing the Federals in their front, were relieved by Wilcox's brigade. Letter of W. G., September 8, 1862, Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, September 20, 1862; Letter of A. R. Wright, September 3, 1862, Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, September 14, 1862; Laban T. Odem to his Wife, September 3, 1862, Laban T. Odem Papers, Georgia Department of Archives and History; James M. Folsom, Heroes and Martyrs of Georgia (Macon, 1864), p. 88; Wilcox's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 600.

B. D. R. Jones Carries the Fight to Henry Hill

1. Benning Pushes Toward the Stone House Intersection, is Taken in Flank and Changes Front to Engage the Federals on Henry Hill; General Toombs Assumes Command of the Brigade

In passing the Chinn House, the 20th Georgia, along with Colonel Benning, had become separated from the rest of the brigade. The remaining three regiments, from right to left the 17th, 15th, and 2d Georgia, continued down the ridge.

As the fighting subsided, General Toombs galloped onto the field and asserted his command over the brigade after an arrest-induced absence. His welcome, to say the least, was tumultuous. Longstreet, From Manassas..., p. 189; Macon Telegraph, September 12, 1862.

a. The 2d Georgia

After overcoming all resistence encountered on Chinn Ridge, the Georgians pushed forward. Wrote Capt. A. Lewis of the 2d, "We pursued the enemy from our position near the Chinn House in the direction of the turnpike and to within 200 or 300 yards of the stone house. We now saw a fresh brigade of the enemy [undoubtedly Meade's] advancing off to our right and flanking us. We changed front and opened fire upon them, throwing them into confusion; but they soon rallied and again advanced in the same direction, evidently with the intention of flanking us." The 2d was "considerably in advance of all our supports." Col. William R. Holmes ordered the regiment "to fall back until we got upon a line with the Fifteenth and Seventeenth, they being still hotly engaged in the timber to our right." It did so. The fight flared in front of the 15th and 17th but they held on stubbornly. After remaining here for some time (until nearly dark) the 2d, with the rest of the brigade was reformed "near the spring, to the right of the Chinn House...." 2d Georgia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 587; Theodore Fogle to his Parents, August 31, 1862, Theodore Fogle Papers, Emory University.

b. The 15th Georgia

Maj. P. J. Shannon described the activities of his regiment (less Companies G and K, both detached earlier in the day): "On approaching near the enemy's line we changed direction by the right flank across a small stream [Chinn Branch] into a skirt of woods. Then we moved forward by the left flank through the woods toward a road that skirted and ran parallel with the woods, in the meantime encountering a deadly fire from the enemy's battery [probably

Monroe's] immediately in front of our position and heavy musketry. We marched on, however, until we gained the road, with our right resting near the summit of the hill or elevation. We received orders to lie down and fire. On discovering that the enemy were about to turn our right we were ordered to fire by the right oblique, which we did with great havoc to the enemy. The troops on our right [the 17th Georgia] being forced to fall back before vastly superior numbers, we had to fall back about 150 or 200 yards and then change direction by the left flank; recrossed the branch, and ascended the hill across the old field immediately on the left of our position in the wood, all of which was done in good order.... After reforming we then joined the Twentieth Georgia in the pine thicket on the left of the old field and nearly on a line with our position in the road, where we remained under the shot and shell of the enemy until late evening...." At that time they were ordered to repair to the spring with the rest of the brigade. 15th Georgia report, op.cit., pp. 587-88.

c. The 17th Georgia

The 17th Georgia went into the fight on the right of the brigade line. The 15th Georgia was on their left, "but not quite united." Into the woods just west of Sudley Road the Georgians went, and opened fire. Apparently, at some point during the firefight, the 17th was forced back a short distance, exposing the right of the 15th to an enfilading fire. After pressuring the Federal line for about an hour, the regiment fell back and joined the brigade near Chinn's Spring. 17th Georgia report, ibid., p. 590.

d. The 20th Georgia

After emerging alone from the thicket bordering the east bank of Chinn Branch, Colonel Benning discovered a Union battery "not more than 400 yards off." Benning recalled that at this point inaction or retreat were intolerable; he ordered the 20th to charge the guns. "This order was obeyed with a shout, and the regiment went at a run," Benning wrote. "At about 50 or 60 yards from the front of the battery the level branch bottom terminated and the ascent of the hill on which the battery was placed commenced. The ascent for a short distance was rather steep, and then was considerably less so up to the guns, so that the men lying down at the foot of the hill would be protected by the intervening little crest from the battery's fire. When the regiment reached the foot of the hill I ordered them to lie down to recover their breath.... I [then] ordered them to rise and take the battery. They rose at the word, and quickly advanced up the hill and beyond the crest and some of them almost up to the guns. While, however, we had been resting at the foot of the hill the enemy had not been idle. They had got several pieces into position on our right flank at a short distance from us, and with these they opened upon us.... Heavy infantry supports...had now become visible in close proximity to the battery in our front. No supports to us were anywhere in sight. Under the circumstances I thought it would be madness to let the regiment go on." Orders were passed for retreat and the regiment "fell back about 200 yards...to the dry bed of the branch," where the men laid down. Shortly, the 20th was joined by the 15th, and was soon ordered to the brigade bivouac near Chinn Spring. Benning's report, ibid., p. 584; 20th Georgia report, ibid., p. 592.

2. Drayton's Brigade Arrives on the Field at Dusk: Phillips Legion Probes the Federal Line

Earlier in the afternoon, Drayton's men had been detained on the extreme right of the line to guard against an apprehended Federal attack from that quarter. Now, after two hours, the brigade was released from that duty and double-quicked to the field. They arrived at the scene of action, in all likelihood, about 6:45. Letter of A. S. E. to Willie, September 14, 1862, Athens, Ga. Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862; Letter of William H. Dobbins, September 4, 1862, John S. Dobbins Papers, Emory University; Charles W. Williams' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 259; Charles W. Williams to Fitz John Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

3. G. T. Anderson Fights on Benning's Right

After passing the Chinn House, Colonel Anderson hurried his five Georgia regiments into position on Benning's right. Through a heavy fire the Georgians moved to within forty yards of the Federals, posted behind a fence. At first neither line yielded. Then the Federals began to creep around the Confederate right flank, held by the 8th Georgia. Colonel Anderson hurriedly ordered his line refused. The firefight raged. It was, wrote Anderson, "the most murderous fire I ever witnessed." Soon, relief coming up (probably parts of Wilcox's brigade), Anderson gave the order to withdraw. The brigade fell back "two or three hundred yards," then established a bivouac "in front of Chinn's." Anderson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 595; Matthew Talbott Nunnally, Diary, August 30, 1862, Georgia Department of Archives and History; Kitrell J. Warren, History of the Eleventh Georgia Volunteers (Richmond, 1863), pp. 47-48; Letter of E. P. B. (No date), Macon Telegraph, September 10, 1862; Letter of J. D. G. (no date), Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, September 13, 1862; Letter of M. D., September 1, 1862, Rome Tri-Weekly Courier, September 9, 1862; M. O. Young, MS "History of the First Brigade" [G. T. Anderson's], Georgia Department of Archives and History, pp. 77-79.

C. Wilcox's Division

1. Wilcox's Brigade Relieves Wright in the Fight for Henry Hill

After searching in vain for Hood's brigade, General Wilcox finally met one of D. R. Jones' staff officers, who directed him to the firing line. Wilcox described his advance: "At length, having crossed a deep ravine and risen to the summit of the ascent to the far side, the portion of the field where the musketry fight was then going on was in close proximity, it being in a skirt of woods bordering a small stream [Chinn Branch] not 300 yards distant. To reach this there was an open, level field and then a short and abrupt descent to the stream. While crossing this field we were exposed to a close artillery fire of the enemy from a battery in front of where our men were then engaged [According to a man of Jenkins' brigade, Wilcox's men passed right over that brigade as it caught its collective breath atop Chinn Ridge.]. My men crossed the little stream near which the fight was then still raging, passed through the woods skirting it and then changed direction to the left, so as to occupy the same line that our troops were then occupying. They were thrown into the woods and cautioned to be careful not to fire upon our own men, who were then engaged. My men entered where Wright's brigade had been engaged, and near where General Toombs had been engaged...on the right of the turnpike. The fighting here was soon over, but the musketry was of the heaviest kind while it lasted. The firing continued till after dark for more than half an hour and then gradually ceased.... My brigade bivouacked at this point of the field." A. L. Young to Fitz John Porter, August 13, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress; Wilcox's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 600; Wilcox's Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 263; Coker, Sixth South Carolina, p. 99.

2. Pryor Advances: The 3rd Virginia Moves With Pender's Brigade

Pryor reported that once his advance against the Federal positions on Dogan Ridge began he ran into little resistance—"the enemy on our approach invariably abandoning his positions almost without a struggle." Pryor recalled, "Several of his detached pieces and caissons were captured, but generally he succeeded by a timely flight in escaping with his batteries.... It was a mere chase, in which the enemy exhibited such fleetness that we could inflict upon him only a trifling loss.... The brigade bivouacked on the advanced position won by our arms."

During the course of the advance, though, part of the brigade became separated, so Pryor set out in search of it. In the course of this search he nearly became the first Army of Northern Virginia general officer to become a prisoner. He was, however, fortunate enough to effect a dramatic escape. Pryor's report, op.cit., p. 603.

a. The 3rd Virginia

Separated from the brigade, the 3rd Virginia received permission to advance on the right of Pender's brigade of North Carolinians. A man of the regiment recorded, "As soon as it passed out of the woods it became exposed to a very heavy fire of musketry and artillery, which, however, did not stay its onward rush. John Yost...,Company H, carried the colors of the 3rd Regiment, and was the first man to reach the Federal battery which had been playing upon them. The cannoneers were driven from their guns, and the infantry being pushed back at the same time, the battery was captured. A dispute arose between the 3rd Regiment and Pender's Brigade as to who had captured it, but there can be little doubt that John Yost was the first man to reach it, and that he planted the colors of the 3rd Virginia there and the regiment was at its heels." [The battery referred to was either Thompson's, Matthews', or McGilvery's—probably the latter.] Porter, Norfolk County, p. 65.

3. Featherston Moves Against the Federal Batteries

General Featherston chronicled, "As soon as our line was formed an advance was ordered. The whole line moved forward in rapid and gallant style. The enemy fled after the first well directed fire[,] through the woods in the direction of the stone house. All the pieces of their artillery were left upon the field and captured. [Isaac Hall of the 97th New York of Duryee's brigade recorded that his brigade was attacked by Featherston's men and that it was Featherston that captured Thompson's and Matthews' batteries. Pender and Archer also lay claim to capturing Federal guns.] These brigades [Featherston's, Archer's, Pender's and Thomas'] continued the march in pursuit of the enemy. Passing through a skirt of woods, they reached another field three-quarters of a mile wide, on the farther side of which the enemy were discovered again in line of battle, with one or two pieces of artillery placed upon a commanding eminence, which were turned upon our troops as soon as they made their appearance. These brigades were again put in line of battle on the edge of the woods, and Colonel Thomas was directed to move with his brigade to the left of our line to prevent a flank movement by the enemy...coming up a road running on our left and extending in front to the turnpike near the stone house. These dispositions having been made, our line advanced. The enemy fled precipitately.... Having driven them from their position, any farther movement was prevented by the darkness of the night." Here the brigade bivouacked. Featherston's report, op.cit., pp. 603-604; Hall, Ninety-seventh New York, p. 74.

4. Chapman's Battery (Dixie Artillery)

Chapman continued to fire until his ammunition was expended.

D. Evans' (Hood's) Division

1. Hood's Brigade Recovers

After an afternoon of heavy fighting, the regiments of Hood's brigade rested and refitted. The 18th Georgia and 1st and 4th Texas remained in position under cover of Young's Branch. Hampton's Legion was likely somewhere west of Chinn Ridge. The 5th Texas, after having lost heavily in the fighting on Chinn Ridge, reformed there. 18th Georgia, Hampton's Legion, 1st, 4th, and 5th Texas reports, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, pp. 610, 611, 614, 616, & 621.

2. Law Attacks Dogan Ridge, but Fails to Capture a Federal Battery

After repulsing the attack from the 45th New York, it became apparent to Law that the 11th Mississippi was not moving into its assigned attack position north of the Warrenton Turnpike. Law then decided to launch the assault with only the regiments at hand: the 6th North Carolina, 2d Mississippi, and 4th Alabama. The three regiments swept up the slope, but, "taking time by the forelock," the Federal battery [Dilger's] atop the ridge escaped. Law recalled, "The enemy's wounded and a few prisoners were left in our hands. I continued the advance beyond Dogan's house, driving the enemy backward until after dark...." Law's report, ibid., p. 624; Unidentified letter (newspaper clipping), August 31, 1862, Mangum Family Papers, SHC, U.N.C.; Coles, MS "Fourth Alabama," pp. 18-19.

3. Evans' Shattered Brigade Collects Itself

After their heavy fighting on Chinn Ridge, the regiments of Evans' brigade were battered and badly disorganized. It took much time to refom the units. Stevens' report, op.cit., p. 631; 17th, 18th, 23d South Carolina reports, ibid., pp. 633, 636, 638.

a. Boyce's Battery (MacBeth Artillery)

Boyce continued to work his guns until the enemy was out of range and then was ordered to withdraw. Boyce's report, ibid., p. 640.

4. Division Artillery (Bushrod W. Frobel Commanding): Bachman's (German Artillery), Garden's (Palmetto Artillery), and Reilly's Batteries

Little is known of the activities of these batteries at this hour. Major Frobel indicated that they followed Law's brigade in the advance. Frobel to Longstreet, E. P. Alexander Papers.

E. Kemper's Division Remains on Chinn Ridge

After bearing the brunt of the fighting on Chinn Ridge, Kemper's division was in no condition to continue. The brigades had suffered heavily and were scattered. As near as can be told, all spent the night on or near Chinn Ridge. Johnston, Four Years a Soldier, p. 180; Coker, 6th South Carolina, p. 99.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

1. Washington Artillery (Maj. J. B. Walton Commanding)

a. Squires' and Miller's Companies

Both of these companies remained in reserve. Owen, Washington Artillery, p. 120.

b. Richardson's Company

The fighting on Chinn Ridge ended, Richardson's gunners ceased firing. According to Captain Richardson, they were not engaged the remainder of the evening. Richardson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 575.

c. Eshleman's Company

Colonel Rosser reported that, upon "receiving information that the enemy was pressing the cavalry, which was my support on the right, I sent two guns of Captain Eshleman's battery," under Lt. Joseph Norcom, "to its support." Norcom's guns went into position "on the left of the Conrad house and fired into the enemy until directed to cease by General Stuart." The remaining section, meanwhile, was "ordered by Captain Eshleman across the Sudley road, firing as it advanced...." Colonel Walton recalled, "After a short interval the enemy again appeared in force near the edge of the woods. Captain Eshleman immediately changed his front to the left and poured into the enemy's ranks two rounds of canister with deadly effect. Those not killed or wounded ran in disorder. After throwing a few shells into the woods Captain Eshleman retired about 200 yards to the rear.... In a few minutes an order was brought from General Stuart, directing the section to be brought again to the vicinity of the Conrad house. It was now dark, and Captain Eshleman kept up...a moderate fire until 9 o'clock in the direction of the Centreville road, when he was directed to retire." Rosser's report, ibid., p. 750; Walton's report, ibid., p. 572.

2. S. D. Lee's Battalion

Lee's battalion remained in place. Lee's report, ibid., p. 578.

3. Miscellaneous Batteries: Stribling's (Fauquier Artillery) and Rogers' (Loudoun Artillery)

Colonel Rosser described the activities of these two batteries, as well as Eshleman's: After sending Norcom's section of Eshleman's battery to the Conrad house, "I posted my guns to the best advantage and opened a most terrific [enfilading] fire...which caused [the enemy] to attempt to carry by a desperate charge my advance battery, which was gallantly met and repulsed by Rogers' canister; but the cavalry being all the time my only support, and my position at this time being very close to the enemy, I drew up my batteries en echelon, and by keeping up the continued fire I soon caused the enemy to seek shelter under cover of the hill.

"Darkness had come on. The enemy's sharpshooters were lying just over the hill in a thick undergrowth of pines." It was impractical to advance the guns, so Rosser held them in position until the firing ceased along the lines. Rosser's report, ibid., p. 750.

III. Jackson's Wing Advances

A. Starke's Division Supports the Advance

Little in the way of specific information can be found about the advance of Starke's division. It was designated a supporting role in the advance of the wing, and its right rested on the turnpike. The advance continued to Sudley Road, where the division halted and bivouacked for the night. Johnson's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 667; 2d Virginia report, ibid., p. 660; Stafford's report, ibid., p. 669.

1. Division Artillery (Shumaker's Battalion)

According to Captain Poague, only four guns of the battalion, detached and commanded by Major Shumaker, played an active role in the forward movement. These guns moved forward along the turnpike. Poague, Gunner With Stonewall, p. 38.

B. A. P. Hill's Division

1. Branch's Brigade Advances on Hill's Left

Branch was designated to shield the left of Hill's advance. As a result, its advance was probably somewhat slower than the rest of the division, but it met with "no resistance." Hill's report, op.cit., p. 671; Harris, Seventh North Carolina, p. 21.

2. Archer Claims the Capture of a Federal Battery

On Pender's left, Archer's Confederates moved through the timber toward the Federal artillery. Archer reported, "One battery of six guns was posted about 300 yards distant...and a little to the left of the direction of my advance. I moved in the same direction until about half that distance was passed, then swung around to the left, and marched in double-quick directly on the battery. The enemy stood his guns and continued to fire until we were within 75 yards, when he abandoned three of his pieces, which fell into the hands of my brigade.... General Pender overtook and captured the other three pieces. I left the pieces I had captured to be taken care of by whomsoever might come after me, and pushed on without halt against the infantry, who still made a feeble resistence in the edge of the wood. They did not wait our coming, but had retreated out of sight by the time I entered the wood.

"Here I halted and reformed my brigade, and on moving forward again came up with General Pender's, which had entered the same wood to the right of my brigade and had halted for the same purpose. During the movement through the wood our brigades had crossed each other's directions, and I found myself on his right instead of his left, as at the beginning. From this point our brigades moved on together to the Lewis [Carter?] House...." Archer's report, op.cit., p. 701.

3. Pender Pushes Forward to Near Pittsylvania

Pender moved forward on Archer's right. Pender reported, "We advanced steadily, driving the enemy from the field through the woods, taking a part of his battery in the field and another part in the woods.... We continued our advance until after dark...." Pender's report, ibid., p. 698; Samuel A. Ashe, Memoirs, p. 8, Civil War Collection, North Carolina Department of Archives and History; 38th North Carolina report, William J. Hoke Papers, Vol. 4, pp. 43-44, SHC, U.N.C.; Clark, ed., North Carolina Regiments, Vol. II, p. 585.

4. Brockenbrough's Brigade

As previously mentioned, Brockenbrough moved forward on the right, in conjunction with Taliaferro's brigade. Hill's report, op.cit., p. 671.

5. Gregg's Brigade

The South Carolinians made no substantive change of position. 1st South Carolina Rifles' report, op.cit., p. 691.

6. Thomes' Brigade

Thomas moved forward supporting the advance of Archer and Pender.

As the columns reached the Sudley Road, according to General Featherston, Thomas was dispatched to the left to guard against an advance from that direction. The brigade bivouacked "some distance in the rear of the enemy's position during the day." Featherston's report, ibid., p. 604; Thomas' report, ibid., p. 703.

7. Division Artillery (Walker's Battalion)

Little can be learned about the activities of these batteries during the late afternoon. They were apparently not involved in the advance.

C. Lawton's Division: Douglass and Brown Follow the Advance; Early Pushes to the Left

Regarding Douglass', Beown's, and Strong's brigades, their role in the advance was negligible. Douglass and Brown initially moved forward on Early's right, then bivouacked only a short distance from their starting points. Strong remained in position on the extreme left. The doings of Early's brigade were chronicled by its commander: "My own brigade advanced through the woods until it reached a field in front, and I halted here a moment for General Lawton and the rest of the division to come up as I was a little in advance, but General Jackson soon rode up and ordered me to move by the left flank, as it was reported that a body of enemy was moving to our left. I immediately did so, sending in front skirmishers...and continued to move until I came to the railroad, and then along that until I came to a field. It was then getting dark, and as soon as my skirmishers entered the field they were fired upon from a hill to my left. This was very unexpected, and I immediately sent back to General Jackson to let him know the fact." It was probably some of Hill's troops, Jackson replied. Early sent forward a volunteer to confirm; it turned out to be the skirmishers from Gregg's and Branch's brigades. Early continued, "I was then ordered to advance to the front, and in a few minutes afterward I was ordered to move back by the right flank.... I found that the other brigades had bivouacked near where I had left them and my own did the same." Early's report, ibid., pp. 713-14.

1. Division Artillery

Only D'Aquin's and Latimer's batteries took an active part in the pursuit; these south of the turnpike. Their specific roles cannot be determined. Crutchfield's report, ibid., p. 653.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry Goes into Action on Both Flanks

A. Fitz Lee Advances on the Left

Though there are no Confederate sources to confirm it, it is apparent from Union descriptions of the retreat on the Federal right that at least some of Fitz Lee's troopers made a lunge at the retreating bluecoats in that area. The particulars of the attack are unknown. Documentation for Poe's brigade, 6-6:45 PM, August 30, 1862.

B. Robertson Clashes with Buford on the Right

After riding forward for "about 2 miles," General Robertson halted his command "a little to the right of the road we started on." Robertson reported, "I observed a body of the enemy's cavalry approaching [Lewis Ford] from the direction of Manassas. As there did not seem to be more than a small squadron, I ordered two companies of the 2d Virginia Cavalry, Colonel Munford, to move forward and attack them." 7th Virginia Cavalry report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 752; Robertson's report, ibid., p. 746.

1. The 2d Virginia Cavalry Leads the Charge But is Driven Back

Upon receiving Robertson's order to charge, Colonel Munford directed Lt. Col. J. W. Watts' First Squadron to carry out the order. The Virginians charged and dispersed the Federals, but continuing on soon ran into Buford's brigade of Federal cavalry, "stationed under the hill near Lewis Ford." Watts stopped his command and reported. Munford then ordered the rest of the regiment forward. The colonel reported, "As soon as I had formed my line of battle I determined to move to the rear for a better position; but as soon as I commenced this move the enemy, mistaking my object, advanced upon me. We were then near enough to hear distinctly each other's commands. Hearing the command 'Forward, trot,' I wheeled my command to the right-about fours and went at them with drawn sabers. The enemy were in column by regiment, composed of the 1st Michigan, 4th New York, and 1st Virginia (bogus). My regiment in line of battle going at a gallop, we went through the first line of the enemy and engaged part of the second. A terrible hand-to-hand fight ensued. The two commands were thoroughly intermingled, and the enemy overpowering us by numbers (being at least four to one), we were driven back."

Reforming, Colonel Munford led his horsemen back into the fight, accompanied now by the 12th and 7th Virginia Cavalry. The Confederates drove the Federals back in disorder, capturing a large number of prisoners. The 2d, after the hard fight, stopped short of crossing Bull Run, instead leaving the pursuit to the 12th and 7th. 2d Virginia Cavalry report, ibid., p. 748; Thomas T. Munford, MS History of the 2d Virginia Cavalry, Munford-Ellis Family Papers, Duke University; John B. Fay to Thomas T. Munford, August 15, 1906, ibid.

2. The 12th Virginia Cavalry Supports the 2d

As soon as Robertson became aware of the size of the Union cavalry force in front, he ordered the 12th and 7th Virginia to support the 2d. By the time Col. A. W. Harman led his six companies of the 12th to Munford's support, the 2d was falling back. In a post-war letter Harman recalled, "As I reached the hill near the old Henry House I met many of Munford's men fleeing in great disorder. A few minutes later I met Col. M[unford] on foot and out of breath with many others getting away as fast as they could run. I halted and Col. M[unford] told me he had made a most gallant charge in line, been overlapped on both sides and defeated. From the sabre cuts I saw on the faces and over the heads of his men, it was a gallant charge and had been bravely met. Col. M[unford] had been severely thrashed over the back with a sabre....

"The emergency was so pressing that after a rapid march of 2 miles I did not have time to even form my regiment in platoons, for Col. Broadhead [sic] with the 1st Michigan cavalry was in perfect order on the brow of the hill." This hill, Harman remembered in his report, was "to the right of the Lewis house." Harman quickly ordered his regiment "to form on the first set of fours" and directed it to charge. "My regiment responded to the order with such spirit and vim," Harman wrote, "that I pierced Broadhead's [sic] center, shivered his regiment and drove him back on his supports in such confusion that I had them all on the run.... I pressed the pursuit beyond Bull run...." The troopers continued on until they reached the Warrenton Turnpike, where, receiving no support, they returned to the brigade. Robertson's report, *ibid*., p. 746; A. W. Harman to Jedediah Hotchkiss, March 15, 1886, Jedediah Hotchkiss Papers, Library of Congress; 12th Virginia Cavalry report, *op.cit*., p. 752.

3. The 7th Virginia Cavalry Follows the 12th Into the Fight

Following quickly on the heels of the 12th was the 7th Virginia Cavalry, commanded by Capt. Samuel B. Myers. Myers recorded, "When [the] head of our regiment came to [the] top of [the] hill on our right the enemy were drawn up in line of battle on an opposite hill about 400 yards distant, their line extending a considerable distance on [the] left.... I ordered [the] regiment to charge with drawn sabers on [the enemy's] right flank, which the whole command obeyed with the greatest alacrity, charging upon them with shouts that made the very welkin ring and routing [the] entire line on our left." The 7th continued on after the retreating foe, "charging another force of them that had formed on our right in a woods about 800 yards from the first line," and, with the 2d and 12th, captured "a large number" of Federals.

The 2d stopped short of crossing Bull Run, but the 7th crossed the stream at Lewis Ford and pursued the Federals "three quarters of a mile," while the 12th harrassed them as far as the Warrenton Turnpike. 7th Virginia report, ibid., p. 752; 12th Virginia report, ibid.; 2d Virginia report, ibid., p. 748; Robertson's report, ibid., p. 747; Diary of an unidentified Confederate soldier, August 30, 1862, Tucker-Harrison-Smith Family Papers, University of Virginia.

4. The 6th Virginia Cavalry and the 17th Virginia Cavalry Battalion

Neither of these regiment were directly involved in the fighting near Lewis Ford. The 6th Cavalry was the fourth regiment in Robertson's column, behind the 7th Virginia. The location of the 17th Battalion can only be estimated. Robertson's report, op.cit., p. 746.

MAP 16

Map #16, 7:00-9:00 PM, August 30

UNION POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

At 8 PM Pope issued the formal retreat orders and, feeling that there was nothing left to accomplish on the field, began the melancholy journey to Centreville. Eby, ed., Strother Diaries, pp. 96-97; Ruggles' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 311; T. C. H. Smith, MS "Memoir," p. 202.

II. Sigel's First Corps (Army of Virginia)

About 10 PM Sigel's command proceeded across Stone Bridge (actually a wooden span constructed on the original stone abutments) to Centreville. Sigel's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 269; Schurz's report, ibid., p. 302.

A. Schenck's Division

After concentrating near the Van Pelt house, Schenck's division withdrew across Bull Run about 10 PM. Stahel's report, ibid., p. 285; Schenck's (Cheesebrough's) report, ibid., pp. 282-83; Luther B. Mesnard, MS Recollections, p. 14.

B. Schurz's Division

1. Schimmelfennig Withdraws from Henry Hill and Retreats Across the Stone Bridge

8 to 11 PM: At 8 PM the brigade withdrew "across Young's Branch," where it was detailed to act as the rearguard of the army. The 61st Ohio was dispatched to support two of Dilger's pieces. The brigade was among the last units to cross Stone Bridge (at about 11 PM). Schurz's report, ibid., p. 302; 74th Pennsylvania report, ibid., p. 311; 61st Ohio report, ibid., p. 309.

2. Krzyzanowski's Brigade

The 54th New York was designated to act as rearguard as Krzyzanowski fell back with the rest of the corps. Krzyzanowski's report, ibid., p. 313; 54th New York report, ibid., p. 314.

3. Division Artillery (Capt. Louis Schirmer Commanding)

a. Roemer (L, 2d New York Light)

About 7 PM Roemer was ordered to move his guns into a position commanding the crossing of Young's Branch along the Warrenton Turnpike.

Here they remained until ordered across Stone Bridge. Roemer, Reminiscences, pp. 79-80.

b. Dilger's Battery (I, 1st Ohio Light) Covers the Retreat

7 to 11 PM: About 7 PM Dilger received instructions to cover the retreat of the corps with one of his sections. This he did without incident, supported by the 54th New York. Dilger's report, ibid., p. 306; 54th New York report, ibid., p. 314.

C. Corps Artillery: Wiedrich's (I, 1st New York Light), Buell's (C, West Virginia Light), and Dieckmann's (13th, New York Light) Batteries

The source material regarding these batteries during this period is scant. It is assumed they retreated with the rest of the corps. Sigel's report, ibid., p. 269; Wiedrich's report, ibid., p. 305.

D. Milroy's Brigade

Milroy retreated via the Warrenton Turnpike and Stone Bridge. Lang, "Personal Reminiscences," p. 102.

III. McDowell's Corps (Army of Virginia)

A. Hatch's Division

1. Sullivan's and Patrick's Brigades

Sullivan and Patrick retreated along the Warrenton Turnpike. Patrick, Journal, August 30, 1862.

2. Doubleday Withdraws

Shortly after falling back out of range of enemy guns, the brigade was ordered back toward Centreville. General Doubleday wrote, "I fell back with my division about dark by order of General Hooker. Finding the Stone Bridge encumbered with trains I crossed at the ford above." Doubleday, Journal, August 30, 1862, pp. 50, 53; 56th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 373; A. P. Smith, Seventy-sixth New York, p. 137.

3. Gibbon's Brigade

Gibbon's brigade remained on the ridge near the Robinson House until 9 PM, when it received orders to cross Bull Run, preceding Sigel's corps. Gibbon, Recollections, pp. 65-68.

4. Division Artillery

All of the batteries of the division crossed Bull Run on the Stone

Bridge, Campbell crossing last in conjunction with Gibbon's brigade. Sumner, Battery D, p. 23; Letter of George Breck, September 4, 1862, Rochester Union and Advertiser, September 11, 1862; Gibbon, Recollections, p. 65.

B. Ricketts' Division

1. Duryee's Brigade

This brigade left its position around Pittsylvania and crossed Bull Run above the Stone Bridge. Ninety-seventh New York, pp. 74-75; Letter of Frank Faville, September 5, 1862, Herkimer [N.Y.] County Journal, September 11, 1862; Hough, Duryee's Brigade, pp. 98-99; 104th New York Account, Unpublished, Manassas NBP Library; Lone Cavalryman (pseud.), "He Wants to Know," National Tribune, May 5, 1887; 107th Pennsylvania report, O.R. Ser. I, Pt. 2, p. 387; Ricketts' report, ibid., p. 385; Henry Besancon, Diary, August 30, 1862, Duke University.

2. Tower's Brigade

Tower's men crossed the Bull Run on the Stone Bridge. Vautier, 88th Pennsylvania, p. 58.

3. Stiles' Brigade

Stiles' regiments apparently crossed Bull Run at Stone Bridge. Jaques, Three Years Campaign, p. 101; Stearns, Three Years in Company K, p. 109.

4. Thoburn Engages Pender and Archer Near Pittsylvania

7 to 9 PM: At Pittsylvania Thoburn regrouped his scattered command. In a letter home, John Hadley of the 7th Indiana recounted what happened next: "We had stacked arms and were sitting about on the ground talking about the fortunes of the day when suddenly, in front about 200 yards distant, emerging from a thicket of pine, we saw a column of infantry.

"Col Thoburn commanding the brigade at once called us to arms. He then sang out to the approaching column 'What force comes there?' 'Secesh' replied a voice. 'Don't talk that way' says Thoburn 'or we'll give you a volley.' 'Well who are you?' called out the voice. 'We are Union troops' returned Thoburn. 'Oh well then' echoed the voice, 'don't fire we're friends[']."

The supposed "friends" continued to move forward. Thoburn cried out once more, "If you are Union troops wave your colors." The column displayed colors that apparently satisfied the colonel, for it was allowed to move closer.

Finally, it was within only yards of the Federal line. Colonel Thoburn spurred his horse out to meet them. He was met by the blinding flash of a Confederate musket. Turning his horse, he shouted to his men, "the enemy—fire!" "At this instant a perfect sheet of fire proceeded from our ranks and from their[s]," Private Hadley wrote. "Simultaneous with the fire in front was another from our right flank." Another man of the brigade continued, "the visible force of the enemy far exceeding ours, the order was 'Take care of No. 1.' Everyone did as ordered, getting away as fast as his legs would carry him." The broken regiments continued rearward "across a hollow" and, the enemy not pursuing, they soon regained a semblence of order. The retreat continued across Bull Run near Stone Bridge. James I. Robertson, ed., "An Indiana Soldier in Love and War: The Civil War Letters of John V. Hadley," Indiana Magazine of History, Volume LIX (1963), p. 219; James C. Hamilton, MS "History of the 110th Pennsylvania Regiment of Infantry," MOLLUS War Library, Philadelphia, pp. 57-58; William Davis. MS "Record of Movements, Camps, Campaigns Skirmishes and Battles of the 7th Indiana Infantry, 1861-1863," Indiana State Library; Orville Thomson, From Philippi to Appomattox, Narratives of the Service of the Seventh Indiana Infantry in the War For the Union, (n.p, 190-), p. 120; E. T. Baker to His Wife, September 4, 1862, E. T. Baker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, September 5, 1862; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. II, p. 1309.

5. Division Artillery

Subsequent to their withdrawal from the firing line, it is impossible to locate these batteries based on available source material.

C. Reynolds' Division

Joined by Anderson's brigade, Meade and Seymour followed Sykes' division to the Warrenton Turnpike and crossed Bull Run at Stone Bridge. Reynolds' report, op.cit., p. 395; Meade's report, ibid., p. 398; Woodward, Our Campaigns, p. 187.

IV. Heintzelman's Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)

Shortly after 8 PM Heintzelman received orders to "retire to Centreville," "if possible go by way of Sudley's Ford." The latter was manifestly impossible, so instead Heintzelman withdrew his divisions via Farm Ford and Stone Bridge. Ruggles to Heintzelman, 8:00 PM, August 30, 1862, ibid., p. 78.

A. Kearny's Division

Kearny maintained his position until 10 PM, "when, in conjunction with

General Reno and General Gibbon—assigned to the rearguard—I retired my brigades." Kearny's report, ibid., p. 416.

1. Graham's Battery (K, 1st U.S.)

Graham's battery remained on Henry Hill with Ferrero until 9 PM, when it withdrew along the Warrenton Turnpike. Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, p. 148.

B. Hooker's Division

Hooker's three brigades withdrew along the Warrenton Turnpike. Taylor's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 445; Hutchinson, Eleventh Massachusetts, p. 41; Blake, Three Years, p. 134; Carr's report, op.cit., p. 455; Bellard, Gone For a Soldier, p. 143.

1. McGilvery's Battery (6th, Maine Light)

McGilvery remained in position near Pittsylvania until 8 PM. Vail, "McGilvery's Battery...," National Tribune, June 6, 1904.

V. Porter's Fifth Corps (Army of the Potomac)

Porter's force was among the mass of troops and wagons struggling eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike across the Stone Bridge. Wilson, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, October 19, 1905; Quiner, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers," Vol. 7, p. 84; Waterman's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 467; Buchanan's report, ibid., p. 488; Sykes's report, ibid., p. 482; Chapman's report, ibid., p. 497; Randol's report, ibid., p. 486; Weed's report, ibid., p. 485.

VI. Ninth Corps

A. Stevens' Division

After remaining for a short time in rear of Ricketts' men near Pittsylvania, Stevens' men moved across Bull Run at Poplar Ford. Todd, Seventy-ninth Highlanders, p. 205; Stevens, Stevens, p. 473.

B. Reno's Division

1. Nagle's Brigade

Nagle's brigade remained in its previously taken position near Matthews Hill until 9 PM, when it retreated, probably via Stone Bridge. Gould, Forty-eighth, p. 68; Bosbyshell, Forty-eighth in the War, p. 67.

2. Ferrero's Brigade Closes the Battle on Henry Hill

After taking position on the crest of Henry Hill, wrote Charles Walcott of the 21st Massachusetts, "We had not long to wait: the sun had set, and it was beginning to grow dark, when we heard a confused hum, and the rush of many feet in our front; stand up was the order, and every man was on his feet; the open space in our front was now alive with the rebel masses, and General Reno gave the welcome order, 'Give them about ten rounds boys. Fire!' A simultaneous volley rolled from infantry and artillery [Graham's battery], and then it was every man for himself." For a few moments the blue-coats kept up the fusilade. The smoke cleared away, and the field in front was strewn with dead and dying Confederates. For 20 minutes the hill was silent.

The 51st New York on the left of the line bore the brunt of the next (and final) attack. Using the stream-bed as cover, the Confederates swung around the left of the 51st, and in a sudden attack, rolled up its flank. Quickly the 21st Massachusetts changed front to the left to support the 51st, and in a few minutes the attack was beaten off. The brigade and the battery then remained quietly in place until nearly 9 PM, when they were slowly and quietly drawn off the hill and proceeded to the Warrenton Turnpike. Walcott, Twenty-first Massachusetts, pp. 147-48. Ira B. Goodrich, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, May 4, 1893; Thomas H. Parker, Fifty-first Pensylvania, p. 214; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. II, p. 4; Jerome M. Loving, ed., Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman (Durham, 1975), pp. 62, 145; Letter of I.B.G, September 6, 1862, Fitchburg [Mass.] Sentinel, September 19, 1862; George C. Parker to Mother Stone, October 15, 1862, George C. Parker Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, U.S.A.M.H.I.; Andrew L. Fowler, Memoirs of the Late Andrew L. Fowler of the 51st N.Y.V... (New York, 1863), p. 56; Ferrero's report, U.S. Army Generals Reports of Civil War Service, Vol. 3, pp. 279-81, RG 94, National Archives; Bates, Pennsylvania Regiments, Vol. II, p. 4; Letter of G. W., August [sic] 5, 1862, Fitchburg [Mass.] Sentinel, September 12, 1862; James Madison Stone, Recollections, pp. 68-69.

VII. Cavalry Commands

A. Beardsley's Brigade

When the retreat order came, Beardsley was directed to form his brigade on the right of the retreating column. Subsequently the brigade retreated via Farm Ford. Newel Cheney, History of the Ninth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry (Jamestown, N.Y., 1901), p. 56; 1st Maryland Cavalry report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 273; 6th Ohio Cavalry report, ibid., p. 278.

B. Buford's Brigade

After its retreat across Bull Run, there is nothing to indicate the location of this brigade. All that is known is that the 1st Vermont Cavalry was sent along the Warrenton Turnpike to Stone Bridge to supervise the crossing of the wagon trains there. S. A. Clark, "Second Bull Run," National Tribune, June 21, 1888.

C. Bayard's Brigade

Bayard's troopers retreated with the rest of the army. Bayard's report, op.cit., p. 91.

Map #16, 7-9 PM, August 30

CONFEDERATE POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS

I. Army Headquarters

General Lee's activities during the period are unknown.

II. Longstreet's Wing

A. R. H. Anderson's Division

1. Armistead is Requested to Attack, But Declines

Upon examining the right of the Confederate line, General Stuart saw opportunity in Armistead's position. Stuart reported, "As the enemy's masses of infantry had not retreated across Bull Run I was anxious to cut off that retreat. Upon the enemy's position after dark, however, infantry only could move, and I was anxious for Brigadier-General Armistead to attack from [his] position...directly on the enemy's flank, and urged it. He, however, doubted the policy of night attack with his command, especially as there was danger of collision with our own infantry, and I did not feel authorized to order it, particularly as there was no time to communicate with the commanding general...." The attack was not made. Stuart's report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 737.

2. Weisiger's (Mahone's) Brigade

Mahone was drawn off the firing line and moved "to a different portion of the battlefield" and bivouacked. Bernard, "The Maryland Campaign of 1862," p. 19; Todd, MS Reminiscences, p. 42.

3. Wright's Brigade

Subsequent to its being relieved by Wilcox's brigade, the location of Wright's men can only be conjectured.

B. D. R. Jones' Division

Subsequent to withdrawing from the front, Benning's and Anderson's brigades moved back to the Chinn Ridge area. Benning bivouacked near Chinn Spring, while Anderson's men bedded down "in front of Chinn's." 20th Georgia report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 592; Benning's report, ibid., p. 584; Anderson's report, ibid., p. 595.

Regarding Drayton's brigade, as soon as it arrived at the front General Drayton ordered Phillips' Legion to move to the firing line. The rest of the brigade remained, for some unknown reason, out of action. A private in the

Legion recorded, "Gen. Toombs rode up to our regiment just as it was going in, and waving his hat, in language more plain than proper, told us to 'Go in boys and give the d—d invaders hell!' We immediatley marched up to the woods...and started in at two or three points." Word quickly came that there were friendly troops in front. "We, after some delay, found a point lower down on the right, where we had no troops...and with our regiment alone marched up on a whole brigade of Yankees supporting a battery. Our Sergeant Major asked them what regiments they were, and they told him some N.Y., Mass., and Penn. regiments." [Fererro's brigade was composed of the 51st New York, 21st Massachusetts, and 51st Pennsylvania.] The Georgians thought better of attacking such a strong force, and quietly drew off, stopping "just out of sight of them in the woods." There the Southerners passed a restless night. Letter of A. S. E. to Willie, September 14, 1862, Athens, Ga. Weekly Banner, October 1, 1862; Letter of William H. Dobbins, September 4, 1862, John S. Dobbins Papers, Emory University; Charles W. Williams' Testimony, Porter Retrial, Pt. 2, p. 259; Charles W. Williams to Fitz John Porter, June 12, 1878, Porter Papers, Library of Congress.

C. Wilcox's Division

1. Wilcox's Brigade Continues Firing Until After Dark

Wilcox's Alabamans continued to fire until after dark, when they bivouacked on the field. Wilcox's report O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 600.

2. Pryor and Featherston Bivouac North of the Turnpike

Both these brigades did little after dark, instead bivouacking along the line of the farthest Confederate advance. Pryor's report, ibid., p. 603; Featherston's report, ibid., p. 604.

D. Evans' (Hood's) Division

Severely battered in the afternoon's fighting, both Hood's and Evans' (Stevens') brigades bivouacked in their previously taken positions. Stevens' report, ibid., p. 631; 18th Georgia, 1st, 4th, 5th Texas reports, ibid., pp. 610, 614, 616, & 621.

Meanwhile, Law continued his advance north of the turnpike beyond the John Dogan house until "after dark, when by Longstreet's order, I halted for the night. Law's report, ibid., p. 624.

E. Kemper's Division

All of Kemper's division spent the night on Chinn Ridge. Johnston, Four Years a Soldier, p. 180; Coker, Sixth South Carolina, p. 99.

F. Artillery of the Right (Longstreet's) Wing

Of Longstreet's batteries, only three--Eshleman's, Stribling, and Rogers'--saw any action after dark. The trio were in position near the Conrad House and continued to fire until 9 PM. Rosser's report, op.cit., p. 750; Walton's report, ibid., p. 572.

III. Jackson's Wing

A. Starke's Division

Starke's division bivouacked along Sudley Road. Johnson's report, ibid., p. 667.

B. A. P. Hill's Division

The only brigades of Hill's division that saw action after 7 PM were Archer's and Pender's. Archer recalled, "A little after dark we encountered in the field to the left of the [Carter] house a body of the enemy's infantry, whose numbers we could not ascertain for the darkness of the night, and with whom, after they had to our challenge answered 'For the Union,' we exchanged a single volley and drove them from the field. Here we found a large hospital filled with wounded...." Archer's report, op.cit., p. 701.

Pender recalled that it was just after dark "when we came in contact with a body of the enemy [near Pittsylvania]. Each fired a volley. They ran, and we rested for the night." The final position was "far in advance of our original position and close to Bull Run." Pender's report, ibid., p. 698; Samuel A. Ashe, Memoirs, p. 8, Civil War Collection, North Carolina Department of Archives and History; 38th North Carolina report, William J. Hoke Papers, Vol. 4, pp. 43-44, SHC, U.N.C.; Clark, ed., North Carolina Regiments, Vol. II, p. 585.

C. Lawton's Division

Early's, Douglass', and Brown's brigades bivouacked not far from their starting points of the afternoon, in the open field just east of the woods. Early's report, op.cit., p. 714.

IV. Stuart's Cavalry

On the right Robertson's troopers continued their pursuit of Buford's Federal cavalry to the Warrenton Turnpike, then returned to an unspecified rendezvous. 7th Virginia Cavalry report, O.R. Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 752; Robertson's report, ibid., p. 747.

Meanwhile, Stuart was concerning himself with cutting off the retreat of the Federal infantry. The general recalled, "Night soon ensued, and as the enemy's masses of infantry had not retreated across Bull Run I was anxious to cut off that retreat. Upon the enemy's position after dark, however, infantry could only move, and I was anxious for Brigadier-General Armistead to attack from a position he took after dark directly on the enemy's flank, and urged it. He, however, doubted the policy of a night attack with his command, especially as there was danger of collision with our own infantry, and I did not feel authorized to order it...." The attack was not made. Stuart's report, ibid., p. 737.

[illegible]. The Virginia Company [illegible] U.S. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION

The following tables of organization are essentially those published in the Official Records, with some minor alterations. The strength figures are drawn from a multitude of sources, both official and unofficial.

UNION ORDER OF BATTLE
August 28-30, 1862

ARMY OF VIRGINIA—Maj. Gen. John Pope

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Headquarters Staff				2
Headquarters Escort				
1st Ohio Cavalry (Co.'s A & C)			1	21
5th New York Cavalry (7 Co.'s)		1	4	5
36th Ohio, Col. George Crook				
FIRST CORPS—Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel				
Headquarters Escort				
1st Indiana Cavalry (Co's I & K)			1	1
First Division—Brig, Gen. Robert C. Schenck (W), Brig. Gen. Julius Stahel				
Headquarters Staff			1	
1st Brigade—Brig. Gen. Julius Stahel, Col. Adolphus Buschbeck				
8th New York, Lt. Col. Carl B. Hedterich (not fully reported)		6	1	10
41st New York, Lt. Col. Ernest W. Holmstedt		27	60	16
45th New York, Lt. Col. Edward W. Wratislaw		5	35	7
27th Pennsylvania, Col. Adolphus Buschbeck, Lt. Col. Lorenz Cantador (no report of losses found)				
Total for Brigade		38	96	33
2d Brigade—Col. Nathaniel C. McLean				
25th Ohio, Col. William P. Richardson		8	55	24
55th Ohio, Col. John C. Lee		14	60	21
73d Ohio, Col. Orland Smith	312	25	87	36
75th Ohio, Maj. Robert Reily		10	53	24
Total For Brigade		57	255	102
Division Artillery				
K, 1st Ohio Light, Lieut. George B. Haskins (Attached to McLean)			17	
2d, New York Light, Capt. Louis Schirmer (Attached to Stahel)		2		
Total		2	17	
Total First Division		97	369	138

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Second Division—Brig. Gen. Adolph Von Steinwehr				
First Brigade—Col. John A. Koltes (K), Lt. Col. Gustavas A. Muhleck				
Staff		1		
29th New York, Col. Clemens Soest (W), Maj. Louis Hartman		22	108	21
68th New York, Lt. Col. John H. Kleefisch		13	68	11
73d Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Gustavas A. Muhleck		11	118	28
Total First Brigade		47	294	28
Third Division—Brig. Gen. Carl Schurz				
First Brigade—Col. Alexander Schimmelfennig				
Staff		1		
61st Ohio, Lt. Col. Stephen McGroarty		5	23	7
74th Pennsylvania, Maj. Franz Blessing		16	63	27
8th West Virginia, Capt. Hedgman Slack		2	9	2
Total First Brigade		24	95	36
Second Brigade—Col. Wladimir Krzyzanowski				
Staff			2	
54th New York, Lt. Col. Charles Ashby		14	125	22
58th New York, Maj. William Henkel(W), Capt. Frederick Braun		14	32	11
75th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Francis Mahler		20	113	17
Total Second Brigade		48	272	40
Unattached				
3d West Virginia Cavalry (Co. I)				
Division Artillery				
F, Pennsylvania Light, Capt. R. B. Hampton (Attached to Schimmelfennig)		2	1	
L, 2d New York Light, Capt. Jacob Roemer (Attached to Krzyzanowski)			2	
I, 1st Ohio Light, Capt. Hubert Dilger			4	
Total Division Artillery		2	7	
Total Third Division		74	374	86
Independent Brigade—Brig. Gen. Robert Huston Milroy				
Staff				1
2d West Virginia, Col. George R. Latham		24	90	24
3d West Virginia, Col. David T. Hewes		8	31	32

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
5th West Virginia, Col. John L. Zeigler		13	62	3
82d Ohio, Col. James Cantwell(K), Lt. Col. James S. Robinson		24	99	15
1st West Virginia Cavalry (Co's C, E, & L), Maj. John S. Krepps				2
12th Battery, Ohio Light, Capt. Aaron C. Johnson		1	4	4
Total Milroy's Brigade		70	286	81
Corps Reserve Artillery—Capt. Louis Schirmer				
I, 1st New York Light, Captain Mark Wiedrich		1	7	
13th Battery, New York Light, Capt. Julius Dieckmann		1	12	
C, West Virginia Light, Lt. Wallace Hill		2	3	
Total Reserve Artillery		4	22	
Total First Corps		292	1346	366
THIRD CORPS—Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell				
Staff			1	
3d Battery, Maine Light (Pontooniers)				
13th Pennsylvania Reserves (1st Rifles) (Co.'s C, G, H, & I), Lt. Col. Thomas L. Kane			6	19
First Division—Brig. Gen. Rufus King (ill), Brig. Gen. John P. Hatch(W), Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday				
Staff			1	
First Brigade—Brig. Gen. John P. Hatch (W), Col. Timothy Sullivan				
Staff				1
22d New York, Col. Walter Phelps, Jr.		20	79	81
24th New York, Col. Timothy Sullivan, Lt. Col. Samuel R. Beardsley(W), Major Andrew Barney(K)		36	115	86
30th New York, Col. Edward Frisby		9	78	63
84th New York (14th N.Y.S.M.), Lt. Col. E. B. Fowler(W), Maj. W. H. de Bevoise		9	78	42
2d U.S. Sharpshooters, Lt. Col. Henry A. V. Post	c100	4	17	21
Total First Brigade		95	382	295
Second Brigade—Brig. Gen. Abner Doubleday, Col. William P. Wainright				
56th Pennsylvania, Col. Sullivan Meredith(W), Lt. Col. J. W. Hoffman	531(8/9)	4	84	99
76th New York, Col. William P. Wainwright, Maj. Charles E. Livingstone		11	88	48
95th New York, Lt. Col. James B. Post		3	20	90
Total Second Brigade		18	192	237

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Third Brigade—Brig. Gen. Marsena Patrick				
Staff			1	
21st New York, Col. William F. Rogers		13	106	42
23d New York, Lt. Col. Nirom M. Crane	225(8/30)	1	17	26
35th New York, Col. Newton B. Lord		10	45	28
80th New York (20th N.Y.S.M.), Col. George W. Pratt(MW), Lt. Col. Theodore B. Gates	450(8/30)	32	165	82
Total Third Brigade		56	334	178
Fourth Brigade—Brig. Gen. John Gibbon				
Staff			1	
2d Wisconsin, Col. Edgar O'Conner(K), Lt. Col. Lucius Fairchild		52	213	32
6th Wisconsin, Col. Lysander Cutler(W) Lt. Col. Edward S. Bragg	504	17	91	11
7th Wisconsin, Col. W. W. Robinson(W), Lt. Col. C. A. Hamilton(W)		31	153	33
19th Indiana, Col. Solomon Meredith		47	168	44
Total Fourth Brigade	c1800	148	626	120
Division Artillery—Captain Joseph B. Campbell				
1st Battery, New Hampshire Light, Capt. George A. Gerrish(C), Lt. Frederick M. Edgell			3	12
D, 1st Rhode Island Light, Capt. J. Albert Monroe		4	12	1
L, 1st New York Light, Capt. John A. Reynolds		2	8	1
B, 4th U.S., Capt. Joseph B. Campbell		1	2	
Total Division Artillery		7	25	14
Total First Division		324	1560	844
Second Division—Brig. Gen. James B. Ricketts				
First Brigade—Brig. Gen. Abram Duryee				
97th New York, Lt. Col. John P. Spofford		7	42	62
104th New York, Maj. Lewis C. Skinner		5	39	45
105th New York, Col. Howard Carroll		6	24	44
107th Pennsylvania, Col. Thomas McCoy		11	33	73
Total First Brigade		29	138	224
Second Brigade—Brig. Gen. Zealous B. Tower(W), Col. William H. Christian				
Staff			1	
26th New York, Col. William H. Christian, Lt. Col. Richard H. Richardson	400	26	106	37
94th New York, Col. Adrian R. Root		21	81	45
88th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Joseph A. McLean, Maj. George W. Gile	400	12	101	48
90th Pennsylvania, Col. Peter Lyle		7	49	162
Total Second Brigade		67	338	292

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Third Brigade—Col. John W. Stiles				
12th Massachusetts, Col. Fletcher Webster(K), Lt. Col. T. M. Bryan		13	61	64
13th Massachusetts, Col. Samuel H. Leonard		20	105	65
83d New York (9th N.Y.S.M.), Lt. Col. William Atterbury		10	25	48
11th Pennsylvania, Col. Richard Coulter	346	44	114	88
Total Third Brigade		87	305	265
Fourth Brigade—Col. Joseph Thoburn				
84th Pennsylvania, Col. Samuel M. Bowman		1	5	18
110th Pennsylvania, Col. William D. Lewis			5	21
1st West Virginia, Lt. Col. Henry Hubbard		2	9	30
7th Indiana, Lt. Col. John F. Cheek		3	16	4
Total Fourth Brigade (Records for all Regiments are Incomplete)		5	34	72
Division Artillery				
2d Battery, Maine Light, Capt. James A. Hall			2	1
5th Battery, Maine Light, Capt. George F. Leppien		3	11	2
F, 1st Pennsylvania Light, Capt. Ezra W. Matthews		1	8	10
C, Pennsylvania Light, Capt. James Thompson		1	9	6
Total Division Artillery		5	30	19
Total Second Division		192	845	875
Reynolds' Division (Temporarily Attached)--Brig. Gen. John F. Reynolds				
First Brigade—Brig. Gen. George G. Meade				
3d Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. Horatio G. Sickel		2	21	27
4th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. Albert L. Magilton			12	2
7th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. H. C. Bolinger, Lt. Col. R. M. Henderson			23	13
8th Pennsylvania Reserves, Capt. William Lemon		5	21	32
13th Pennsylvania Reserves (6 Co.'s), Col. Hugh W. McNeil		5	19	3
Total First Brigade		12	96	77

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Second Brigade—Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour				
1st Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. R. Biddle Roberts		6	23	6
2d Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. William McCandless		1	15	8
5th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. J. W. Fisher, Lt. Col. George Dare		1	9	8
6th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. William Sinclair		5	36	20
Total Second Brigade		13	83	42
Third Brigade—Brig. Gen. Conrad F. Jackson(ill), Col. Martin D. Hardin(W) Col. James T. Kirk(W), Lt. Col. Robert Anderson				
9th Pennsylvania Reserves, Lt. Col. Robert Anderson, Maj. J. M. Snodgrass		12	52	35
10th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. James T. Kirk(W), Lt. Col. Adon J. Warner		12	34	19
11th Pennsylvania Reserves, Lt. Col. Samuel M. Jackson		4	48	5
12th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. Martin D. Hardin(W), Capt. Richard Gustin		5	38	23
Total Third Brigade		34	172	82
Division Artillery—Capt. Dunbar R. Ransom				
A, 1st Pennsylvania Light, Capt. John G. Simpson		1	5	1
B, 1st Pennsylvania Light, Capt, James H. Cooper		4	19	
G, 1st Pennsylvania Light, Capt. Mark Kerns(K), Lt. F. P. Amsden		3	23	8
C, 5th U.S., Capt. Dunbar R. Ransom			1	1
Total Division Artillery		8	48	10
Total Reynolds' Division		66	399	211
Unattached				
3d Indiana Cavalry (detachment)				1
Total Third Corps		582	2809	1951
THIRD CORPS (ARMY OF THE POTOMAC)—Maj. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman				
Escort				
5th New York Cavalry (3 Co.'s)				
First Division—Maj. Gen. Philip Kearny				
Staff		1		1

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
First Brigade—Brig. Gen. John C. Robinson				
63d Pennsylvania, Col. Alexander Hays(W), Capt. James F. Ryan(W)	300	15	94	11
105th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. C. A. Craig(W), Maj. J. W. Greenawalt		7	37	8
20th Indiana, Col. William L. Brown(K) Maj. John Wheeler		4	35	6
30th Ohio(6 Co.'s), Lt. Col. Theodore Jones				
Total First Brigade		26	166	25
Second Brigade—Brig. Gen. David B. Birney				
3d Maine, Maj. Moses B. Lakeman		4	51	29
4th Maine, Col. Elijah Walker		14	85	15
1st New York, Maj. Edwin Burt		17	81	21
38th New York, Colonel John Henry Hobart Ward		3	31	4
40th New York, Col. Thomas W. Egan		12	107	28
101st New York, Lt. Col. Nelson A. Gesner	162	6	101	17
57th Pennsylvania, Maj. William Birney			3	
Total Second Brigade		56	459	14
Third Brigade—Colonel Orlando M. Poe				
37th New York, Col. Samuel B. Hayman			3	
99th Pennsylvania, Col. Asher S. Leidy		1	2	16
2d Michigan, Lt. Col. Louis Dillman		1	4	6
3d Michigan, Col. S. G. Champlin(W), Maj. Byron R. Pierce	233	23	100	16
5th Michigan, Capt. William Wakenshaw			6	
Total Third Brigade		25	115	38
Division Artillery				
E, 1st Rhode Island Light, Capt. George E. Randolph		2		
K, 1st U.S., Capt. William M. Graham			1	
Total Division Artillery		2	1	
Total First Division		110	741	178
Second Division—Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker				
First Brigade—Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover				
2d New Hampshire, Col. Gilman Marston		16	87	30
1st Massachusetts, Col. Robert Cowdin		5	66	7
11th Massachusetts, Col. William Blaisdell	283	9	79	25
16th Massachusetts, Maj. Gardner Banks		19	64	27
26th Pennsylvania, Maj. Robert L. Bodine		6	33	14
Total First Brigade	c1600	55	329	103

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Second Brigade—Col. Nelson Taylor				
Staff				2
70th New York, Capt. Charles L. Young		1	17	10
71st New York, Capt. Owen Murphy	c250	20	67	27
72d New York, Capt. Harman J. Bliss		5	25	7
73d New York, Capt. M. W. Burns	c100	10	40	
74th New York, Maj. Edward L. Price		11	68	19
Total Second Brigade		47	217	65
Third Brigade—Col. Joseph B. Carr				
2d New York, Capt. Sidney W. Park		11	61	11
5th New Jersey, Lt. Col. W. J. Sewell	350	6	35	11
6th New Jersey, Col. Gershom Mott(W), Lt. Col. George C. Burling		18	50	37
7th New Jersey, Col. Joseph W. Revere		3	19	14
8th New Jersey, Lt. Col. William Ward(W), Capt. John Tuite(K), Capt. George Hoffman(W), Capt. O. S. Johnson, Capt. Daniel Blauvelt, Jr.		6	55	17
115th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Robert Thompson	195	4	18	17
Total Third Brigade		48	238	107
Division Artillery				
6th Battery, Maine Light, Captain Freeman McGilvery (Losses Unknown)				
Total Second Division		140	784	275
Total Third Corps (Army of the Potomac)		260	1525	453
FIFTH CORPS (ARMY OF THE POTOMAC)—Maj. Gen. Fitz John Porter				
First Division—Maj. Gen. George W. Morell, Brig. Gen. Daniel Butterfield, Maj. Gen. George W. Morell				
First Brigade—Col. Charles W. Roberts				
2d Maine, Maj. Daniel F. Sargent	250	6	73	16
18th Massachusetts, Maj. Joseph Hayes		34	106	29
22d Massachusetts, Capt. Mason W. Burt				
13th New York, Col. Elisha G. Marshall	240	30	75	10
25th New York, Col. Charles A. Johnson			6	13
1st Michigan, Col. Horace S. Roberts(K), Capt. E. W. Belton		33	114	31
Total First Brigade	2050	103	374	99
Second Brigade—Brig. Gen. Charles Griffin				
9th Massachusetts, Col. Patrick R. Guiney				

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
32d Massachusetts, Col. Francis J. Parker				
14th New York, Col. James McQuade				
62d Pennsylvania, Col. Jacob Sweitzer				
4th Michigan, Col. Jonathan W. Childs				
Total Second Brigade	1762			
Third Brigade—Brig. Gen. Daniel Butterfield, Col. Henry A. Weeks(W), Col. James C. Rice, Brig. Gen. Daniel Butterfield				
12th New York, Col. Henry A. Weeks(W), Capt. A. I. Root(W), Capt. William Huson	352	15	63	65
17th New York, Col. Henry A. Lansing, Maj. W. T. C. Grower(W), Capt. John Vickers	371	20	110	53
44th New York, Col. James C. Rice, Maj. Freeman Conner	160	5	42	18
83d Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. H. S. Campbell(W), Maj. William H. Lamont(W), Capt. John Graham, Capt. O. S. Woodward	224	14	72	11
16th Michigan, Capt. Thomas J. Barry, Capt. Henry H. Sibley	280	16	64	16
1st U.S. Sharpshooters, Col. Hiram Berdan		5	41	15
Total Third Brigade	1387	70	357	163
Division Artillery				
3d Massachusetts Battery, Capt. Augustus P. Martin				
C, 1st Rhode Island Light, Capt. Richard Waterman			3	1
D, 5th U.S., Lt. Charles E. Hazlett			2	
Total Division Artillery			5	1
Total First Division	c5300	178	777	278
Second Division—Brig. Gen. George W. Sykes				
First Brigade—Lt. Col. Robert C. Buchanan				
3d U.S., Capt. John D. Wilkins		5	17	25
4th U.S., Capt. Joseph B. Collins		3	14	1
12th U.S. (1st Bn.), Capt. Matthew M. Blunt		5	32	5
14th U.S.(1st Bn.), Capt. J. D. O'Connell(W), Capt. W. H. Brown	390	14	92	23
14th U.S. (2d Bn.), Capt. David McKibbin	273	4	34	11
Total First Brigade		31	189	65

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Second Brigade—Lt. Col. William Chapman				
1st U.S. (Co. G), Capt. Matthew R. Marston		1	6	4
2d U.S., Maj. Charles S. Lovell		2	64	8
6th U.S., Capt. Levi C. Bootes		6	29	6
10th U.S., Maj. Charles S. Lovell		1	11	
11th U.S., Maj. Delancey Floyd-Jones		4	15	13
17th U.S., Maj. George L. Andrews		5	34	9
Total Second Brigade	1482	19	159	40
Third Brigade—Col. Gouverneur K. Warren				
5th New York, Capt. Cleveland Winslow	594	79	170	48
10th New York, Col. John E. Bendix	510	23	65	27
Total Third Brigade	1104	102	235	75
Division Artillery—Capt. Stephen H. Weed				
E & G, 1st U.S., Capt. Alanson M. Randol				
I, 5th U.S., Capt. Stephen H. Weed				
K, 5th U.S., Capt. John R. Smead(K), Lt. W. E. Van Reed		1	2	
Total Division Artillery		1	2	
Total Second Division		153	585	180
Reserve Corps (Temporarily Attached to Fifth Corps)—Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis				
Piatt's Brigade—Brig. Gen. A. Sanders Piatt				
63d Indiana (Co.'s A, B, C, & D), Lt. Col. John S. Williams	201	3	17	7
86th New York, Col. Benejah P. Bailey	623	13	67	38
Total Reserve Corps	824	16	84	45
Total Fifth Corps		347	1446	495
Ninth Corps—Maj. Gen. Jesse L. Reno				
First Division—Brig. Gen. Isaac I. Stevens				
Staff		1		
First Brigade—Col. Benjamin Christ				
50th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. T. S. Brenholtz, Maj. Edward Overton, Jr.		19	119	15
8th Michigan, Lt. Col. Frank Graves		10	56	12
Total First Brigade		29	175	27
Second Brigade—Col. Daniel Leasure(W), Lt. Col. David A. Leckey				
46th New York (5 Co.'s), Col. Rudolph Rosa(W), Maj. Julius Parcus		5	16	2

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
100th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. David A. Leckey, Capt. J. E. Cornelius	477	15	117	8
Total Second Brigade		20	133	10
Third Brigade—Col. Addison Farnsworth				
28th Massachusetts, Maj. G. W. Cartwright (Most of Losses Occurred at Chantilly, Sept. 1, 1862)		33	188	13
79th New York, Lt. Col. David Morrison		9	79	17
Total Third Brigade		42	267	30
Division Artillery				
E, 2d U.S., Lt. Samuel N. Benjamin		3	10	
Total First Division		95	585	67
Second Division—Maj. Gen. Jesse L. Reno				
First Brigade—Col. James Nagle				
6th New Hampshire, Col. Simon G. Griffin	452	30	117	70
48th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Joshua K. Sigfried		25	76	55
2d Maryland, Lt. Col. J. Eugene Duryea		21	66	58
Total First Brigade		76	259	183
Second Brigade—Col. Edward Ferrero				
21st Massachusetts, Col. William S. Clark		22	91	40
51st New York, Lt. Col. Robert B. Potter		10	57	22
51st Pennsylvania, Col. John F. Hartranft		1	8	7
Total Second Brigade		33	156	69
D, Pennsylvania Light, Capt. George W. Durell (Losses Unknown)				
Total Second Division		109	415	252
Total Ninth Corps		204	1000	319
Cavalry Commands				
Beardsley's Brigade (Attached to Sigel)—Col. John Beardsley				
1st Connecticut Bn.			1	1
1st Maryland, Lt. Col. Charles Wetschky			1	7
4th New York, Lt. Col. Ferries Nazer		1	12	51
9th New York, Maj. Charles M. Knox		2	1	4
6th Ohio, Col. William R. Lloyd				2
Total Beardsley's Brigade		3	15	65

	Strength	Killed	Wounded
Buford's Brigade—Brig. Gen. John Buford			
1st Michigan, Col. Thornton F. Brodhead		8	13
1st Vermont		1	
1st West Virginia		5	22
Total Buford's Cavalry		14	25
Bayard's Brigade (Attached to McDowell)--Brig. Gen. George D. Bayard			
1st Maine, Col. Samuel H. Allen			2
2d New York, Col. J. Mansfield Davies		11	27
1st New Jersey, Lt. Col. Joseph Karge, Maj. Ivins D. Jones		2	9
1st Pennsylvania, Colonel Owen Jones			2
1st Rhode Island, Col. A. N. Duffie			4
Total Bayard's Cavalry		13	45
Total Cavalry Commands		30	85
TOTAL FEDERAL FORCES		1716	8215

CONFEDERATE ORDER OF BATTLE
August 28-30, 1862

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA—General Robert E. Lee				
RIGHT WING—Maj. Gen. James Longstreet				
Anderson's Division—Maj. Gen. Richard H. Anderson				
Armistead's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Lewis A. Armistead				
9th Virginia, Lt. Col. James Gilliam				
14th Virginia, Col. James Hodges				
38th Virginia, Col. E. C. Edmonds				
53d Virginia, Lt. Col. John Grammer				
57th Virginia, Lt. Col. David Dyer				
5th Virginia Bn.				
Total Armistead's Brigade		2	18	
Mahone's Brigade—Brig. Gen. William Mahone(W), Col. David Weisiger				
6th Virginia, Col. George T. Rogers		12	49	
12th Virginia, Col. David Weisiger		6	60	
16th Virginia, Col. Charles A. Crump(K)		8	47	
41st Virginia, Col. William A. Parham		8	34	
Total Mahone's Brigade		34	190	
Wright's Brigade—Brig. Gen. A. R. Wright				
44th Alabama, Lt. Col. Charles A. Derby(W)		10	51	
3d Georgia		2	29	
22d Georgia		13	50	
48th Georgia		10	51	
Total Wright's Brigade		35	181	
Total Anderson's Division		71	389	
Jones' Division—Brig. Gen. David R. Jones				
Toombs' Brigade—Col. Henry L. Benning, Brig. Gen. Robert Toombs				
2d Georgia, Lt. Col. W. R. Holmes	163	2	51	
15th Georgia, Col. W. T. Millican		6	48	
17th Georgia, Maj. J. H. Pickett(W), Capt. A. C. Jones(K), Capt. Hiram L. French	c200	10	82	
20th Georgia, Maj. J. D. Waddell	300	19	113	
Total Toombs' Brigade		37	294	

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Drayton's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Thomas F. Drayton				
50th Georgia				
51st Georgia			9	
15th South Carolina		3	18	
Holcombe's Legion				
Total Drayton's Brigade		3	27	
Jones' Brigade—Colonel George T. Anderson				
1st Georgia, Maj. J. D. Walker		27	77	
7th Georgia, Col. William T. Wilson(K)		20	100	
8th Georgia, Lt. Col. John R. Towers		8	54	
9th Georgia, Col. Benjamin Beck		12	116	
11th Georgia, Lt. Col. William Luffman		20	178	
Total Jones' Brigade		87	525	
Total Jones' Division		127	846	
Wilcox's Division—Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox				
Wilcox's Brigade, Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox				
8th Alabama, Maj. Hilary A. Herbert				
9th Alabama, Maj. H. J. Williams				
10th Alabama, Maj. J. H. Caldwell				
11th Alabama. Capt. J. C. C. Sanders				
Total Wilcox's Brigade		9	61	
Pryor's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Roger A. Pryor				
14th Alabama, Lt. Col. James A. Broome		3	44	
2d Florida				
5th Florida			6	
8th Florida		5	9	
3d Virginia, Col. Joseph Mayo, Jr.		3	8	
Total Pryor's Brigade		11	67	
Featherston's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Winfield Scott Featherston				
12th Mississippi				
16th Mississippi, Col. Carnot Posey				
19th Mississippi				
2d Mississippi Bn.				
Total Featherston's Brigade		26	142	
Division Artillery				
Thomas Artillery (Va.), Capt. E. J. Anderson				
Dixie Artillery (Va.), Capt. W. H. Chapman				
Total Wilcox's Division		46	270	

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Hood's Division—Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood				
Hood's Brigade—Brig. Gen. John B. Hood				
1st Texas, Lt. Col. P. A. Work		10	18	
4th Texas, Lt. Col. B. F. Carter		22	77	
5th Texas, Col. J. B. Robertson(W), Capt. K. Bryan(W), Captain I. Turner		15	224	
18th Georgia, Col. William T. Wofford		19	114	
Hampton's Legion, Lt. Col. Martin W. Gary		11	63	
Total Hood's Brigade		77	496	
Law's Brigade—Colonel Evander M. Law				
4th Alabama, Lt. Col. O. K. McLemore		18	45	
2d Mississippi, Col. P. F. Liddell		17	80	
11th Mississippi, Col. P. F. Liddell		4	55	
6th North Carolina, Maj. Robert F. Webb		6	71	
Total Law's Brigade		45	251	
Division Artillery—Maj. Bushrod W. Frobel				
German Artillery (S.C.), Capt. W. K. Bachman				
Palmetto Artillery (S.C.), Capt. H. R. Garden				
Rowan Artillery (N.C.), Capt. James Reilly				
Total Division Artillery (Unavailable)				
Total Hood's Division		122	745	
Evans' Independent Brigade—Brig. Gen. Nathan G. Evans, Col. P. F. Stevens				
17th South Carolina, Col. J. H. Means(K) Lt. Col. F. W. McMaster	304	18	161	
18th South Carolina, Col. J. M. Gadberry(K), Lt. Col. Wallace		27	86	
22d South Carolina (Detached), Col. S. D. Goodlet				
23d South Carolina, Col. H. L. Benbow(W) Capt. M. V. Bancroft	225	27	122	
Holcombe's Legion, Col. P. F. Stevens, Lt. Col. F. G. Palmer(W), Maj. W. J. Crawley		24	131	
MacBeth Artillery (S.C.), Capt. R. Boyce				
Total Evans' Brigade		96	500	
Kemper's Division—Brig. Gen. James L. Kemper				
Kemper's Brigade—Col. Montgomery D. Corse(W), Col. William R. Terry				
1st Virginia, Lt. Col. Federick G. Skinner(W)		4	22	

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
7th Virginia, Col. William T. Patton		6	53	
11th Virginia, Maj. Adam Clement		9	54	
17th Virginia, Lt. Col. Morton Marye(W), Maj. Arthur Herbert		3	35	
24th Virginia, Col. W. R. Terry	c200	11	67	
Total Kemper's Brigade		33	231	
Pickett's Brigade—Col. Eppa Hunton				
8th Virginia, Lt. Col. Norborne Berkeley			22	
18th Virginia, Maj. George G. Cabell		3	33	
19th Virginia, Col. James B. Strange				
28th Virginia, Col. Robert C. Allen		12	52	
56th Virginia, Col. William D. Stuart			12	
Total Pickett's Brigade		15	119	
Jenkins' Brigade—Brig. Gen. Micah Jenkins(W), Col. Joseph Walker				
1st South Carolina, Col. T. J. Glover (K)	314	30	94	
2d South Carolina		9	49	
5th South Carolina		2	37	
6th South Carolina				
Palmetto Sharpshooters, Col. Joseph Walker		16	52	
Total Jenkins' Brigade		57	232	
Total Kemper's Division		105	582	
Artillery of the Right Wing				
Washington Artillery (Louisiana)—Maj. J. B. Walton				
1st Company, Capt. Charles W. Squires				
2d Company, Capt. J. B. Richardson (Attached to Toombs)				
3d Company, Capt. M. B. Miller				
4th Company, Capt. B. F. Eshleman (Attached to Hunton)				
Total Washington Artillery		9	23	
Lee's Battalion—Col. Stephen D. Lee				
Bath Artillery (Va.), Capt. J. L. Eubank				
Portsmouth Artillery (Va.), Lt. T. J. Oakham				
Bedford Artillery (Va.), Capt. T. C. Jordan				
Parker's Battery (Va.), Captain W. W. Parker				
Taylor's Battery (Va.), Capt. J. S. Taylor				
Rhett's Battery (S.C.), Lt. William Elliott				
Total S. D. Lee's Battalion			6	

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Miscellaneous Batteries				
Norfolk Artillery (Va.) (Assigned to Anderson's Division), Capt. Frank Huger				
Goochland Artillery (Va.) (Assigned to Anderson's Division), Capt. William H. Turner				
Donaldsonville Artillery (Louisiana)				
Moorman's Battery (Va.) (Attached to Anderson's Division)				
Loudoun Artillery (Va.) (Attached to Corse's Brigade), Capt. A. L. Rogers				
Fauquier Artillery (Va.) (Attached to Jenkins' Brigade), Capt. R. M. Stribling				
Total Miscellaneous Batteries (Unavailable)				
Total Right Wing		663	4016	46
LEFT WING—Maj. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson				
Jackson's Division—Brig. Gen. William B. Taliaferro(W), Brig. Gen. William E. Starke				
First Brigade—Col. William S. H. Baylor(K), Col. Andrew J. Grigsby				
2d Virginia, Lt. Col. Lawson Botts(K), Capt. J. W. Rowan, Capt. Rawley T. Colston	140	4	73	
4th Virginia, Lt. Col. R. D. Gardner	180	19	78	
5th Virginia, Maj. H. J. Williams		14	91	
27th Virginia, Col. Andrew J. Grigsby	65	4	23	
33d Virginia, Col. John F. Neff(K), Capt. George Huston	250	24	81	
Total First Brigade		65	346	
Second Brigade—Col. Bradley T. Johnson				
1st Virginia Bn., Maj. John Seddon (ill), Capt. O. C. Anderson		3	19	
21st Virginia, Capt. William A. Witcher		3	9	
42d Virginia, Capt. John E. Penn		8	54	
48th Virginia, Lt. Virginius Dabney(W) Captain W. W. Goldsborough(W)		4	20	
Total Second Brigade	800(8/30)	18	102	
Third Brigade—Col. Alexander G. Taliaferro				
10th Virginia, Lt. Col. S. T. Walker		9	23	
23d Virginia		1	13	
37th Virginia		5	36	
47th Alabama, Col. James W. Jackson		7	25	
48th Alabama, Col. J. L. Sheffield			50	
Total Third Brigade		22	147	

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Fourth Brigade—Brig. Gen. W. E. Starke, Col. Leroy A. Stafford				
1st Louisiana		4	47	
2d Louisiana, Col. J. M. Williams		25	86	
9th Louisiana, Col. Leroy A. Stafford		22	71	
10th Louisiana, Lt. Col. William H. Spencer(K)		3	31	
15th Louisiana, Col. Edmund Pendleton		11	53	
Coppens' Battalion, Maj. G. Coppens				
Total Fourth Brigade		65	288	
Division Artillery—Maj. L. M. Shumaker				
Baltimore Artillery (Md.), Capt. J. B. Brockenbrough				
Alleghany Artillery (Va.), Capt. Joseph Carpenter				
Hampden Artillery (Va.), Capt. William H. Caskie				
Winchester Battery (Va.), Capt. W. E. Cutshaw				
Rockbridge Artillery (Va.), Capt. William T. Poague				
Lee Artillery (Va.), Capt. Charles I. Raine				
Rice's Battery (Va.), Capt. W. H. Rice				
Danville Artillery (Va.), Capt. George W. Wooding				
Total Shumaker's Battalion (Unavailable)				
Total Jackson's Division		170	683	
Light Division—Maj. Gen. A. P. Hill				
Branch's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Lawrence O'Bryan Branch				
7th North Carolina, Col. Edward G. Haywood (W), Capt. R. B. McRae		6	38	
18th North Carolina, Lt. Col. T. J. Purdie		1	11	
28th North Carolina, Col. James H. Lane		5	45	
33d North Carolina, Col. Robert F. Hoke		1	7	
37th North Carolina, Col. William M. Barbour		9	72	
Total Branch's Brigade		22	173	
Archer's Brigade—Brig. Gen. James J. Archer				
5th Alabama Bn., Capt. Thomas Bush, Lt. Charles M. Hooper		2	17	
19th Georgia, Capt. F. M. Johnston				

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
1st Tennessee (Provisional Army), Col. Peter A. Turney		4	53	
7th Tennessee, Maj. S G. Shepard		2	24	
14th Tennessee, Col. W. A. Forbes(W), Maj. James W. Lockert		3	45	
Total Archer's Brigade		11	129	
Pender's Brigade—Brig. Gen. William D. Pender				
16th North Carolina, Capt. L. W. Stowe		8	44	
22d North Carolina, Maj. C. C. Cole		6	57	
34th North Carolina, Col. Richard H. Riddick		2	23	
38th North Carolina, Capt. John Ashford		2	22	
Total Pender's Brigade		18	146	
Field's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Charles W. Field(W), Col. J. M. Brockenbrough				
22d Virginia Bn.			22	
40th Virginia, Col. J. M. Brockenbrough				
47th Virginia, Col. Robert M. Mayo		8	21	
55th Virginia, Col. Frank Mallory	82	3	29	
Total Field's Brigade		11	72	
Gregg's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Maxcy Gregg				
1st South Carolina, Maj. Edward McCrady(W), Capt. G. W. McCreary	283	24	119	
1st South Carolina Rifles (Orr's Rifles), Col. J. Foster Marshall(K), Lt. Col. Daniel Alexander Ledbetter (K), Capt. Joseph J. Norton, Capt. G. McD. Miller	218	19	97	
12th South Carolina, Col. Dixon Barnes	320	23	121	2
13th South Carolina, Capt. O. E. Edwards(W)		26	118	
14th South Carolina, Col. Samuel McGowan(W), Lt. Col. W. D. Simpson		8	57	
Total Gregg's Brigade		124	633	
Thomas' Brigade—Col. Edward L. Thomas				
14th Georgia, Col. R. W. Folsom		6	46	
35th Georgia,		8	62	
45th Georgia, Maj. W. L. Grice		7	35	
49th Georgia, Lt. Col. S. M. Manning		12	56	
Total Thomas' Brigade		33	199	
Division Artillery—Lt. Col. Robert L. Walker				
Fredericksburg Artillery, Capt. Carter Braxton				

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Crenshaw's Battery (Va.), Capt. W. G. Crenshaw				
Letcher Artillery (Va.), Capt. Greenlee Davidson				
Middlesex Artillery (Va.), Lt. W. B. Hardy				
Purcell Artillery (Va.), Capt. W. J. Pegram				
Branch Artillery (N.C.), Lt. J. R. Potts				
Pee Dee Artillery (S.C.), Capt. D. G. McIntosh				
Total Walker's Battalion (Unavailable)				
Total Light Division		197	1352	
Ewell's Division—Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell(W), Brig. Gen. Alexander R. Lawton				
Lawton's Brigade—Brig. Gen. A. R. Lawton, Col. Marcellus Douglass				
13th Georgia, Col. Marcellus Douglass		4	17	
26th Georgia	181	42	87	5
31st Georgia		8	28	
38th Georgia		30	79	
60th Georgia, Maj. T. J. Berry		17	66	
61st Georgia		18	34	
Total Lawton's Brigade		119	345	5
Trimble's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Isaac R. Trimble(W), Captain W. F. Brown				
15th Alabama, Maj. A. A. Lowther		21	69	
12th Georgia, Capt. W. F. Brown		16	41	
21st Georgia, Capt. Thomas C. Glover	242	37	116	
21st North Carolina, Lt. Col. Sanders Fulton(K)		18	30	
1st North Carolina Bn.		6	9	
Total Trimble's Brigade		98	265	
Hays' Brigade—Col. Henry Forno(W), Col. H. B. Strong				
5th Louisiana		10	13	
6th Louisiana		7	13	
7th Louisiana		6	42	
8th Louisiana, Maj. T. D. Lewis		4	14	
14th Louisiana		10	12	
Total Hays' Brigade		37	95	
Early's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Jubal A. Early				
13th Virginia, Col. James A. Walker		2	29	
25th Virginia, Col. George H. Smith		1	25	
31st Virginia, Col. John S. Hoffman		1	14	
44th Virginia			13	

	Strength	Killed	Wounded	Missing
49th Virginia, Col. William Smith			15	
52d Virginia		9	37	
58th Virginia, Col. Samuel H. Letcher		6	8	
Total Early's Brigade		19	141	
Division Artillery				
Louisiana Guard Artillery, Capt. L. E. D'Aquin				
Chesapeake Artillery (Md.), Capt. William D. Brown			4	
1st Maryland Battery (Md.), Capt. W. F. Dement		1	6	
Johnson's Battery (Va.), Capt. J. R. Johnson				
Courtney Artillery (Va.), Capt. J. W. Latimer				
Staunton Artillery (Va.), Lt. Asher W. Garber		1		
Total Division Artillery (Unavailable)				
Total Ewell's Division		275	997	
Total Left Wing		642	3032	
Stuart's Cavalry--Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart				
Robertson's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Beverly H. Robertson				
2d Virginia, Col. Thomas T. Munford		3	39	
6th Virginia, Col. T. S. Flournoy				
7th Virginia, Col. W. E. Jones, Capt. S. B. Myers				
12th Virginia, Col. A. W. Harman				
17th Virginia Bn.				
Total Robertson's Brigade (Unavailable)				
Lee's Brigade—Brig. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee				
1st Virginia, Col. L. T. Brien				
3d Virginia				
4th Virginia, Col. W. C. Wickham				
5th Virginia, Col. Thomas L. Rosser				
9th Virginia, Col. W. H. F. Lee				
Total Lee's Brigade (Unavailable)				
Stuart Horse Artillery, Maj. John Pelham				
Total Stuart's Cavalry (Unavailable)				
TOTAL ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA		1305	7048	

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The Department has also major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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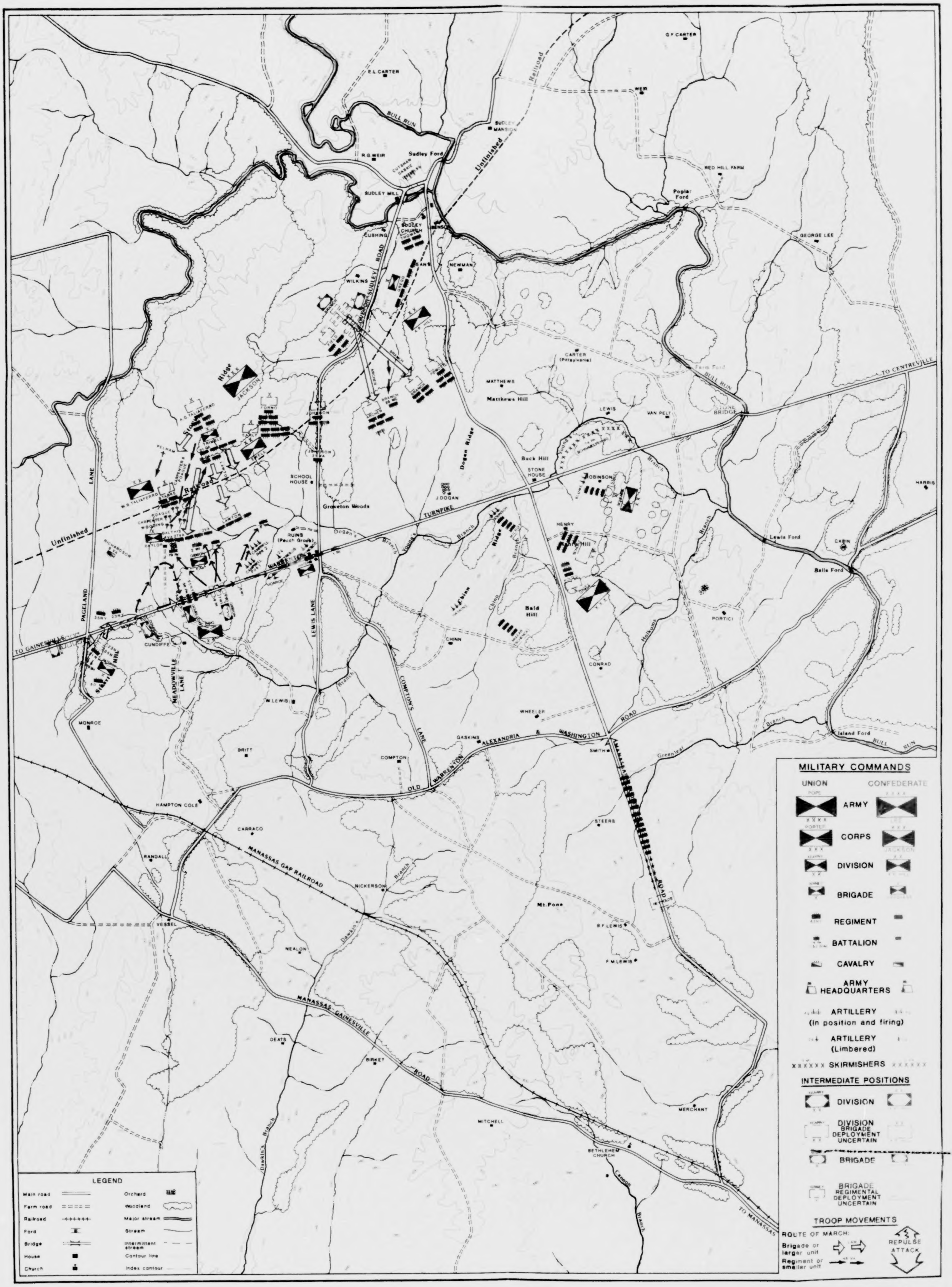
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RED HILL FARM
SUDLEY MILL
Poplar Ford
CUSHING
SUDLEY CHURCH
GEORGE LEE
NEWMAN
WILKINS
SUDLEY ROAD
Ridge
JACKSON
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
MATTHEWS
Matthews Hill
Farm Ford
BULL RUN
TO CENTREVILLE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
STONE BRIDGE
Dogan Ridge
Buck Hill
STONE HOUSE
SCHOOL HOUSE
J.DOGAN
ROBINSON
HARRIS
Unfinished
Railroad
W.B.TALIAFERRO
Groveton Woods
TURNPIKE
RUINS (Peach Grove)
Dogan's Branch
Young's Branch
Chinn Ridge
HENRY
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Bells Ford
Bald Hill
PORTICI
PAGELAND LANE
TO GAINESVILLE
CUNDIFFE
MEADOWVILLE LANE
LEWIS LANE
CHINN
COMPTON'S LANE
CONRAD
Holkums Branch
W.LEWIS
MONROE
WHEELER
BRITT
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
Island Ford
BULL RUN
HAMPTON COLE
STEERS
CARRACO
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
RANDALL
NICKERSON
Mt.Pone
VESSEL
B.F.LEWIS
NEALON
F.M.LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
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BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Cannon Branch
Dawkins Branch
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LEGEND
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Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
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Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
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ARMY
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PORTER
CORPS
JACKSON
KEARNY
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
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SKIRMISHERS
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REPULSE
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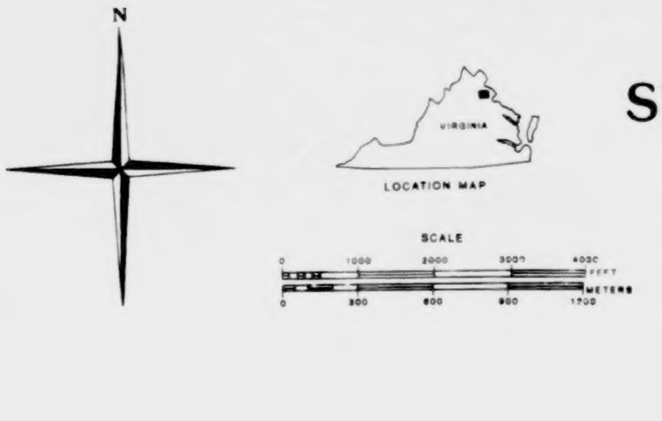
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TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 1

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 28,1862 5:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

379 | 25,001
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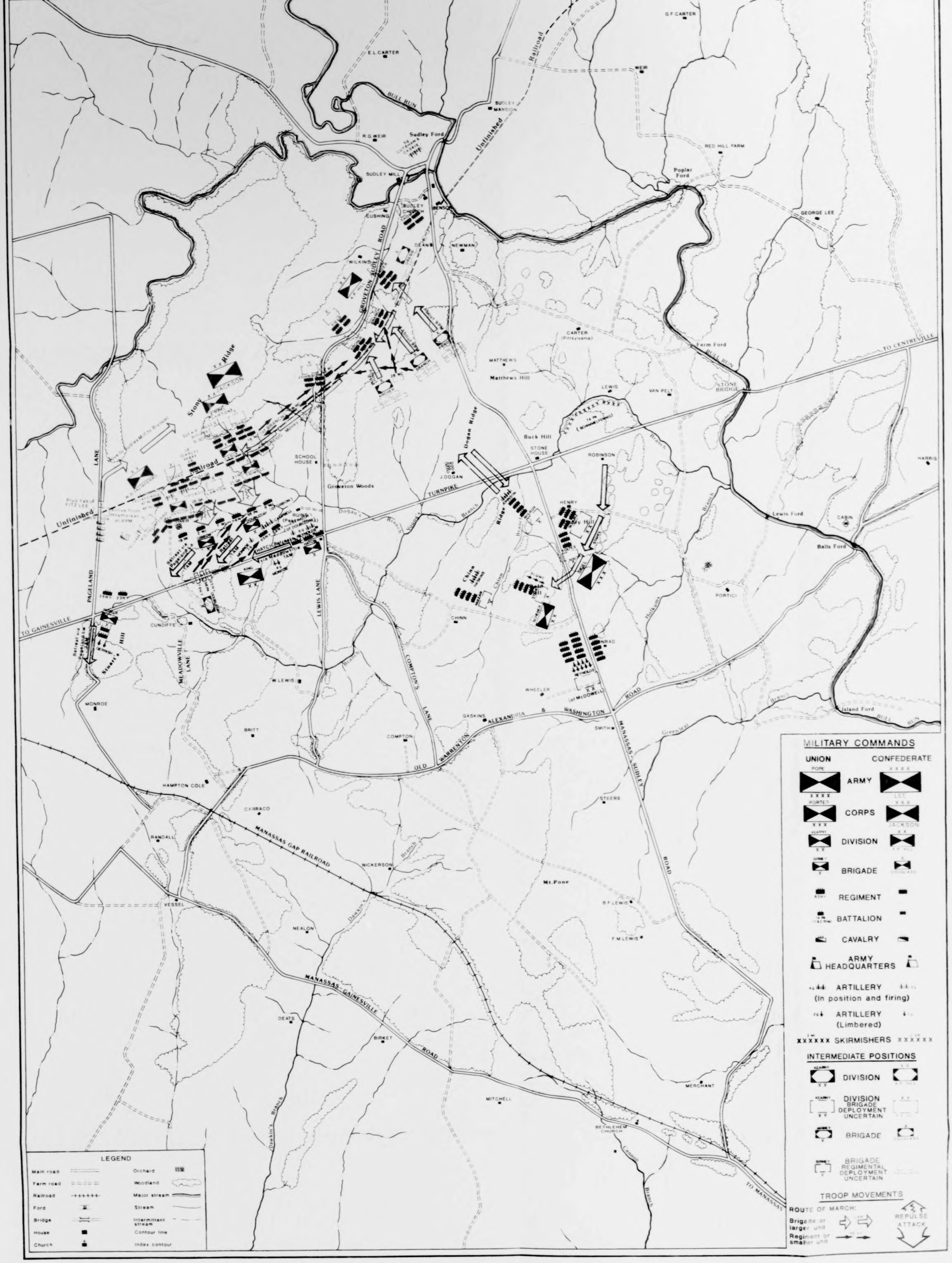
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Poplar Ford
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CUSHING
GEORGE LEE
NEWMAN
DEAN
WILKINS
GROVETON SUDLEY ROAD
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
MATTHEWS
Matthews Hill
Stony Ridge
JACKSON
LEWIS
VAN PELT
STONE BRIDGE
Dogan Ridge
Buck Hill
STONE HOUSE
ROBINSON
SCHOOL HOUSE
J.DOGAN
HARRIS
Groveton Woods
TURNPIKE
Railroad
Unfinished
HENRY
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
Chinn Ridge
LANE
PAGELAND LANE
LEWIS LANE
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PORTICI
TO GAINESVILLE
CUNDIFFE
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
COMPTON'S LANE
W.LEWIS
WHEELER
MONROE
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
Island Ford
SMITH
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
MANASSAS - SUDLEY ROAD
HAMPTON COLE
STEERS
CARRACO
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Mt.Pone
VESSEL
B.F.LEWIS
NEALON
F.M.LEWIS
MANASSAS - GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MERCHANT
MITCHELL
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Dawkin's Branch
TO MANASSAS
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
ARMY
POPE
LEE
CORPS
PORTER
JACKSON
DIVISION
KEARNY
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE ATTACK
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Ford
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Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
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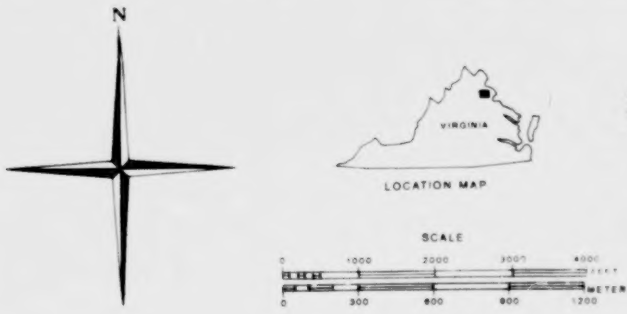
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TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 2

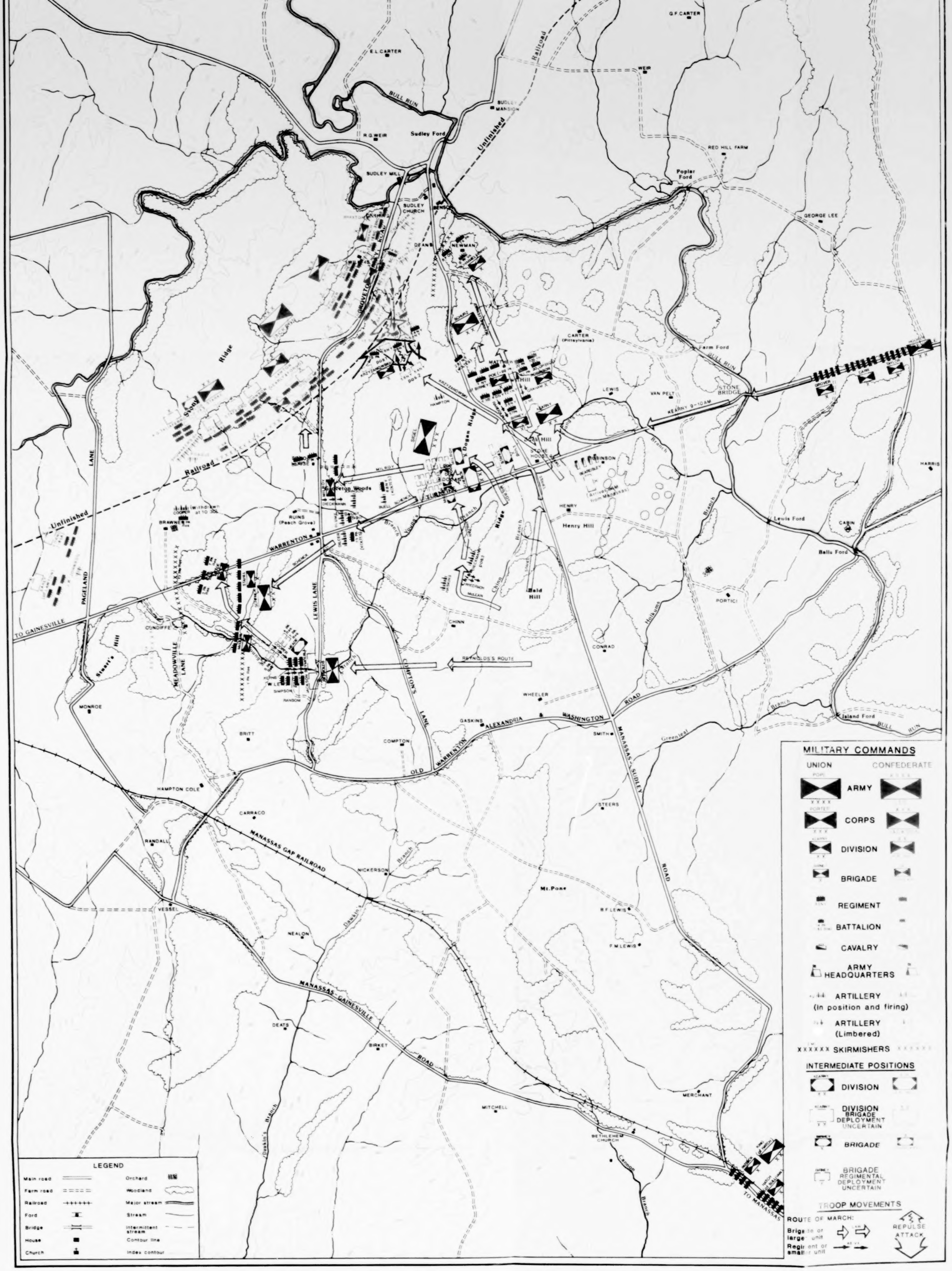
SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 28 & 29,1862 7:00 P.M. to 3:00 A.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

379	25,001
DSC	Oct.'85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RED HILL FARM
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Poplar Ford
SUDLEY CHURCH
GEORGE LEE
NEWMAN
DEAN
GROVETON
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
STONE BRIDGE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
KEARNY 9-10AM
HAMPTON
Dogan Ridge
Buck Hill
STONE HOUSE
ROBINSON
HARRIS
Groveton Woods
MILROY
RUINS (Peach Grove)
HENRY
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Bulls Ford
BRAWNER
WARRENTON
Chinn Branch
Bald Hill
PORTICI
PAGELAND LANE
TO GAINESVILLE
CUNDIFFE
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
LEWIS LANE
CHINN
CONRAD
REYNOLDS'S ROUTE
Holkums Branch
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COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
Greenleaf Branch
MANASSAS-SUDLEY ROAD
HAMPTON COLE
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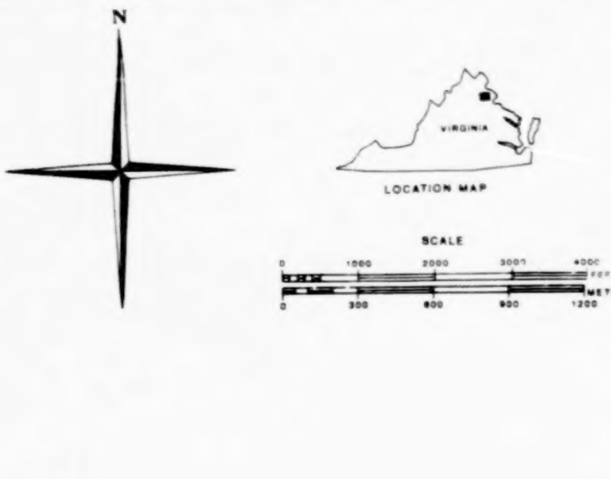
STEERS
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
VESSEL
B.F. LEWIS
NEALON
Dawkins Branch
F.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MERCHANT
MITCHELL
Daskin's Branch
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Cannon Branch
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
PORTER
CORPS
KEARNY
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
XXXXXX SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK


N
VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
SCALE
0
1000
2000
3000
4000
FEET
METERS
0
300
600
900
1200

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 3

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 29,1862 3:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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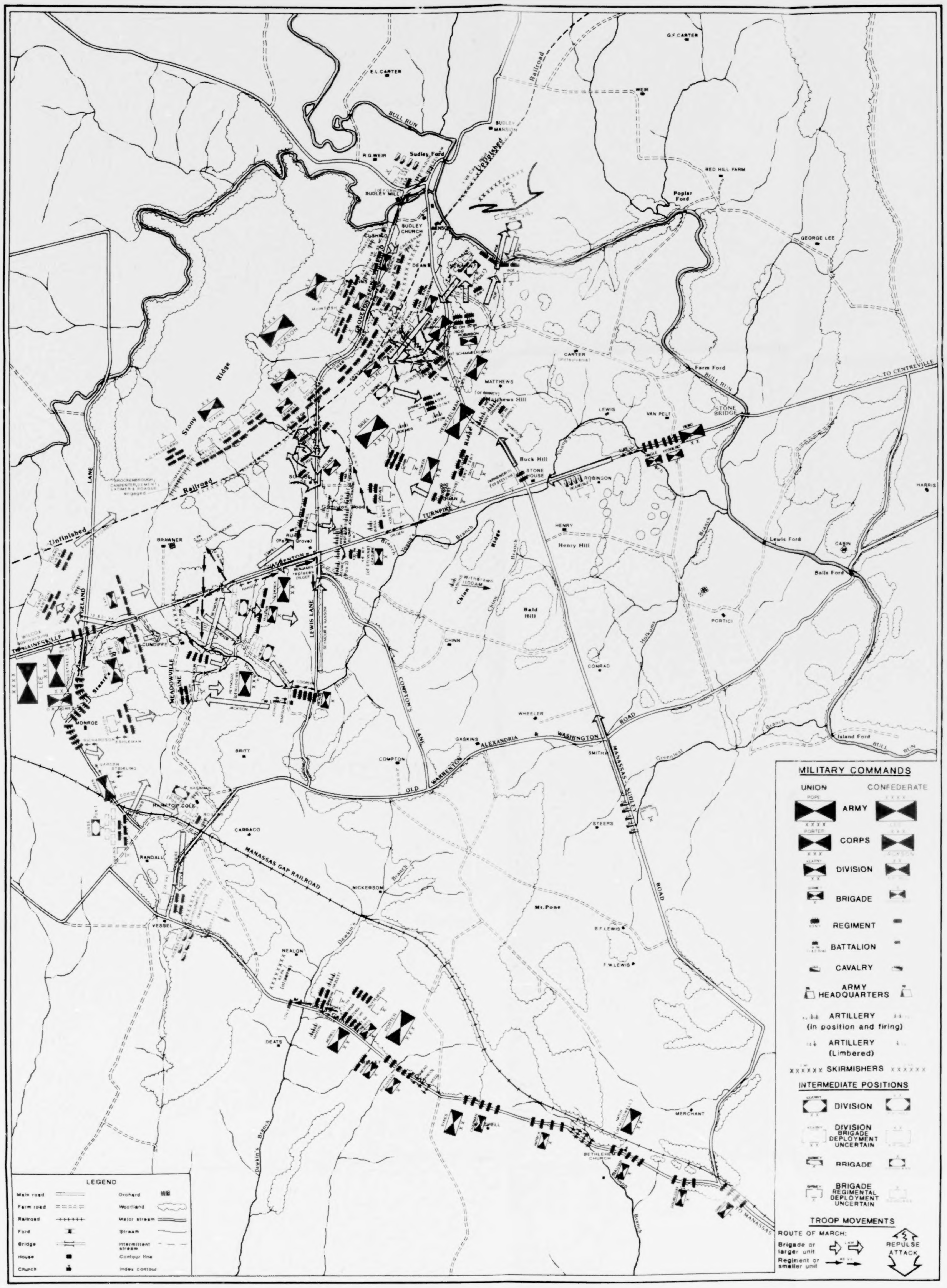
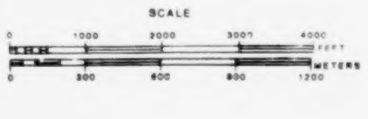
DSC | Oct.'85


E.L. CARTER
Q.F. CARTER
WEIR
BULL RUN
Railroad
SUDLEY MANSION
R.G. WEIR
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
SUDLEY CHURCH
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
DEANE
CARTER
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
MATTHEWS
Matthews Hill
LEWIS
VAN PELT
STONE BRIDGE
Stony Ridge
Buck Hill
STONE HOUSE
ROBINSON
HARRIS
Unfinished Railroad
LANE
BRAWNER
TURNPIKE
HENRY
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
Chinn Ridge
Bald Hill
PORTICI
CHINN
CUNLIFFE
LEWIS LANE
MEADOWVILLE LANE
COMPTON'S LANE
CONRAD
WHEELER
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
Island Ford
BULL RUN
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
MONROE
HAMPTON COLE
CARRACO
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
STEERS
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
VESSEL
B.F. LEWIS
F.M. LEWIS
NEALON
DEATS
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
TO MANASSAS
Dawkin's Branch
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
PORTER
CORPS
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK

LOCATION MAP


SCALE
0
1000
2000
3000
4000
FEET
0
300
600
900
1200
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 4

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 29,1862 10:00 A.M. to 12:00 NOON

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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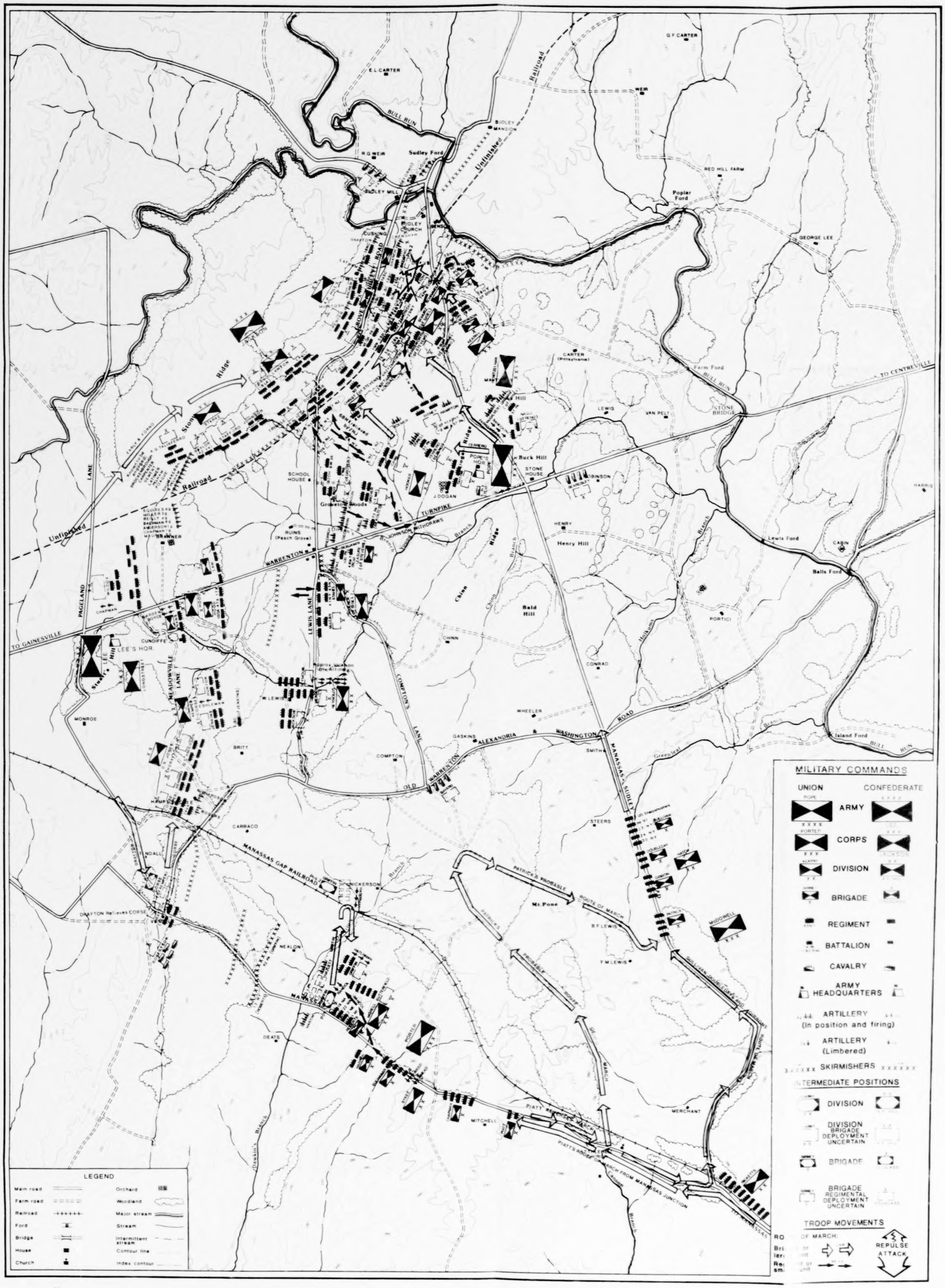
DSC | Oct.'85


BULL RUN
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MANSION
SUDLEY CHURCH
SUDLEY MILL
R.G.WEIR
E.L.CARTER
G.F.CARTER
WEIR
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
Unfinished Railroad
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
STONE BRIDGE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
Buck Hill
POPE'S HQR.
STONE HOUSE
ROBINSON
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
J.DOGAN
WARRENTON TURNPIKE
RUINS (Peach Grove)
HENRY
Henry Hill
Chinn Ridge
Bald Hill
CHINN
PORTICI
Lewis Ford
Balls Ford
CABIN
HARRIS
TO GAINESVILLE
PAGELAND LANE
LEE'S HQR.
CUNDIFFE
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
LEWIS LANE
W.LEWIS
MONROE
BRITT
COMPTON'S LANE
COMPTON
CONRAD
WHEELER
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
OLD WARRENTON
MANASSAS SUDLEY ROAD
Island Ford
CARRACO
STEERS
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
PATRICK'S PROBABLE ROUTE OF MARCH
Mt.Pone
B.F.LEWIS
F.M.LEWIS
McDOWELL
NEALON
DRAYTON Relieves CORSE
DEATS
PORTER
MITCHELL
PIATT'S ROUTE OF MARCH
PIATT'S ROUTE OF MARCH FROM MANASSAS JUNCTION
MERCHANT
Dawkins Branch
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
PORTER
CORPS
JACKSON
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
REPULSE
ATTACK
N

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 5

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 29,1862 12:00 NOON to 2:00 P.M.

VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP

SCALE
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 FEET
0 300 600 900 1200 METERS

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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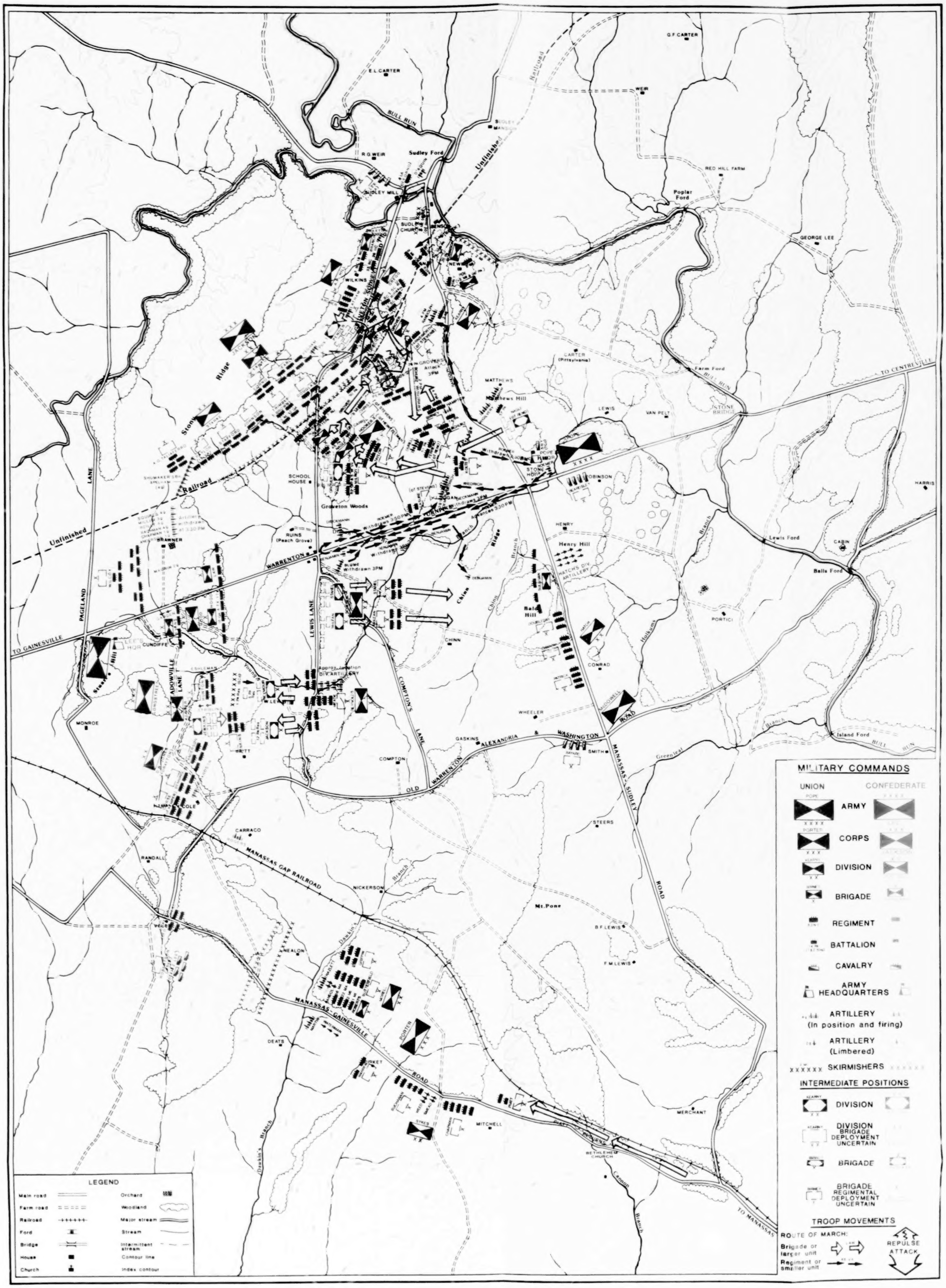
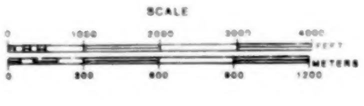

BULL RUN
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
SUDLEY CHURCH
Unfinished Railroad
Stony Ridge
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
RUINS (Peach Grove)
BRAWNER
WARRENTON
TO GAINESVILLE
PAGELAND LANE
Stuart's Hill
CUNDIFFE
MEADOWVILLE LANE
MONROE
COLE
LEWIS LANE
COMPTON'S LANE
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON
GASKINS
WHEELER
SMITH
MANASSAS-SUDLEY ROAD
CHINN
Chinn Ridge
Bald Hill
CONRAD
Henry Hill
HENRY
ROBINSON
STONE HOUSE
Matthews Hill
MATTHEWS
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
LEWIS
VAN PELT
STONE BRIDGE
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
Poplar Ford
RED HILL FARM
GEORGE LEE
G.F. CARTER
WEIR
E.L. CARTER
R.G. WEIR
SUDLEY MANSION
HARRIS
Lewis Ford
Balls Ford
CABIN
PORTICI
Island Ford
Holkums Branch
Youngs Branch
STEERS
Mt.Pone
B.F. LEWIS
F.M. LEWIS
MERCHANT
CARRACO
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Dawkins Branch
NEALON
DEATS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
MITCHELL
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Cannon Branch
TO MANASSAS
Approx. location DIV ARTILLERY
GROVER'S Attack 3PM
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
PORTER
CORPS
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour

VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP


SCALE
0
1000
2000
3000
4000
FEET
0
300
600
900
1200
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 6

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 29,1862 2:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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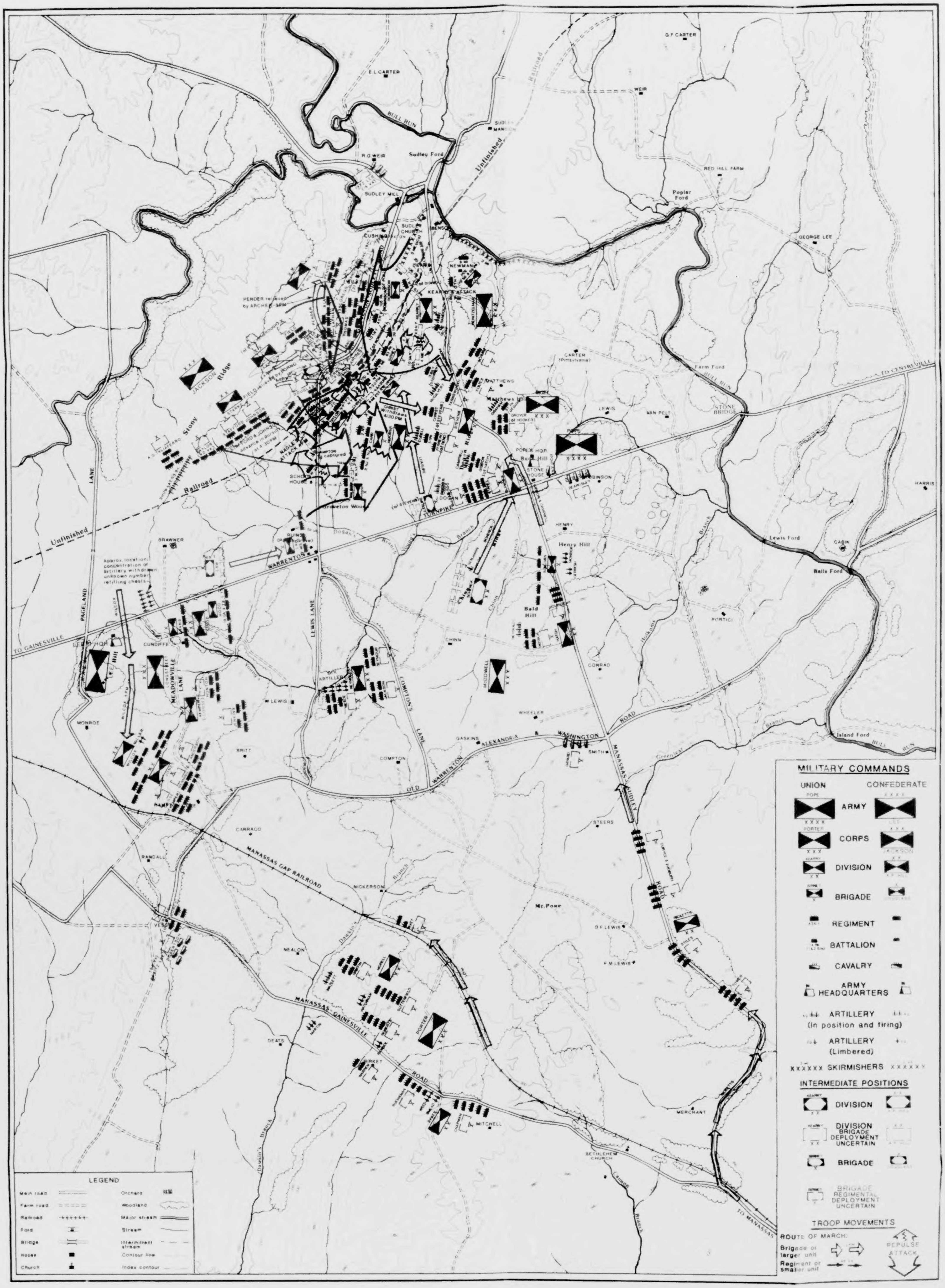
DSC | Oct.'85


E.L. CARTER
G.F. CARTER
WEIR
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
R.G. WEIR
Sudley Ford
Unfinished Railroad
SUDLEY HILL
SUDLEY CHURCH
CUSHING
BENSON
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
NEWMAN
KEARNY'S ATTACK
PENDER relieved by ARCHER 5PM
JACKSON
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
MATTHEWS
Matthews Hill
LEWIS
VAN PELT
STONE BRIDGE
POPE
POPE'S HQR
Buck Hill
STONE HOUSE
ROBINSON
GROVER withdraws 4:30 PM
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
TURNPIKE
HARRIS
Unfinished Railroad
BRAWNER
WARRENTON
HENRY
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
Approx. location concentration of artillery withdrawn unknown number refilling chests
PAGELAND LANE
TO GAINESVILLE
LEWIS LANE
Bald Hill
CHINN
PORTICI
CUNDIFFE
MEADOWVILLE LANE
CONRAD
McDOWELL
W LEWIS
COMPTON'S LANE
MONROE
WHEELER
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
MANASSAS SUDLEY ROAD
Island Ford
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
STEERS
CARRACO
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
B.F. LEWIS
NEALON
F.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
PORTER
DEATS
BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Dawkin's Branch
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
ARMY
CORPS
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK

VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 7

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 29,1862 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

SCALE
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 FEET
0 300 600 900 1200 METERS

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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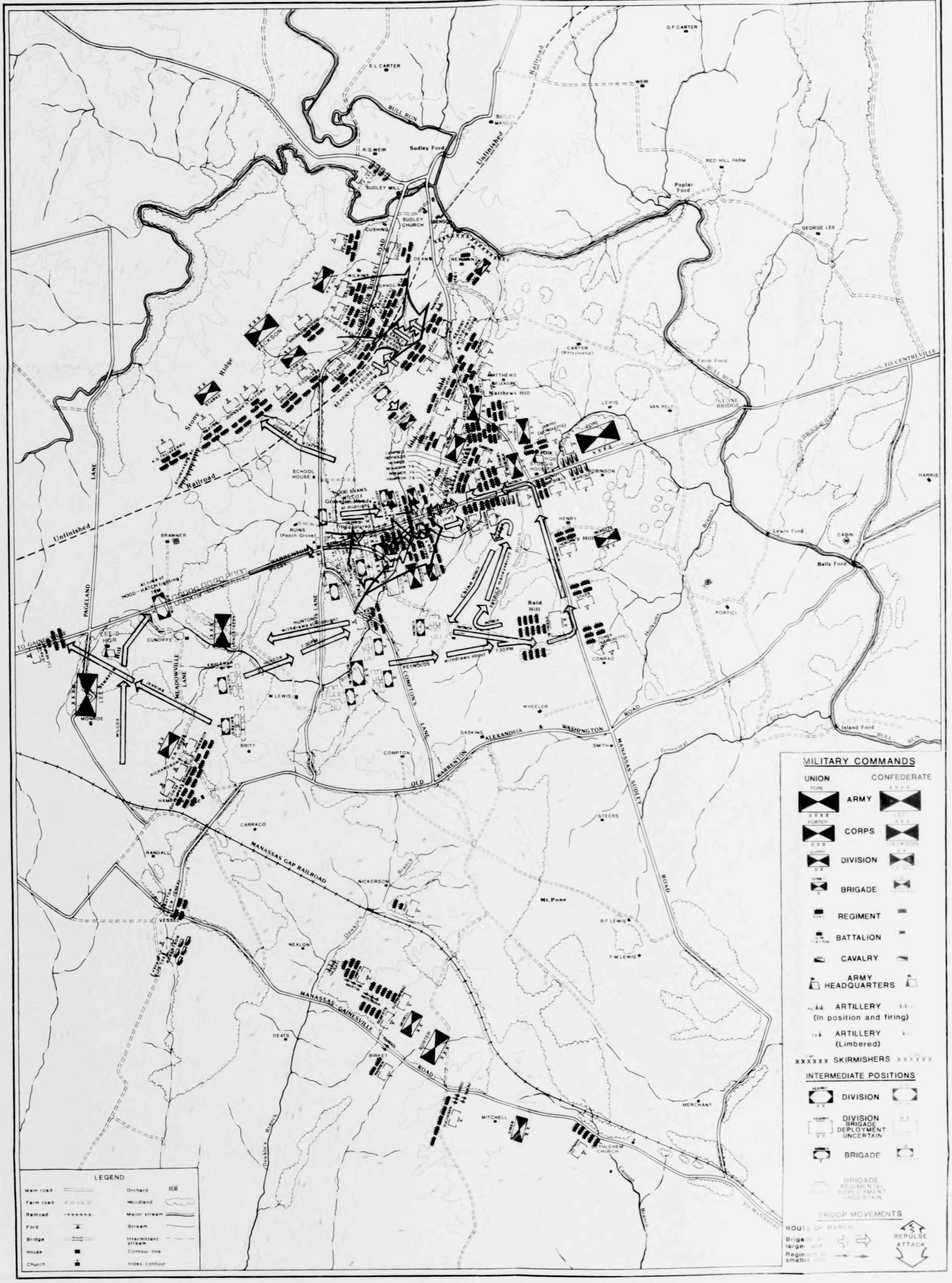
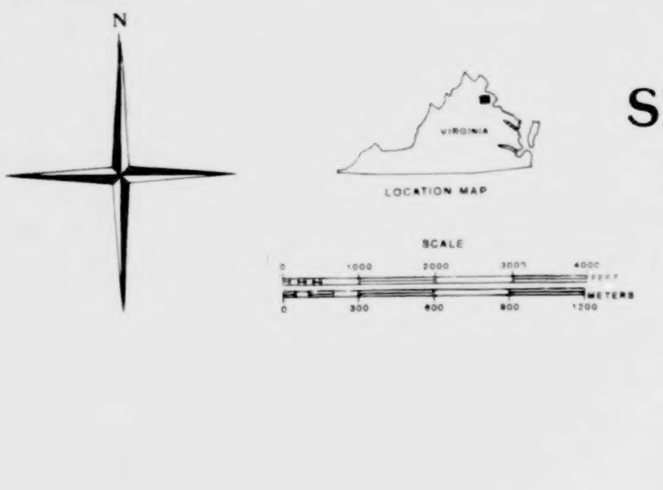
DSC | Oct.'85


G.F.CARTER
E.L.CARTER
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
R.G.WEIR
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
Unfinished
Railroad
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
SUDLEY CHURCH
CUSHING
GEORGE LEE
SUDLEY ROAD
DEAN
NEWMAN
WILKINS
JACKSON
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
Matthews Hill
STONE BRIDGE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
SCHOOL HOUSE
ROBINSON
HARRIS
Groveton Woods
HENRY
Henry Hill
BRAWNER
RUINS (Peach Grove)
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
PAGELAND
LANE
Bald Hill
PORTICI
CUNLIFFE
TO GAINESVILLE
LEE'S HQR
MEADOWVILLE LANE
REYNOLDS
withdraws about 7:30PM
COMPTON'S LANE
CONRAD
W.LEWIS
WHEELER
MONROE
BRITT
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
Island Ford
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
MANASSAS SUDLEY ROAD
CARRACO
STEERS
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Mt.Pone
VESSEL
R.F.LEWIS
NEALON
F.M.LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
PORTER
DEATS
BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
LEE
PORTER
CORPS
JACKSON
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
xxxxxx SKIRMISHERS xxxxxx
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK


N
VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
SCALE
0
1000
2000
3000
4000
FEET
0
300
600
900
1200
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 8

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 29,1862 6:00 P.M. to 12:00 MIDNIGHT

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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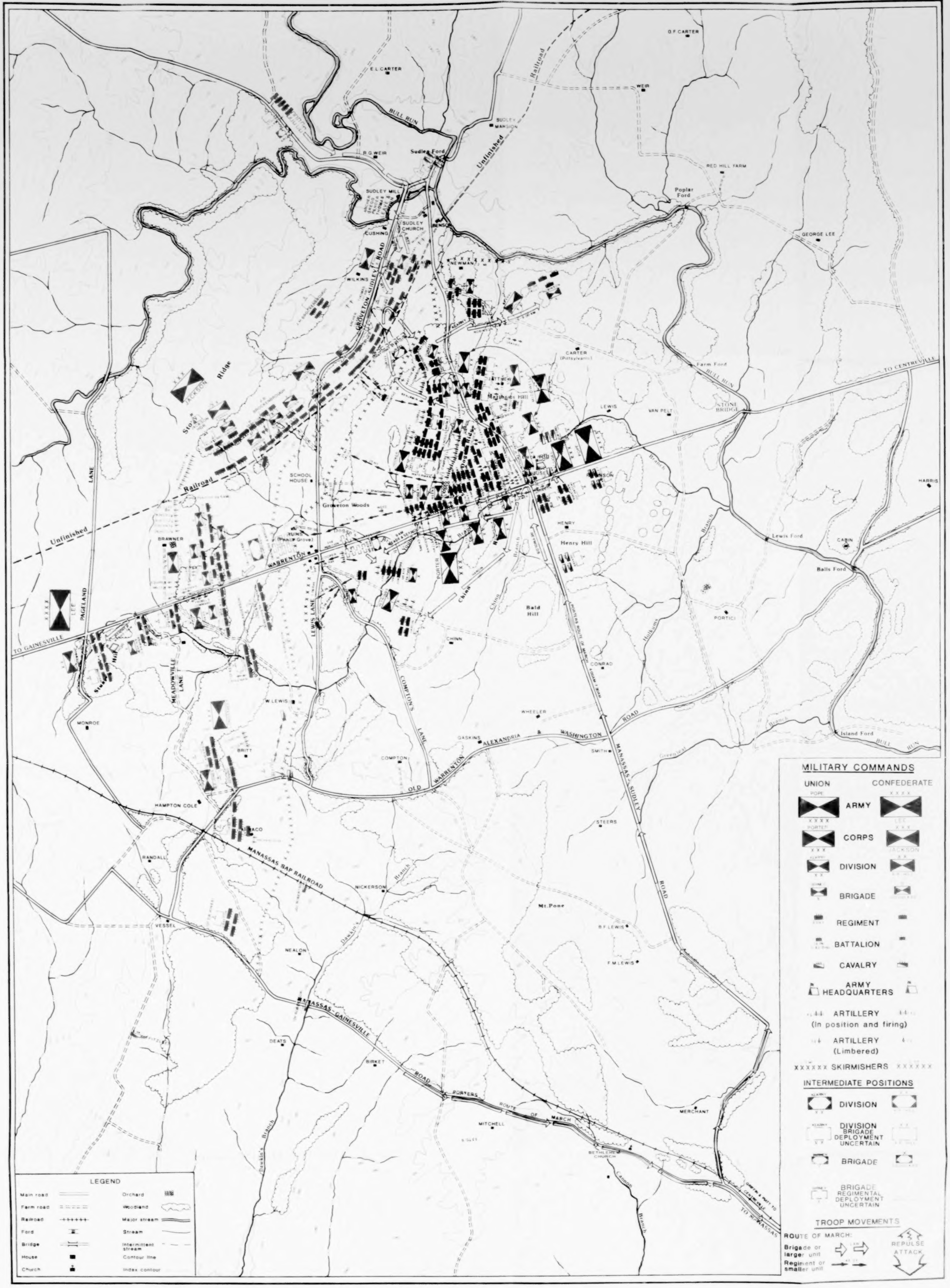
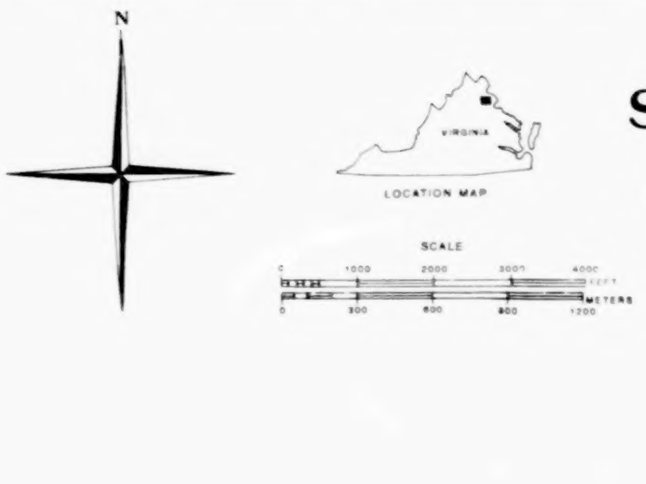

G.F. CARTER
E.L. CARTER
WEIR
Railroad
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
R.G. WEIR
Sudley Ford
Unfinished
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
SUDLEY MILL
SUDLEY CHURCH
CUSHING
GEORGE LEE
NEWMAN
WILKINS
GROVETON-SUDLEY ROAD
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
Stony Ridge
Matthews Hill
STONE BRIDGE
TO CENTREVILLE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
Railroad
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
HARRIS
Unfinished
BRAWNER
GROVETON (Peach Grove)
WARRENTON
HENRY
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
PAGELAND LANE
TO GAINESVILLE
Bald Hill
Chinn Branch
PORTICI
CHINN
LEWIS LANE
CONRAD
MEADOWVILLE LANE
W. LEWIS
COMPTON'S LANE
WHEELER
MONROE
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
Island Ford
BULL RUN
SMITH
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
MANASSAS-SUDLEY ROAD
HAMPTON COLE
STEERS
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
VESSEL
B.F. LEWIS
NEALON
F.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
PORTERS ROUTE OF MARCH
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Dawkin's Branch
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
LEE
PORTER
JACKSON
ARMY
CORPS
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
XXXXXX SKIRMISHERS XXXXXX
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE ATTACK


N
VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
SCALE
FEET
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 9

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30,1862 12:00 MIDNIGHT to 12:00 NOON

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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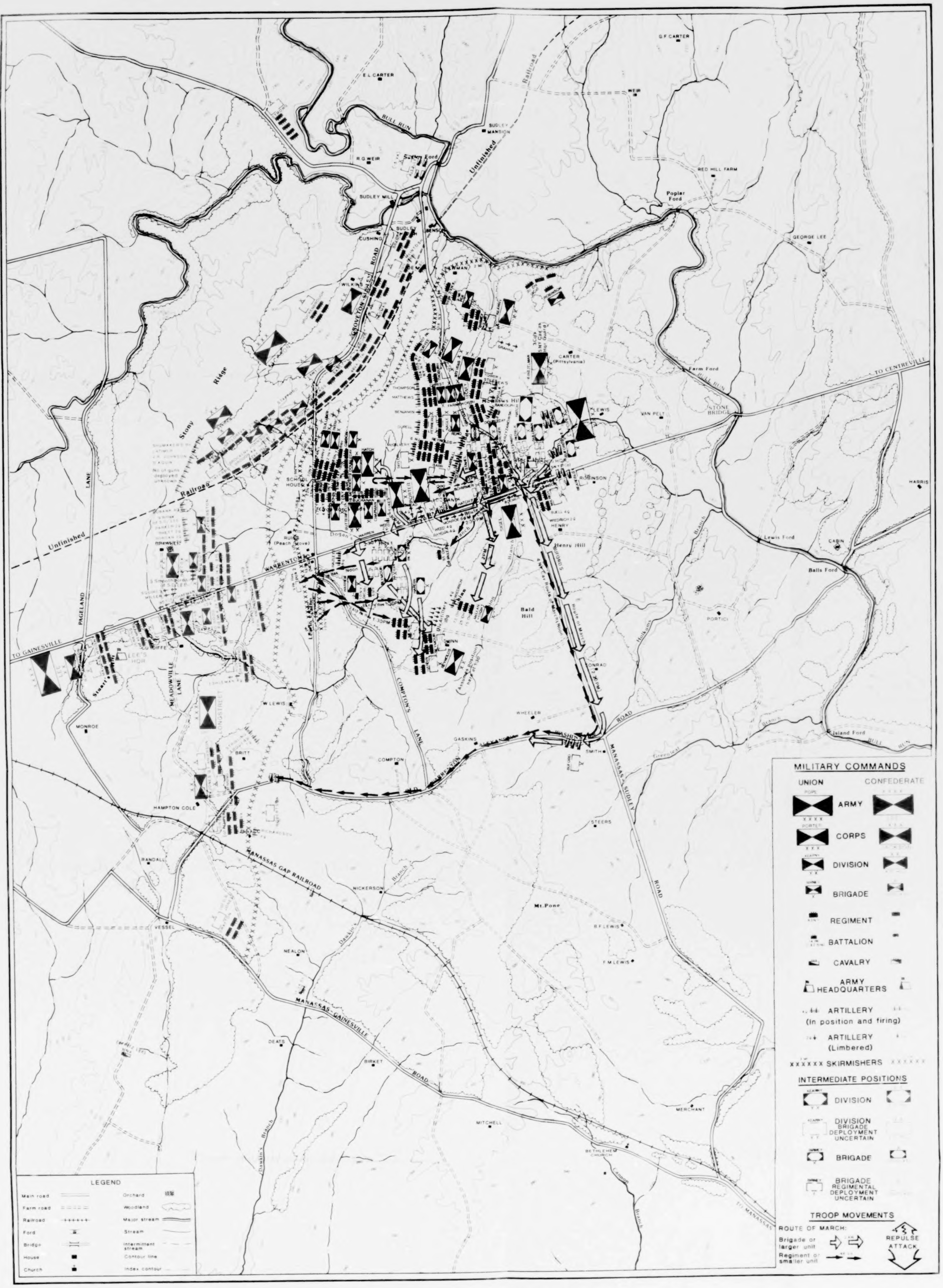

MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
ARMY
CORPS
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
XXXXXX SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
Unfinished Railroad
Stony Ridge
GROVETON-SUDLEY ROAD
WARRENTON TURNPIKE
TO GAINESVILLE
TO CENTREVILLE
Henry Hill
Bald Hill
STONE BRIDGE
Lewis Ford
Balls Ford
Poplar Ford
Farm Ford
Island Ford
PAGELAND LANE
MEADOWVILLE LANE
COMPTON'S LANE
MANASSAS-SIDLEY ROAD
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
Mt.Pone
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Dawkin's Branch
Holkums Branch
Young's Branch
E.L.CARTER
S.F.CARTER
WEIR
R.G.WEIR
RED HILL FARM
GEORGE LEE
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
LEWIS
VAN PELT
ROBINSON
HENRY
HARRIS
CABIN
PORTICI
CONRAD
WHEELER
GASKINS
SMITH
COMPTON
STEERS
BRITT
W.LEWIS
MONROE
HAMPTON COLE
RANDALL
NICKERSON
VESSEL
NEALON
B.F.LEWIS
F.M.LEWIS
DEATS
BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
SCHOOL HOUSE
LEE'S HQR
DOGAN
CUSHING
WILKINS
THOMPSON
MATTHEWS
Chinn

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 10

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

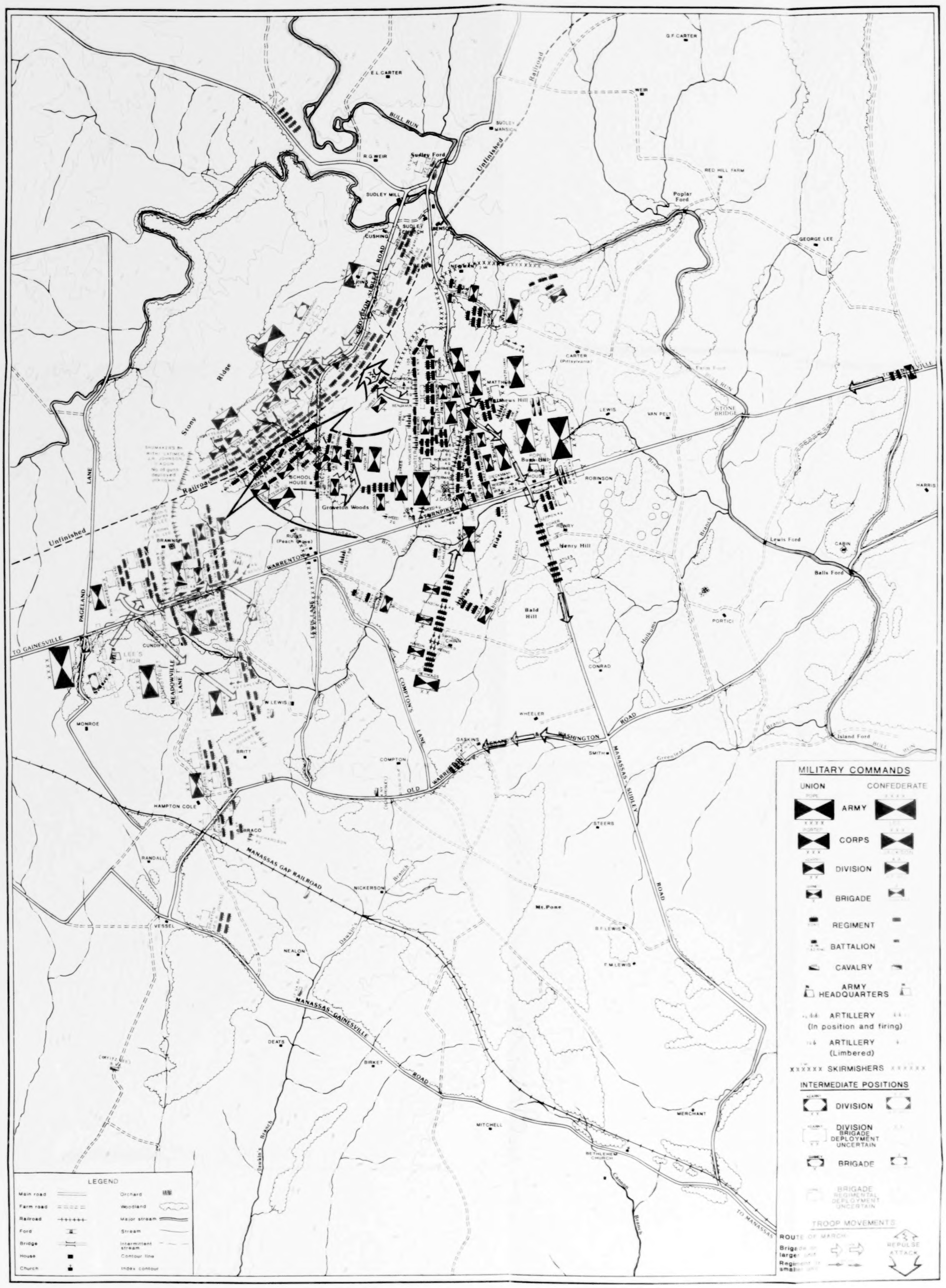
AUGUST 30,1862 12:00 NOON to 3:00 P.M.

VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
N
SCALE
METERS

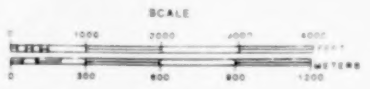
MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR | NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

379 | 25,001
DSC | Oct.'85


G.F. CARTER
E.L. CARTER
WEIR
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
Railroad
Unfinished
R.G. WEIR
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
CUSHING
SUDLEY CHURCH
SUDLEY ROAD
GEORGE LEE
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Dogan Ridge
Farm Ford
STONE BRIDGE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
Buck Hill
ROBINSON
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
Railroad
Unfinished
TURNPIKE
HENRY
Henry Hill
HARRIS
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
RUDD (Peach Grove)
BRAWNER
WARRENTON
Bald Hill
CHINN
PORTICI
TO GAINESVILLE
PAGELAND LANE
LEWIS LANE
COMPTON LANE
CUNDIFF
LEE'S HQR
MEADOWVILLE LANE
W. LEWIS
CONRAD
MONROE
WHEELER
GASKINS
WASHINGTON
ROAD
Island Ford
BULL RUN
SMITH
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
MANASSAS-SUDLEY
HAMPTON COLE
STEERS
ROAD
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
RANDALL
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
VESSEL
Dawkins Branch
B.F. LEWIS
NEALON
T.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE
DEATS
BIRKET
ROAD
MERCHANT
MITCHELL
Dawkins Branch
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Cannon Branch
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
LEE
PORTER
CORPS
JACKSON
KEARNY
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK

VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP


SCALE
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FEET
0
300
600
900
1200
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 11

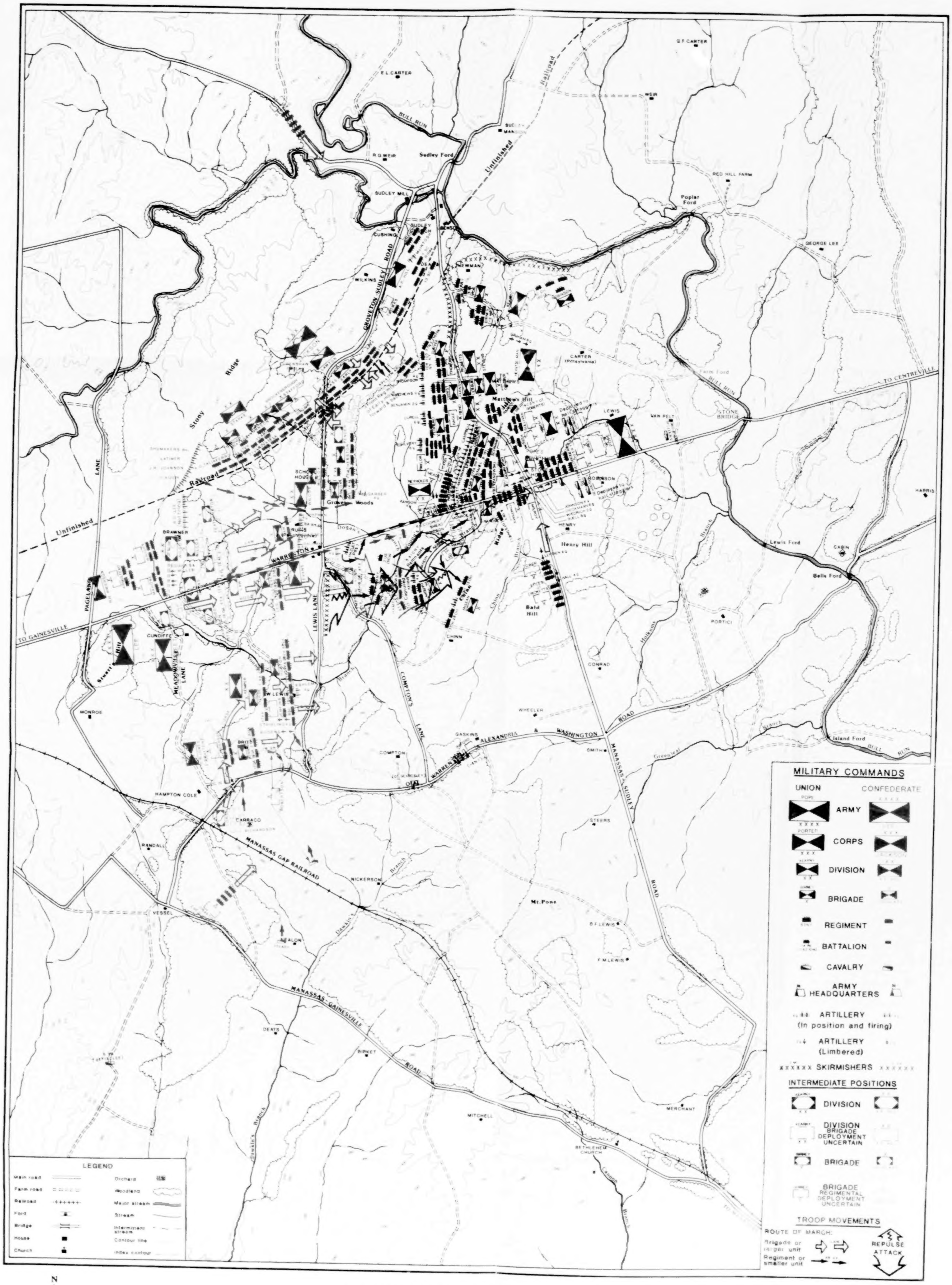
SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30,1862 3:00 P.M. to 3:45 P.M.

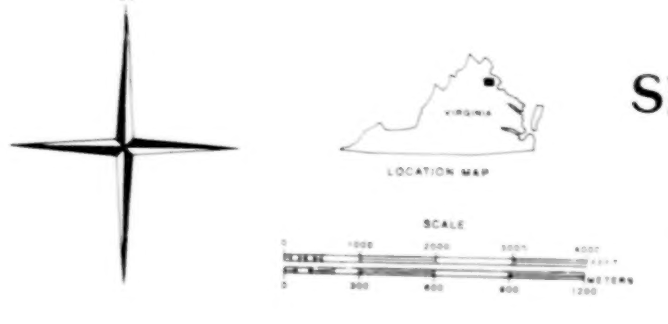
MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

379 | 25,001
DSC | Oct.'85



MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
XXXX
ARMY
PORTER
XXX
CORPS
DIVISION
XX
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
XXXXXX SKIRMISHERS XXXXXX
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
BULL RUN
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
R.G. WEIR
E.L. CARTER
G.F. CARTER
WEIR
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
CUSHING
SUDLEY
WILKINS
NEWMAN
GROVETON-SUDLEY ROAD
Unfinished Railroad
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
TO CENTREVILLE
STONE BRIDGE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
Matthews Hill
ROBINSON
HENRY
Henry Hill
Bald Hill
CHINN
Chinn Branch
Young's Branch
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
Dogan
BRAWNER
WARRENTON
TO GAINESVILLE
PAGELAND LANE
Stuart's Hill
CUNDIFFE
MEADOWVILLE LANE
LEWIS LANE
COMPTON'S LANE
MONROE
HAMPTON COLE
CARRACO
RANDALL
VESSEL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
WHEELER
GASKINS
COMPTON
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
OLD WARREN
SMITH
MANASSAS-SUDLEY ROAD
CONRAD
PORTICI
Holkums Branch
STEERS
Mt. Pone
B.F. LEWIS
F.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
Dawkin's Branch
Cannon Branch
HARRIS
CABIN
Lewis Ford
Balls Ford
Island Ford



N
VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
SCALE
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3000
4000
FEET
0
300
600
900
1200
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 12

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30,1862 3:45 P.M. to 4:30 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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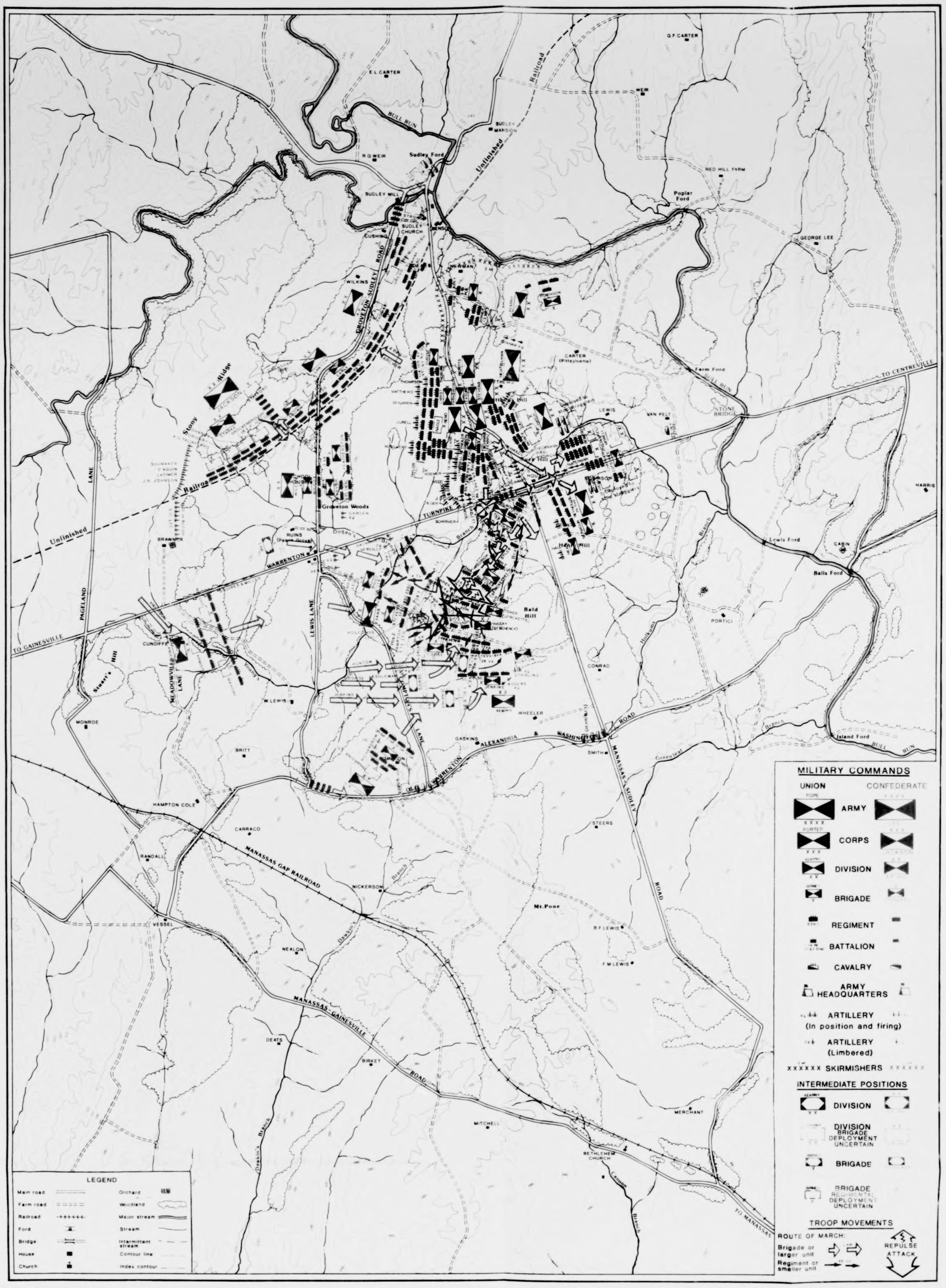
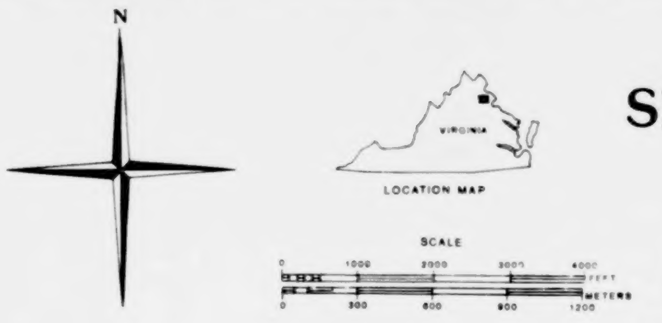
DSC | Oct.'85


G.F. CARTER
E.L. CARTER
BULL RUN
Railroad
Unfinished
SUDLEY MANSION
R.G. WEIR
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
SUDLEY CHURCH
CUSHING
WILKINS
GROVETON-SUDLEY ROAD
WEIR
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
Stony Ridge
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
STONE BRIDGE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
MATTHEWS
Unfinished Railroad
Groveton Woods
TURNPIKE
RUINS
BRAWNER
WARRENTON
Henry Hill
Lewis Ford
Balls Ford
HARRIS
CABIN
LEWIS LANE
Bald Hill
PORTICI
TO GAINESVILLE
PAGELAND LANE
CUNDIFF
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
CONRAD
W. LEWIS
WHEELER
MONROE
GASKINS
ALEXANDRIA
WASHINGTON
ROAD
SMITH
MANASSAS-SUDLEY
Island Ford
BRITT
WARRENTON
HAMPTON COLE
CARRACO
STEERS
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
VESSEL
B.F. LEWIS
NEALON
F.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
Dawkin's Branch
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
XXXX
ARMY
LEE
PORTER
XXX
CORPS
JACKSON
KEARNY
XX
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
XXXXXX SKIRMISHERS XXXXXX
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK


N
VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
SCALE
0
1000
2000
3000
4000
FEET
METERS
300
600
900
1200

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 13

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30,1862 4:30 P.M. to 5:15 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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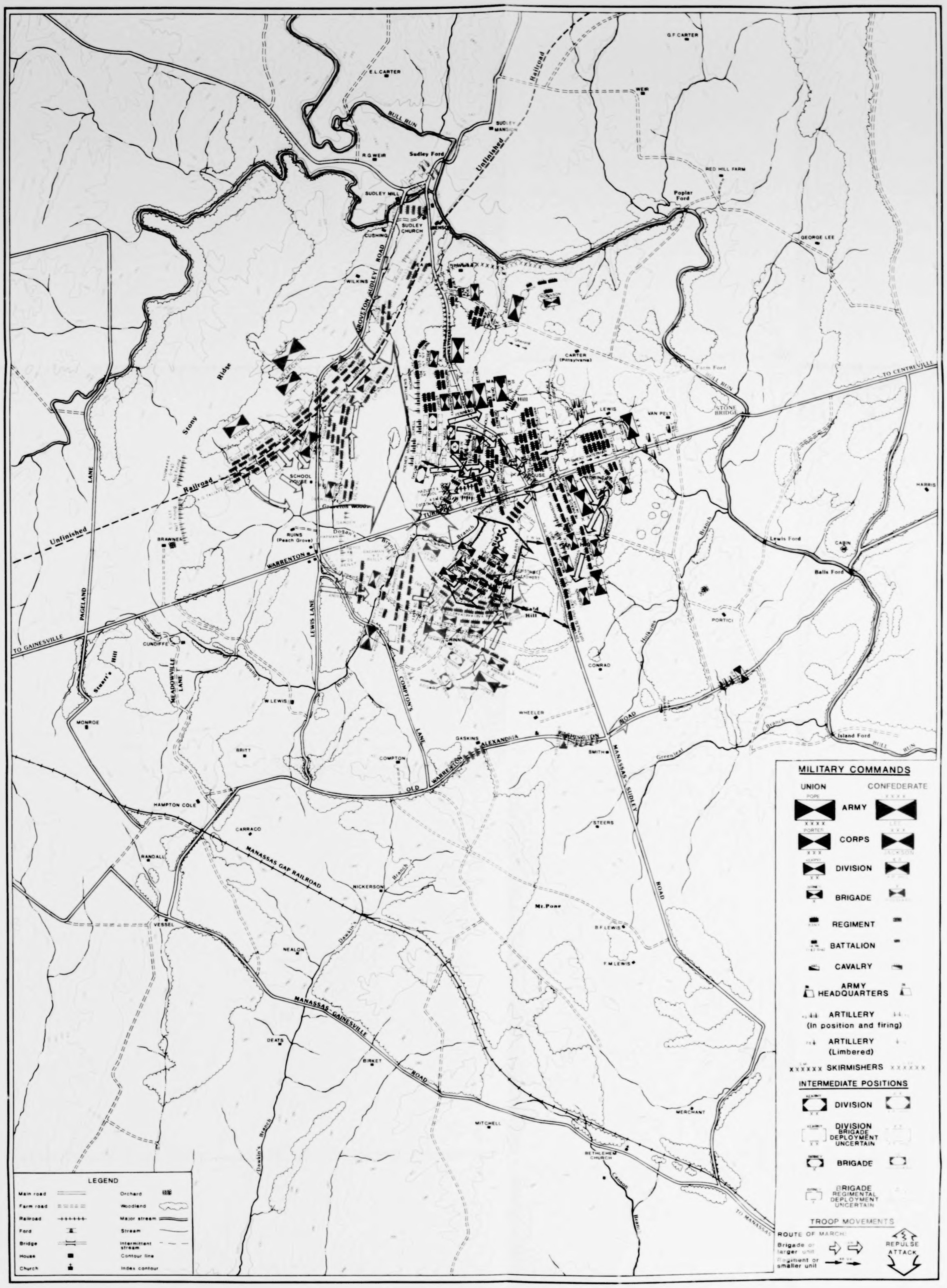
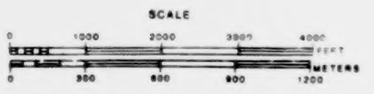
DSC | Oct.'85


E.L.CARTER
G.F.CARTER
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
R.G.WEIR
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MILL
SUDLEY CHURCH
CUSHING
Unfinished Railroad
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
WILKINS
GROVETON SUDLEY ROAD
CARTER (Pittsylvania)
Stony Ridge
Farm Ford
STONE BRIDGE
TO CENTREVILLE
LEWIS
VAN PELT
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
Unfinished Railroad
BRAWNER
RUINS (Peach Grove)
WARRENTON TURNPIKE
HARRIS
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
PORTICI
TO GAINESVILLE
CUNDIFF
PAGELAND LANE
LEWIS LANE
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
CONRAD
W.LEWIS
MONROE
COMPTON LANE
WHEELER
GASKINS
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON ALEXANDRIA
WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
MANASSAS SUDLEY ROAD
Island Ford
BULL RUN
HAMPTON COLE
CARRACO
STEERS
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
RANDALL
NICKERSON
Mt.Pone
VESSEL
B.F.LEWIS
NEALON
F.M.LEWIS
MANASSAS GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MITCHELL
MERCHANT
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
TO MANASSAS
Dawkin's Branch
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
ARMY
LEE
PORTER
CORPS
JACKSON
KEARNY
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK

VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP


SCALE
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FEET
METERS
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300
600
900
1200

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 14

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30,1862 5:15 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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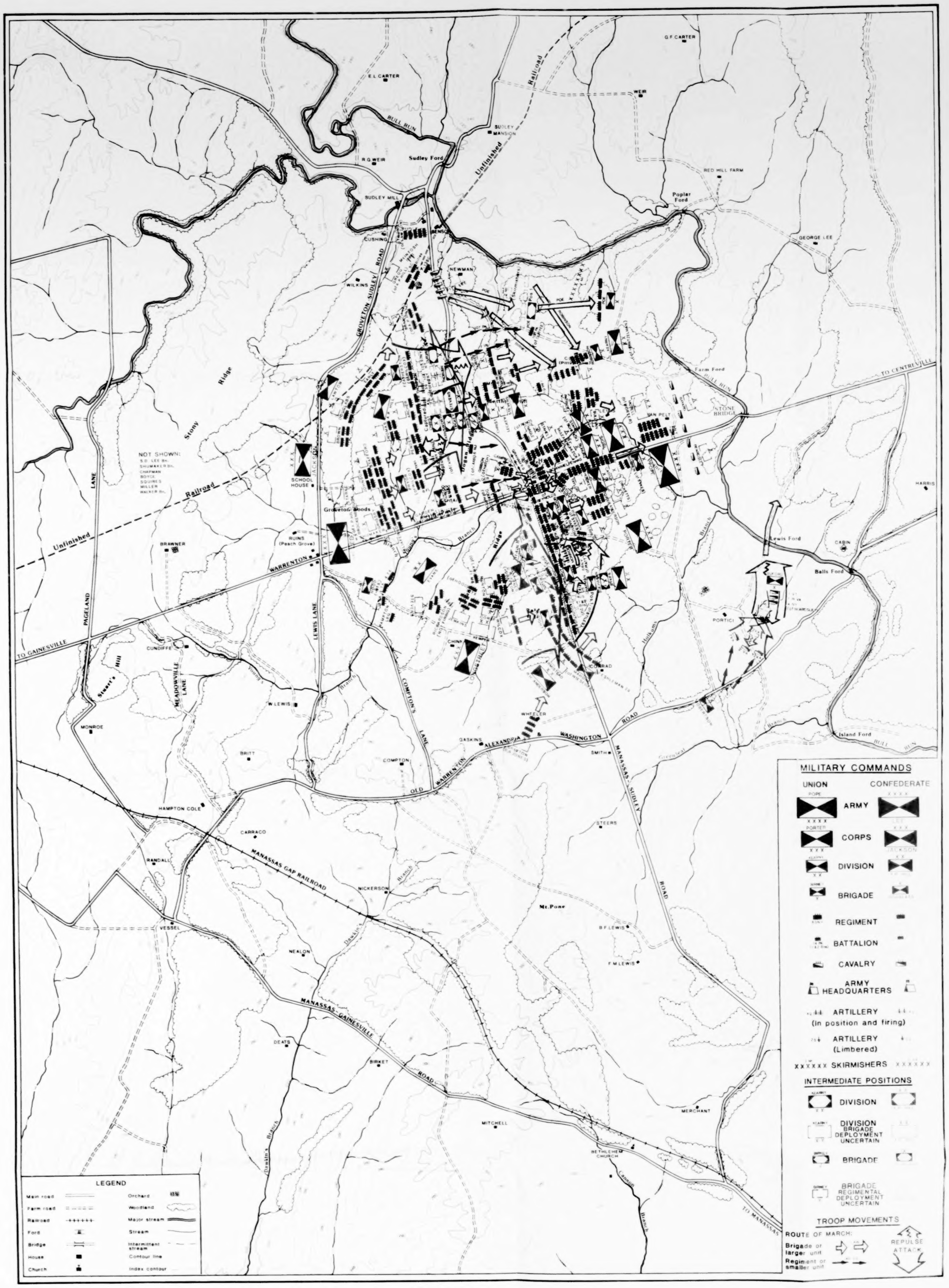
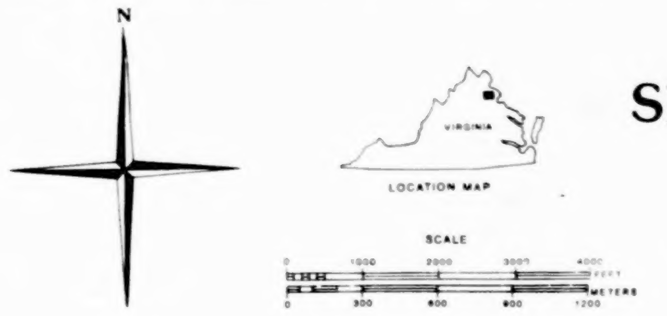
DSC | Oct.'85


G.F. CARTER
E.L. CARTER
WEIR
BULL RUN
SUDLEY MANSION
Unfinished Railroad
R.G. WEIR
Sudley Ford
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
SUDLEY MILL
CUSHING
GEORGE LEE
WILKINS
NEWMAN
GROVETON-SUDLEY ROAD
Stony Ridge
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
VAN PELT
STONE BRIDGE
NOT SHOWN:
S.D. LEE Bn.
SHUMAKER Bn.
CHAPMAN
BOYCE
SQUIRES
MILLER
WALKER Bn.
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
HARRIS
Unfinished Railroad
BRAWNER
RUINS (Peach Grove)
WARRENTON
Lewis Ford
CABIN
Balls Ford
PAGELAND LANE
LEWIS LANE
PORTICI
TO GAINESVILLE
CUNDIFF
CHINN
CONRAD
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
W. LEWIS
COMPTON LANE
WHEELER
MONROE
DASKINS
ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
Island Ford
BULL RUN
BRITT
COMPTON
OLD WARRENTON
HAMPTON COLE
STEERS
CARRACO
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
MANASSAS-SUDLEY ROAD
RANDALL
NICKERSON
Mt. Pone
VESSEL
B.F. LEWIS
NEALON
F.M. LEWIS
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MERCHANT
MITCHELL
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
TO MANASSAS
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
POPE
XXXX
ARMY
LEE
PORTER
XXX
CORPS
JACKSON
KEARNY
XX
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
XXXXXX SKIRMISHERS XXXXXX
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BIRNEY
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE
ATTACK


N
VIRGINIA
LOCATION MAP
SCALE
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FEET
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600
900
1200
METERS

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 15

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30, 1862 6:00 P.M. to 6:45 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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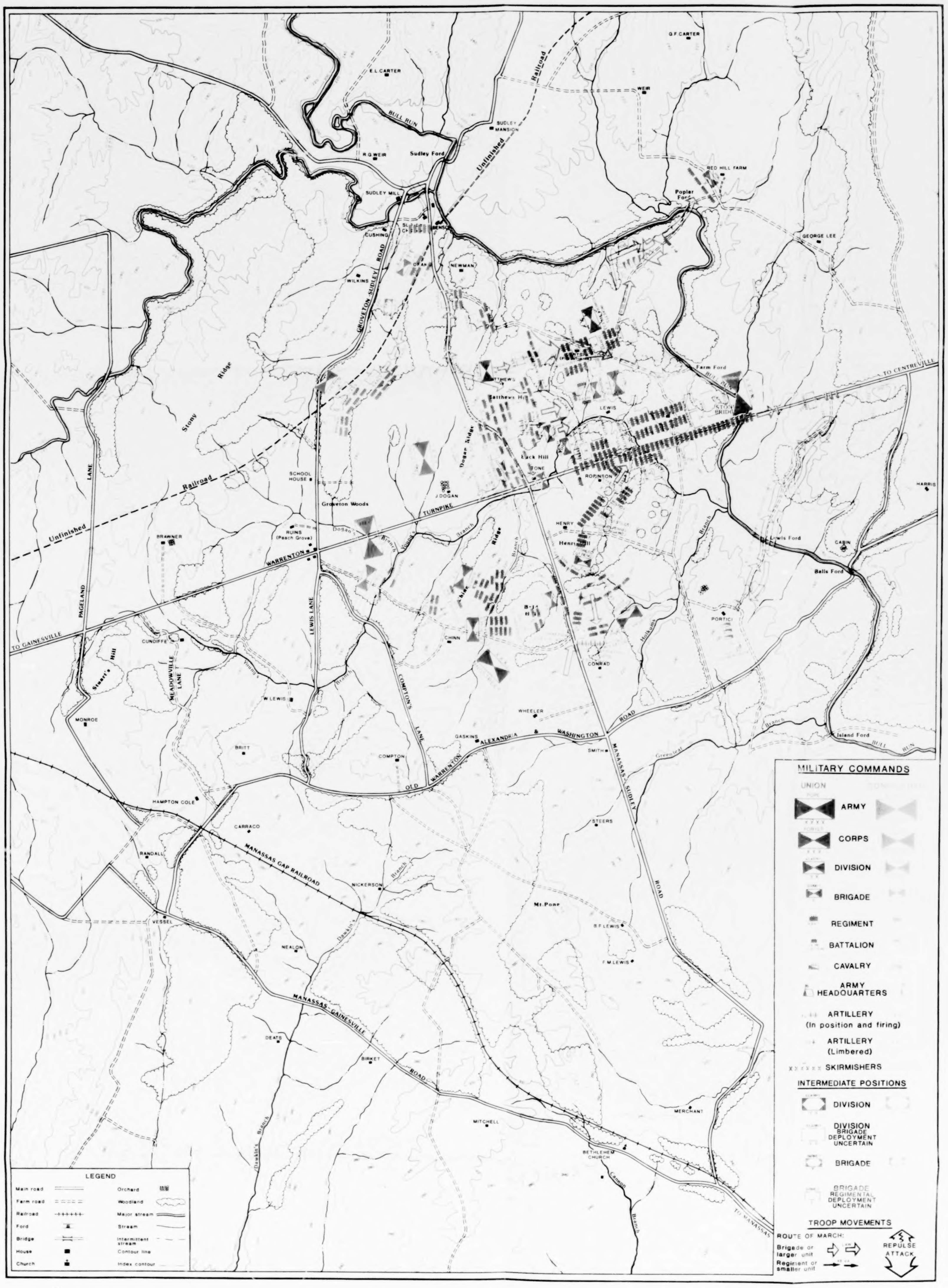

MILITARY COMMANDS
UNION
CONFEDERATE
ARMY
CORPS
DIVISION
BRIGADE
REGIMENT
BATTALION
CAVALRY
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
ARTILLERY (In position and firing)
ARTILLERY (Limbered)
SKIRMISHERS
INTERMEDIATE POSITIONS
DIVISION
DIVISION BRIGADE DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
BRIGADE
BRIGADE REGIMENTAL DEPLOYMENT UNCERTAIN
TROOP MOVEMENTS
ROUTE OF MARCH:
Brigade or larger unit
Regiment or smaller unit
REPULSE ATTACK
LEGEND
Main road
Farm road
Railroad
Ford
Bridge
House
Church
Orchard
Woodland
Major stream
Stream
Intermittent stream
Contour line
Index contour
BULL RUN
Sudley Ford
SUDLEY MANSION
SUDLEY MILL
E.L. CARTER
R.G. WEIR
G.F. CARTER
WEIR
RED HILL FARM
Poplar Ford
GEORGE LEE
CUSHING
WILKINS
NEWMAN
Unfinished Railroad
GROVETON SUDLEY ROAD
Stony Ridge
Farm Ford
TO CENTREVILLE
STONE BRIDGE
Matthews Hill
LEWIS
Buck Hill
Dogan Ridge
J. DOGAN
ROBINSON
SCHOOL HOUSE
Groveton Woods
HENRY
Henry Hill
RUINS (Peach Grove)
BRAWNER
WARRENTON TURNPIKE
Lewis Ford
CARTER
HARRIS
Balls Ford
Chinn Ridge
CHINN
PORTICI
CONRAD
TO GAINESVILLE
PAGELAND LANE
CUNDIFFE
Stuart's Hill
MEADOWVILLE LANE
LEWIS LANE
COMPTON'S LANE
W. LEWIS
MONROE
WHEELER
GASKINS
OLD WARRENTON, ALEXANDRIA & WASHINGTON ROAD
SMITH
COMPTON
BRITT
Island Ford
HAMPTON COLE
CARRACO
STEERS
RANDALL
MANASSAS GAP RAILROAD
NICKERSON
MANASSAS-SUDLEY ROAD
Mt. Pone
B.F. LEWIS
F.M. LEWIS
VESSEL
NEALON
MANASSAS-GAINESVILLE ROAD
DEATS
BIRKET
MERCHANT
MITCHELL
BETHLEHEM CHURCH
TO MANASSAS
N
SCALE
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1000
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3000
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FEET
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900
1200
METERS

LOCATION MAP

TROOP MOVEMENT MAP 16

SECOND BATTLE OF MANASSAS

AUGUST 30, 1862 6:45 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.

MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, VIRGINIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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